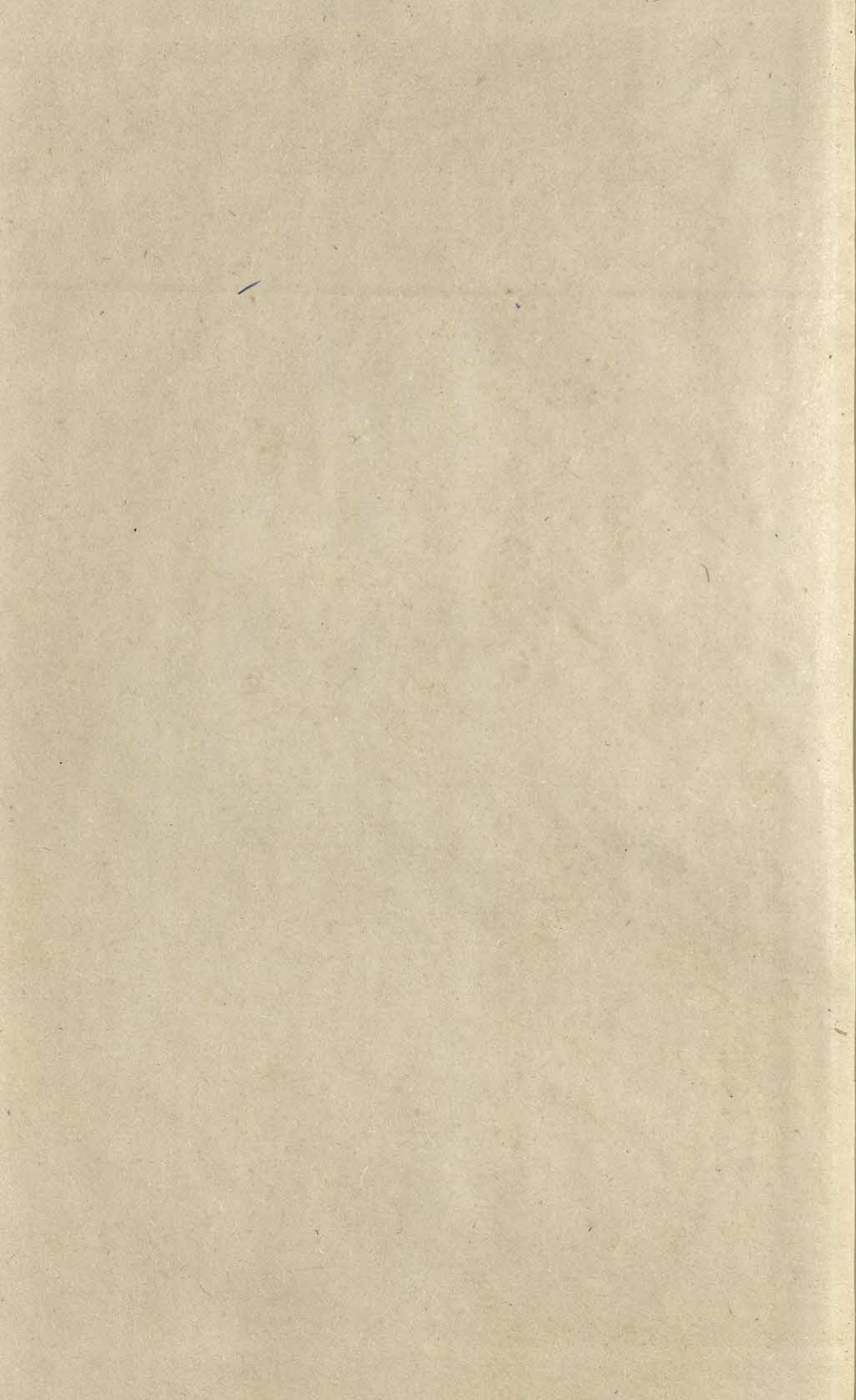


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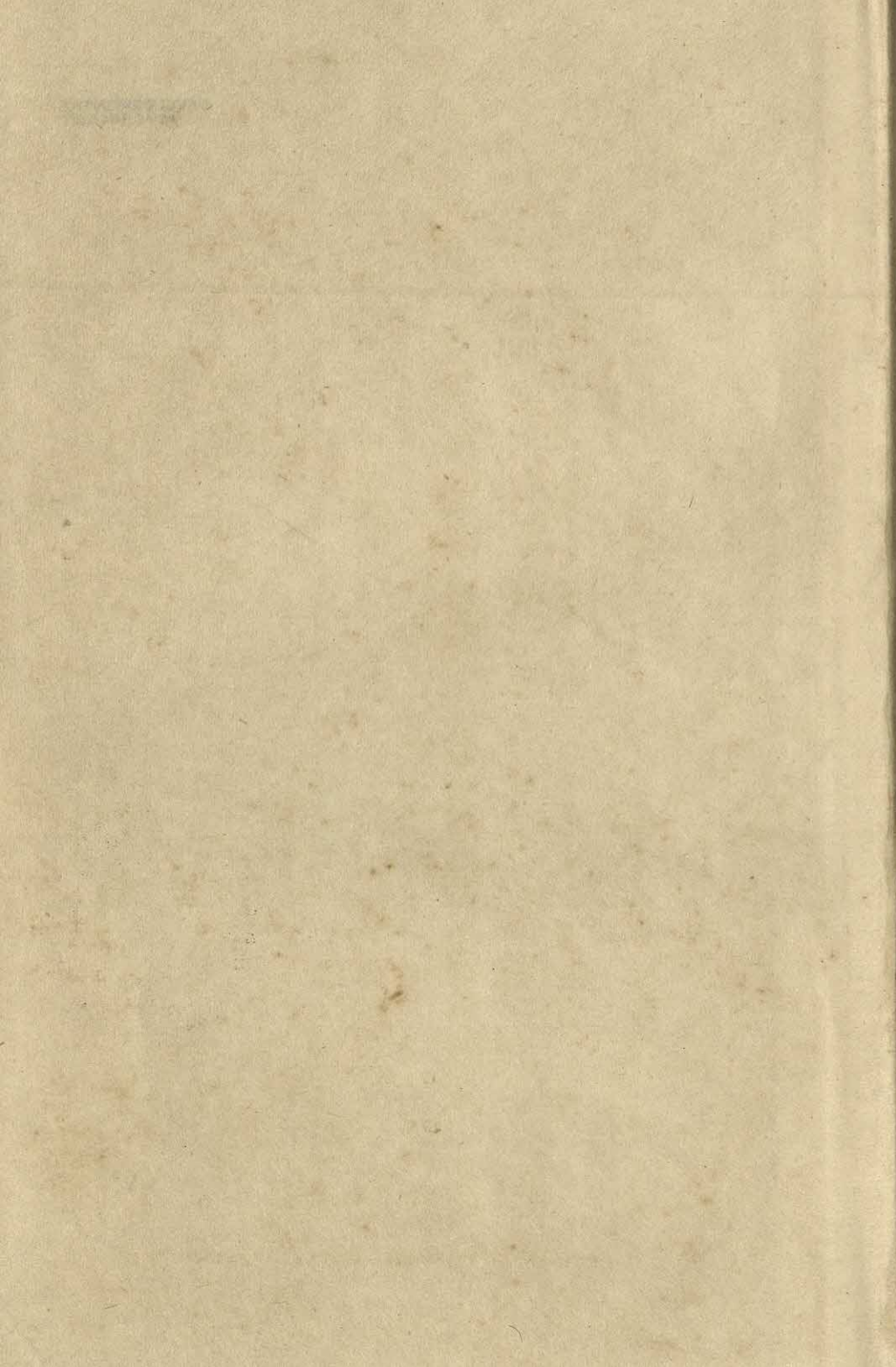
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**DEVELOPMENTAL
PSYCHOLOGY**



DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

THIRD EDITION

ELIZABETH B. HURLOCK, PH.D.
FELLOW, AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION



TATA MCGRAW-HILL PUBLISHING COMPANY LTD.

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DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

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TO MY DAUGHTER
GAIL McKNIGHT BECKMAN

CHAPTER 12: GAIL'S FIRST YEAR IN COLLEGE
CHAPTER 11: GAIL'S SECOND YEAR IN COLLEGE
CHAPTER 10: GAIL'S THIRD YEAR IN COLLEGE
CHAPTER 9: GAIL'S FOURTH YEAR IN COLLEGE
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FOR
PHOTOGRAPHS**

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In recent years, interest in research in human development has spread from studies of children and adolescents to studies of adults—young, middle-aged, and elderly. As a result, each subsequent revision of *Developmental Psychology* increases in length and broadens in scope. Covering the life span of the human being from conception to death—from “sperm to worm”—has become a gigantic task.

To keep the book within reasonable limits and to keep the chapters of approximately equal length to facilitate class assignments, it has been necessary to be highly selective in deciding what to include and what to omit. Therefore, no attempt has been made to give a complete picture of development at any one stage of the life span. Instead, the aim has been to give only a bird's-eye view of each important stage.

To make this bird's-eye view more meaningful to the reader, a similar pattern of treatment of the material has been used for each stage. Although this, unquestionably, leads to slight repetition, the cohesiveness of the material within a framework justifies it.

Even more important than cohesiveness in the pattern of treatment of the material presented throughout the book is the opportunity this arrangement provides to stress that at any stage of development it is essential to know what went on before and what is likely to happen in the future. This helps to dispel any delusion the reader may have that a particular pattern of behavior or an attitude “doesn't count.” Instead, it stresses that what a person does at one age leaves an indelible impression on his future attitudes and behavior—an impression which may never be completely eradicated.

Throughout the book, the major emphasis is on the pattern of development of the normal person. However, since many people deviate, in minor or major degrees, from the normal pattern, possible causes of these deviations as substantiated by

recent research studies will be suggested. Even with these deviations, there is a fundamental pattern of development that is similar for all. A presentation of this pattern is the main objective of this book.

Although the general format of this book is the same as it was in the original edition, which appeared in 1953, and in the first revision, which appeared in 1959, certain major changes have been made in this, the second, revision. These changes relate to focus, subject matter, and format.

In every chapter relating to the pattern of development for a particular age period, the reader's attention is first focused on the characteristics of the period and the developmental tasks the American culture of today expects the individual to master at that time. The widely accepted lists of developmental tasks compiled by Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago have served as a model for this.

Throughout the book, an attempt has been made to summarize the most important and the most conclusive of the recent research studies relating to different age levels. Some of these studies contradict the findings of earlier studies; some substantiate them. Because there has been a rapidly growing interest in investigating the needs and adjustment problems of adults of different ages, the chapters on early adulthood, middle, and old age have been greatly expanded to include the results of these studies. This is especially true of middle and old age—areas of growing concern as the life span of Americans lengthens for an increasingly large number of people.

The most important addition to the subject matter of the book has been the material related to happiness that has been included in the discussion of every age level. Not only has material been given to show what causes a particular age to be happy or unhappy, but also an attempt has been made to evaluate the period and to reach a conclusion about whether it is a happy or an unhappy period in the life span for the average person.

In format, less change has been made than in the

area of subject matter. The same major subdivisions of the life span are used for the different chapters as were used in the 1959 revision. Since these chapters have been expanded greatly for the later years of life, as new research has appeared, some shortening of the chapters related to childhood and adolescence has been necessary to keep the book within reasonable limits. This shortening is justified by the fact that there are many more books available covering the years of childhood and adolescence than there are books that cover the adult years.

The method used to identify the studies reported in the chapter is the same as that used in the first revision. Each chapter has its own bibliography, and, throughout the chapter, numbers are substituted for names of authors to identify the source or sources from which the material has come.

Because of the ever-increasing number of studies of development, an attempt was made to limit the bibliography at the end of every chapter to 250 references. To do this, many of the older studies were omitted, and the most recent studies of a specific area of development by a particular researcher were included. The reason for this method of selection was not that the newer studies are better than the older, but rather that the newer studies almost always give, in their bibliographies, references to the older studies, which the reader can use to trace the earlier studies. Similarly, most researchers refer to their earlier studies in their latest research. Hence, the reader can readily find these studies if he wishes.

In conclusion, I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to thank my colleagues in the American Psychological Association, but especially those in the Division on Developmental Psychology, for their many helpful criticisms and suggestions which I have used in making this revision. I also wish to thank the editors of textbooks, scientific journals, and news magazines for their permissions to reproduce some of their material and to use some of their illustrations in this book.

ELIZABETH B. HURLOCK

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Developmental psychology is the branch of psychology that studies the development of the human being from conception to death. Its major emphasis has been on finding out what are the common and characteristic age changes in appearance, in behavior, in interests, and in goals from one developmental period to another; when these changes occur; what causes them; and whether they are individual or universal (6,9,122).

DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY: A NEW AREA OF PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Early psychological research in the area of development was concentrated on specific age periods, not on the entire span of life. At first, interest in the study of development was limited to school children. Later, interest spread to those of preschool years, and still later to the newborn infant and the prenatal period. Shortly after World War I, research studies of the adolescent years began to appear in increasingly large numbers. Between then and World War II, there were some studies of the early adult years, but these were concentrated mainly on specific problems, such as intelligence and personality, not on the course of development (19,99).

As late as 1933, Miles lamented the absence of evidence about development during adulthood, middle age, and old age. As he pointed out (122):

Psychologists have exhibited great interest

in the first two and a half decades of life. Insofar as human behavior has been carefully measured and check-measured, attention has usually been directed to this segment of positive development. . . . Important as this work has been and now is, still it leaves five or six decades of human adult life relatively untouched. Maturity, later maturity, and senescence are still a realm for folklore, anecdote, and personal impression.

Since World War II, more and more attention has been focused on adulthood and on the later years of the life span. However, in spite of this, there are still gaps in our knowledge of the different psychological phenomena characteristic of the different age periods. In some instances, there are good pictures of age changes over a short span of time but not for the entire life span (19). In other instances, there is a fairly adequate picture of the beginning of different processes but not of the terminal stages. In time, as research continues, it will be possible to fill in these gaps and to know what age changes take place. Only in this way will it be possible to obtain a complete picture of what happens in human development as life progresses (9).

Reasons for Uneven Emphasis

There are two major reasons for the uneven emphases of developmental psychology. The first is that motivation to study different periods in the developmental pattern has been greatly influenced by desire to solve some practical problem or problems associated with those ages; and the second is that there are difficulties encountered in studying people at different stages in their development.

THE SOLVING OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS Research in the area of childhood, for example, was designed first to throw light on educational problems and, later, on problems relating to child-training methods (58,169). Interest in studying the newborn infant came largely from a desire to know what the birth equipment of the human being is as the starting point for his training (151). The practical problems of marital adjustment and the effects of broken homes on children have motivated extensive research in the period of adulthood.

Because an increasing number of people are now living to be sixty years of age and older and must face new personal and social problems, another area of research has opened up in recent years. Finally, the latest focus of research attention, middle age, is the outgrowth of the realization that good adjustment in the latter years of life has its foundation in the success with which the individual adjusts to the physical and psychological changes that normally occur in his middle years.

DIFFICULTIES IN MAKING STUDIES

Despite both popular and scientific interest in the different periods of the life span, research has been hindered by difficult and, at times, insuperable obstacles. Getting representative samplings of *subjects* has been relatively easy among school children and college students. In the case of the newborn infant, on the other hand, there is often strong parental objection on the grounds that the infant is so delicate that he might be permanently harmed if subjected to scientific investigation. Getting information from adults at any age level is extremely difficult because many refuse to be interviewed or tested (73). This difficulty increases with advancing

age, which is why so many of the studies relating to the latter years of life have been made on men and women living in institutions, people who unquestionably are not representative of the general population. Many middle-aged and elderly people are hesitant about being tested because they do not want to know, or let others know, what they have suspected—that they are "slipping."

Finding a satisfactory *method* for studying development has likewise proved to be a stumbling block to research (19). Up to the present time, most of the studies of development have been cross-sectional comparisons of the same abilities at different stages of development. As such, they do not give evidence about developmental trends or about intraindividual variability (99,139). Nor is it possible, when using cross-sectional comparisons, to assess the relative behavior constellations of individuals at an early age and similar behavior in adult life (58).

Even more serious, studies made by the cross-sectional approach do not take into account cultural changes. Instead, there is a tendency to interpret any changes that appear as age changes (99,144). A comparison of adolescents of today with members of the older generation, for example, has shown that there is a greater tendency for members of the older generation to consider extravagance as wrong than is true of adolescents. This might be interpreted to mean that members of the older generation have become rigid with age. In reality, the difference is one of cultural values. When members of the older generation were growing up, high value was placed on a prudent spending of money and on having a nest egg for the proverbial rainy day. Today, adolescents are growing up in a culture dominated by the

philosophy of "living up to the Joneses" and of "letting Uncle Sam take care of you when you can't take care of yourself" (144). Age differences in attitudes toward extravagance are shown in Figure 1-1.

Similarly, comparisons of old people with young adults have shown them to have fewer interests than the young adults. But this may be because the old people grew up at a time when fewer recreations, such as movies, sports, radio, and television, were available and when home duties gave them less time to cultivate interests. Thus, what appears to be a decline in interests with age may be only a difference in interests between two groups with different cultural and environmental backgrounds (102). Because of the rapid change in cultural values taking place at the present time, values of parents seem "old-fashioned" to their children. (See Figure 1-2).

In recent years, studies using the longitudinal method have appeared in larger numbers. But the time, effort, and money required to make such studies have militated against widespread usage (58,92,93, 99,111,135). The most extensive and best known of such studies is Terman's genetic study of genius, which traces the development of a group of individuals from preschool days to middle age (176). What few studies there have been of individuals from birth to adulthood have been invaluable because they bring out important facts that are often cloaked by averages in cross-sectional studies (115).

Making longitudinal studies is difficult unless the studies are started when the individuals are very young. A number of studies have been made on individuals in adolescence or even adulthood by filling in the gaps in their earlier lives by material gained from retrospective reports of their mothers. Data obtained in this way is

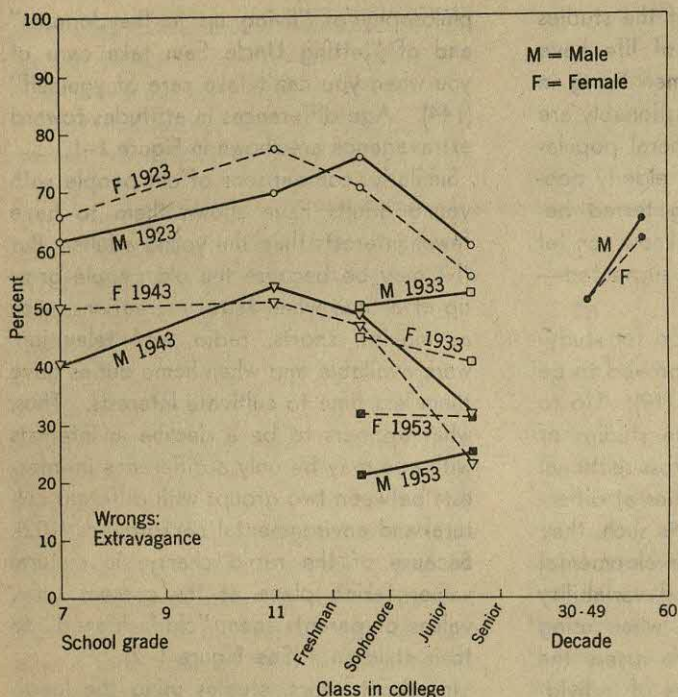


FIGURE 1-1 AGE DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EXTRAVAGANCE ARE OFTEN THE RESULTS OF CHANGES IN CULTURAL VALUES FROM ONE GENERATION TO ANOTHER. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. PRESSEY AND A. W. JONES: 1923-1953 AND 20-60 AGE CHANGES IN MORAL CODES, ANXIETIES, AND INTERESTS, AS SHOWN BY THE "X-O TESTS." *J. Psychol.*, 1955, 39, 485-502. USED BY PERMISSION.)

then used for comparison with the behavior patterns observed in the adolescents or adults (21,189,199).

The major problem involved in this technique is the accuracy of the data reported. Inaccuracies may result from forgetting or from conscious or unconscious attempts on the part of parents to present as favorable a picture of their children as possible. This is done by underestimating the undesirable characteristics of their children and overestimating the desirable (113,152,154,

192). Figure 1-3 shows inaccuracies in parental reports.

The reliability of data given in retrospective reports is greatly influenced by the affective content of this data (119,190, 200). In the case of relatively serious illness, for example, the mother's fear or anxiety causes her to give less reliable information than she would, had the illness been too minor to be emotionally disturbing to her. As time passes, she remembers it as more severe than it actually was (191).

Even when longitudinal studies are made by keeping reports about the individuals studied from the beginning of life, it is often essential to obtain data from parents or other untrained observers. Untrained observers tend to interpret what they observe in terms of their own attitudes and experiences instead of describing the individual's behavior. To avoid this source of inaccuracy, moving pictures are sometimes used as a method of obtaining data (139).

DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGES

"Development" means a progressive series of changes in an orderly, coherent pattern (62). It is a "process in which the internal physiological changes and the psychological processes stimulated by them are integrated (or responded to) in a way which enables the individual to master further, and anew, environmental stimulations.... There are two periods in life when changes of the organism put the individual's capacity to master these changes to a test—puberty and the climacteric" (22).

Development, Anderson has stressed, is not merely change in physical size or proportions, of adding inches to inches or ability to ability. Instead, development is a complex process of integrating many structures and functions. As he explains (8):

Changes occur in almost every relation within and without the human being. For our present purpose, we may call attention to the increased range of objects and experiences to which the growing person responds; to his increased strength, speed and motor skill; to his growing intellectual and problem solving capacity; to his greater ease in using language and communicating with others; to his



"I'm glad we had this man-to-man talk, Pop . . .
Some of your ideas were pretty old-fashioned!"

FIGURE 1-2 RAPID CHANGES IN CULTURAL VALUES MAKE MANY PARENTAL VALUES SEEM "OLD FASHIONED" TO THEIR CHILDREN. (ADAPTED FROM LICHTY: "GRIN AND BEAR IT," *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, NOV. 17, 1965. COPYRIGHT © 1965 BY PUBLISHERS NEWS-PAPER SYNDICATE; USED BY PERMISSION.)

enriched social life with its web of interrelations; and to his changed interests, activities, and values. From the dependence of infancy the person moves to the maturity and responsibility of adult life.

There are two essentially antagonistic processes in development which take place simultaneously throughout life—growth or evolution and atrophy or involution (96, 110). Both begin at conception and end at death. In the early years, growth predominates, even though atrophic changes occur as early as embryonic life. In the latter part of life, atrophy predominates, though growth continues as is shown in the

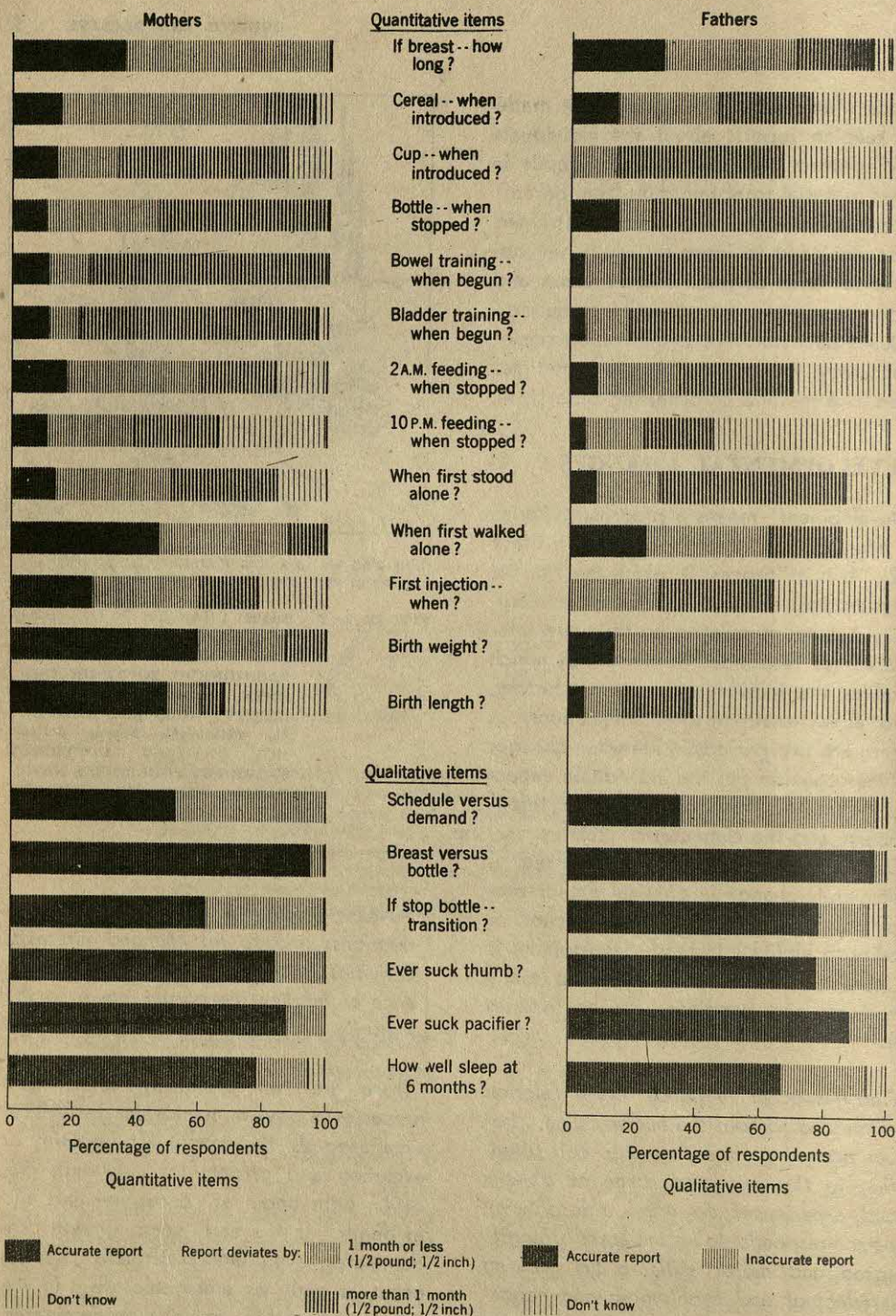


FIGURE 1-3 INACCURACIES IN PARENTAL REPORTS ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN. (ADAPTED FROM L. C. ROBBINS: THE ACCURACY OF PARENTAL RECALL OF ASPECTS OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND CHILD REARING PRACTICES. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1963, 66, 261-270. USED BY PERMISSION.)

growth of hair and in cellular replacements (40). With aging, some parts of the body and mind change more than others. Thus, the individual is not the same biologic age all over (161).

The human being is never static. From the moment of conception to the time of death, he is changing (105). The change from a microscopically small speck to an individual who measures from 5 feet or less to 6 feet or more and weighs somewhere between 85 and 250 pounds occurs in a fifth or less of the entire life span. To show how rapid the development is at first, increases in weight may be used as a criterion. From fertilization to birth, weight increases 11 million times. After birth, increases continue at a progressively slower rate until the late teens or early twenties when growth comes to a standstill (175).

Physical development does not necessarily mean increase in size. There are modifications of the composition of the body taking place constantly. In the baby, for example, gain in weight comes partly from increase in neural, glandular, and muscle tissue; in childhood, the gain comes principally from bone and muscle tissue; while in the adult years, the gain is from an accumulation of fat tissue (112). Changes in bodily size and functioning are accompanied by changes in mental capacity. For a half or more of the life span, there is a gradual but ever-perceptible increase in capacity, thus enabling the individual to adjust himself with greater and greater skill to his environment. Then, at varying times from the middle to the latter part of the life span, a period of contraction or decline starts. As a rule, physical decline precedes mental.

Typically, the pattern of human life is that of a bell-shaped curve, rising abruptly at the start, then flattening out to some

extent during the middle years, only to decline slowly or abruptly toward the closing years of the life span. At no time can this pattern be represented by a straight line, though plateau periods of short or long duration may be found in the curves for different capacities (96).

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGES

In spite of the fact that changes of a physical or psychological sort are constantly taking place, the individual may not be aware of them. The changes of old age occur at a much slower pace than the changes of childhood and adolescence. They still require readjustments on the individual's part, but because these readjustments can be made more slowly than developmental changes, they may not be recognized by others or even by the individual himself.

When changes are rapid, on the other hand, the individual is only too well aware of them, as are others (96). During the puberty growth spurt at the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence, such comments as "My, how you have grown since I last saw you!" are evidence of how others notice these changes. The pubescent child is also well aware of the changes which necessitate a constant shifting to larger clothes and a relearning of muscle skills to counteract the awkwardness that comes from a sudden lengthening of the bones and muscles.

Likewise, in senescence, when the downward movement begins to speed up, the individual is aware of the fact that his health is "failing" and that his mind is "slipping." These changes necessitate constant readjustments in the scheduled pattern of his life. He must slow down as the incapacities and infirmities of old age catch up with him.

Factors Influencing Attitudes

When the individual is aware of the changes that are taking place, he develops definite attitudes toward these changes. Whether his attitudes will be favorable or unfavorable will depend primarily on how the changes affect his behavior, his appearance, and the attitudes of others in his culture toward him.

EFFECTS OF BEHAVIOR It is difficult to have a favorable attitude toward the changes that occur during puberty when these changes result in awkwardness, general fatigue, and a tendency to be snappy and irritable without any real cause. On the other hand, changes are welcome when, as the body reaches its adult size and proportions at the end of the puberty growth spurt, the young adolescent finds that his muscular strength is greatly increased and his energy is boundless.

Changes which occur in the later years of life are accompanied by behavioral changes that are far from welcome. Not only is the individual able to do less than was possible when he was younger, but also, and even worse, he is well aware of the fact that these changes are not temporary; he knows that subsequent changes will have even more damaging effects on his behavior. Because these changes suggest that his life is drawing to a close, they are unwelcome. As a result, the individual is likely to shut his eyes to them as long as he can or to minimize their severity.

EFFECTS OF APPEARANCE Some changes improve the individual's appearance, while others have the opposite effect. Knowing how important a role "looks" play in social relationships, the individual will welcome changes which are

accompanied by improvement in looks, while those that detract from his attractiveness will be unwelcome to him. The adolescent, for example, welcomes the changes that have corrected the facial and bodily disproportions that made him homely as a child. However, the "fair, fat, and forty" appearance that characterizes the middle-aged man or woman is never welcome. As each new change occurs, whether it be the addition of fat in areas where fat is never wanted—around the abdomen, over the hips, or under the chin—the necessity for wearing glasses or using a hearing aid, the wrinkling of the skin or the graying of the hair, the individual becomes increasingly more resentful of these changes in his appearance and does all within his power to camouflage them.

EFFECTS OF CULTURAL ATTITUDES How the cultural group feels about the changes that take place at different times in the life span tends to have a marked influence on the individual's attitudes toward these changes. Knowing that adulthood is a time when privileges and independence are granted to the individual, the child eagerly welcomes each new change which brings him nearer and nearer to the longed-for goal of maturity (117).

However, he discovers that even though he looks like an adult, he is not treated as one. Instead, he finds himself in the no-man's-land of adolescence where he has neither the status of a child nor the status of an adult. This ambiguity of status, not found in primitive and many civilized cultures, has a detrimental effect on the favorable attitude the American child had earlier toward changes associated with growing up (117).

This is further affected by the realization

that in our culture there is a widely held stereotype of an unfavorable sort of the "teen-ager" (23,80). Adolescence is a time in life when the individual is vitally concerned with how others regard him and how their assessment of him compares with his assessment of himself; therefore, it is difficult for the young adolescent to have a favorable attitude toward the changes which have taken place in his appearance and behavior when he knows that the cultural attitude toward them is unfavorable (66). How this unfavorable cultural stereotype affects the adolescent's attitude toward his changed self has been explained thus by Sorenson (170):

The excessive publicizing of that fraction of our young people who deviate from the society's norms of behavior, and of their counter-parts in other countries, and the mass media treatment of teenagers in general present a distorted and derogatory image of youth in our culture which adds to the prevalent adult uneasiness about youth and ignorance of its lot in society today. Because youth gets a bad press, it has reaped a poor public image. This affects youth's self-esteem. Need we be surprised if some young people choose to live up to this billing?

Older people are as aware as teen-agers are of the unfavorable cultural attitude toward their age group. They recognize that they are regarded as out of step with the times, that their days of usefulness to society have passed, and that they are considered a "burden" on their relatives and friends as well as on society at large (76,117,158).

Recognition of the unfavorable cultural attitudes toward aging has led to attempts to find a method which will rejuvenate the

individual whose appearance and behavior show the characteristic signs of aging. Attempts at rejuvenation have included drinking from the "fountains of youth" believed to exist in different parts of the world, transplanting monkey glands into aging human bodies, or administering sex hormones in different forms to men and women whose sexual adequacy has started to wane. To date, none of these attempts has proved to be successful. As Scheinfeld has pointed out, the "Ponce de Leons remain as far from their Fountain of Youth as ever" (158).

THE LIFE SPAN

The length of the life span varies from individual to individual, from culture to culture, and from time to time in the history of the world. Today, American men and women, on the average, live longer than men and women of any other country and longer than men and women in the United States in past generations. In 1900, for example, the life expectancy for white males was 48.2 years and for white females, 51 years. By 1965, the life expectancy for white males had risen to 67.55 years and for white females, to 74.19 years (132,158,174). See Figure 1-4.

This increase in life expectancy can be well illustrated by comparing the number of people of 65 years of age and older now with the numbers of those in the past. In 1900, 4.1 percent of our population was 65 years of age or older; in 1960, the percentage had increased to 9.2. Even more startling is the increase in actual numbers. In 1900, there were about 3 million people in the United States who were 65 years of age or older; in 1960, there were 16.5 million—more than a fivefold increase (171,174). See Figure 1-5.

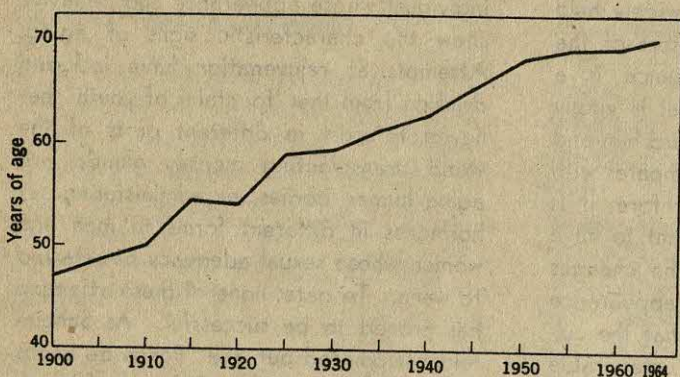


FIGURE 1-4 LIFE EXPECTANCY, WHICH ROSE RAPIDLY DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THIS CENTURY, STARTED TO LEVEL OFF AFTER 1950. (BASED ON DATA FROM THE U.S. BUREAU OF CENSUS. USED BY PERMISSION.)

How long a given individual will live will be determined more by his general physical condition than by any one specific factor (177). As Carlson (158) has explained:

The hereditary time clock or power of living varies considerably in different organs of the individual, and since all organs are more or less necessary for living, the weakest organ becomes the weakest link and thus determines the life span of the individual.

Variations in Life Expectancy

Because life expectancy is greatly influenced by the general physical condition of the individual, it is understandable that there would be marked variations in how long different people live. *Women*, as a group, outlive men (157). Because the life expectancy for women is greater than for men—74.19 years for women as compared with 67.55 for men—the ratio of men to

women in the age groups above 65 years is 85.7 to 100 (130,132,177). The excess of females over males at different age levels in 1950 is shown in Figure 1-6.

The life expectancy for *nonwhites* is less than that for whites. In the case of female nonwhites, it is 71.78, and for the males, 67.01. This compares with 74.19 for white females and 67.55 for white males (132). There is evidence that life expectancy is influenced by *hereditary endowment*. In some families, longevity prevails; in others, a shorter life span is characteristic (96, 158). The *socioeconomic level* of the family has been reported be a factor of no small significance in determining what the life span of the individual will be. Scheinfeld has suggested the following formula: "The higher the income and social level, the lower the mortality rate and the longer the average life span; the lower the income and social level, the higher the mortality rate, and the shorter the average life span." (158).

The length of the life span has been

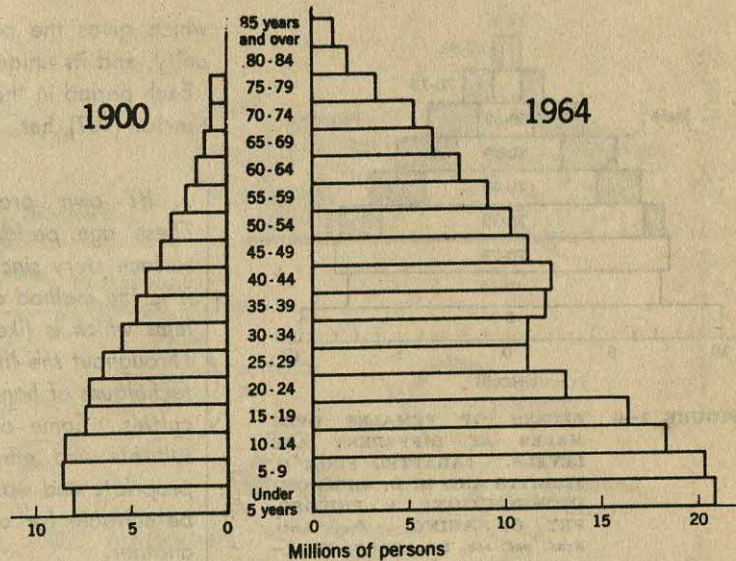


FIGURE 1-5 THERE HAS BEEN A PROPORTIONALLY GREATER INCREASE AMONG CHILDREN AND THE ELDERLY SINCE 1900 THAN IN ANY OTHER AGE GROUPS. (BASED ON DATA FROM THE U.S. BUREAU OF CENSUS. USED BY PERMISSION.)

found to be associated with the number of *school years completed*. People with more formal education tend to have better survival risks up to the middle years and poorer risks in the latter years of life than those less well educated (185). Closely related to this is the type of work the person does in the *educational hierarchy* (158). This is illustrated in Figure 1-7.

Throughout the country, the life span of both men and women is greater in *urban* than in rural areas (171). White males and females born in the West and North Central states have the greatest life expectancy, while, for nonwhites, those born in the Pacific states, in Alaska, and in Hawaii have the greatest (132). On the whole, *married men* and women live longer than do those who are single (158). Those who

are 25 percent or more *overweight* or those who, as young people, are markedly *underweight*, have a shorter life span than do those whose body builds more closely approach the norm (132).

Improved *prenatal* and *postnatal care*, better *nutrition*, modern *medical methods*, *accident-prevention* measures, habits of work and rest, *levels of aspiration*, *speed of living*, the ability to tolerate *stress and strain*, *climate*, the *age of the mother* at the time of the individual's birth, and a host of other factors have been found to influence life expectancy (96,141,158,177).

How long a given individual will live is impossible to predict. However, Scheinfeld (158) has suggested that, if three factors are taken into consideration, a *general prediction* is possible. According to him,

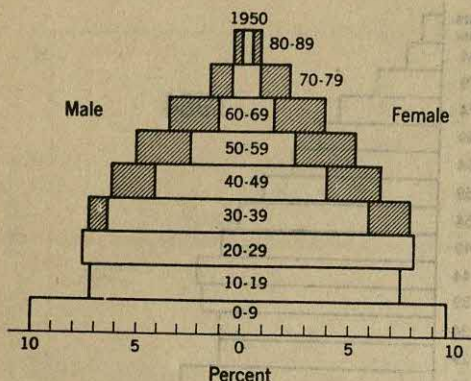


FIGURE 1-6 EXCESS OF FEMALES OVER MALES AT DIFFERENT AGE LEVELS. (ADAPTED FROM C. TIBBITTS AND H. D. SHELDON: INTRODUCTION: A PHILOSOPHY OF AGING. *Ann. Amer. Acad. pol. soc. Sci.*, 1952, 279, 1-10. USED BY PERMISSION.)

How long you, personally, may expect to live depends on these principal influences: First, environment—the way in which you were started off in life and the conditions under which you lived thereafter and live now. Second, your inherited vigor or weakness (as applied both to specific diseases and defects and to general resistance factors), with particular attention to your sex. And, third, luck.

PERIODS IN THE LIFE SPAN

Regardless of how short or long the total life span may be, it falls into stages or periods. As Feldman has pointed out, "Human life proceeds by stages. The life periods of the individual are no less real and significant than the geographical ages of the earth or the evolutionary stages of life.... Each stage is distinguished by a dominant feature, a leading characteristic,

which gives the period its coherence, its unity, and its uniqueness" (54).

Each period in the life span, according to Lawton (107), has

...its own problems of adjustment. These age periods are related, not in surface story since the problems change; it is the method of attacking these problems which is likely to remain the same. Throughout the life span, people develop techniques of handling each of their difficulties. Some of these techniques are suitable and efficient, others are inappropriate and wasteful, or a method may be suitable for one age period and not another.

The life span, when divided according to the forms of development and patterns of behavior characteristically found at these predictable ages, falls into eleven periods. The periods and their approximate ages are:

Prenatal: conception to birth.

Infancy: birth to the end of the second week.

Babyhood: end of the second week to end of the second year.

Early childhood: two to six years.

Late childhood: six to ten or twelve years.

Puberty or preadolescence: ten or twelve to thirteen or fourteen years.

Early adolescence: thirteen or fourteen to seventeen years.

Late adolescence: seventeen to twenty-one years.

Early adulthood: twenty-one to forty years.

Middle age: forty to sixty years.

Old age or senescence: sixty years to death.

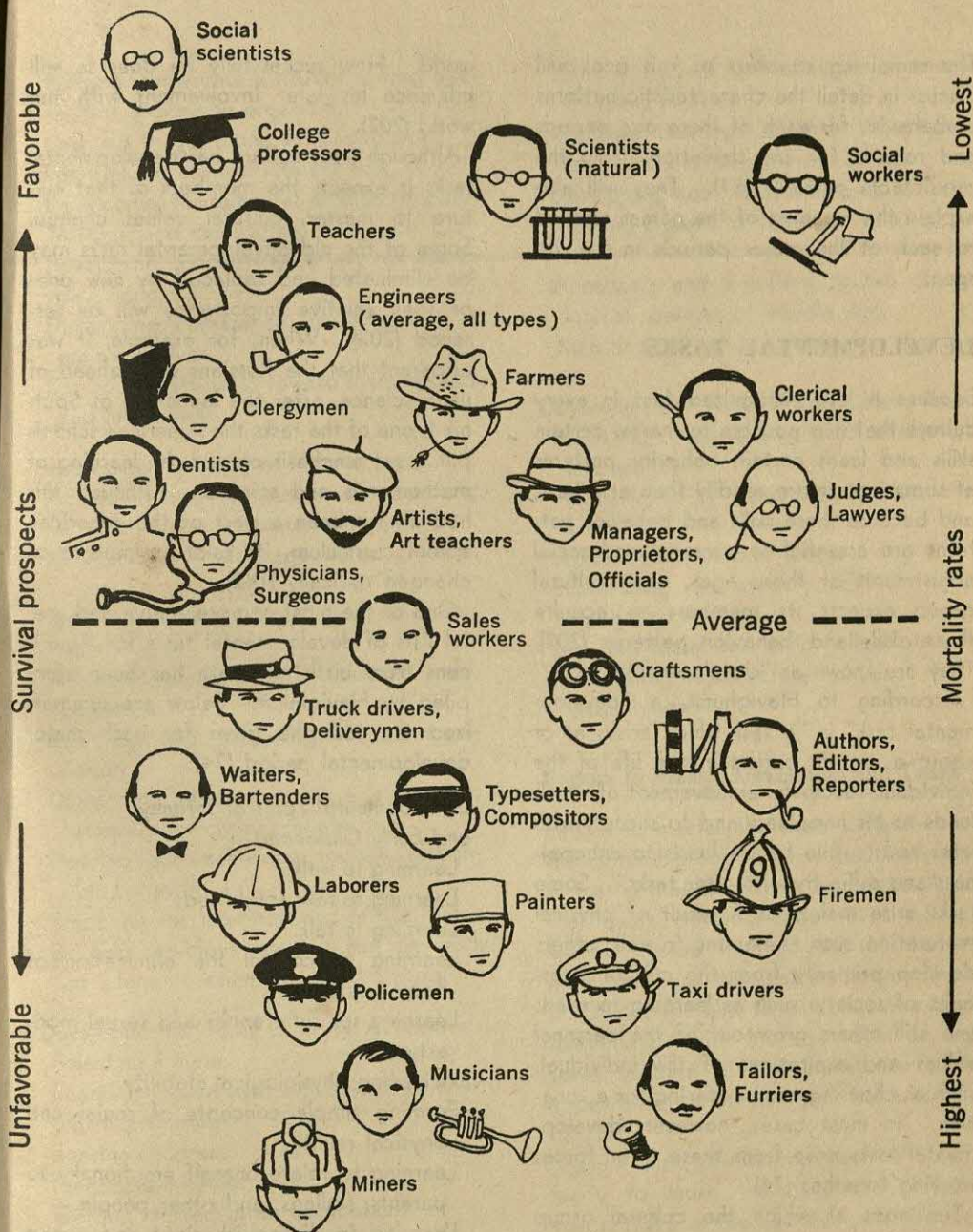


FIGURE 1-7 LONGEVITY IN MEN IS RELATED TO THE TYPE OF WORK THEY DO. (ADAPTED FROM A. SCHEINFELD: JOBS AND DEATH RATES. *Your heredity and environment*. COPYRIGHT © 1965 BY ANRAM SCHEINFELD; COPYRIGHT 1939, 1950 BY ANRAM SCHEINFELD. PHILADELPHIA: LIPPINCOTT, 1965. USED BY PERMISSION.)

The remaining chapters of this book will discuss in detail the characteristic patterns of behavior for each of these age periods and reasons for any deviations from the predictable patterns (51). They will also explain the meaning of the names applied to each of the major periods in the life span.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

Because it is a recognized fact in every culture that it is possible to master certain skills and learn certain behavior patterns at some ages more readily than at others, and because these skills and behavior patterns are essential to personal and social adjustments at those ages, each cultural group expects its members to acquire these skills and behavior patterns (202). They are known as "developmental tasks."

According to Havighurst, a "developmental task" is "a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness and difficulty with later tasks." Some tasks arise mainly as a result of physical maturation, such as learning to walk; others develop primarily from the cultural pressures of society, such as learning to read; and still others grow out of the personal values and aspirations of the individual, such as choosing and preparing for a vocation. In most cases, however, developmental tasks arise from these three forces working together (74).

The ages at which the cultural group expects its members to master the developmental tasks for that age are "critical ages." During critical periods, maturational factors predispose the individual to acquire certain basic orientations to the

world. How successfully he does so will influence his later involvement with the world (202).

Although each culture has developmental tasks it expects the members of that culture to master, cultural values change. Some of the old developmental tasks may be eliminated and replaced by new ones or their relative importance will be lessened (202). When, for example, it was apparent that the Russians were ahead of us in science, after the launching of Sputnik I, one of the tasks the American schools put great emphasis on was the learning of mathematics and science. Although this had always been a part of the American school curriculum, its relative importance changed radically (142).

One of the most comprehensive and useful lists of developmental tasks for Americans from birth to death has been compiled by Havighurst. Below are summarized the tasks he gives for each major developmental period (74):

Developmental Tasks of Infancy and Early Childhood

Learning to walk.

Learning to take solid foods.

Learning to talk.

Learning to control the elimination of body wastes.

Learning sex differences and sexual modesty.

Achieving physiological stability.

Forming simple concepts of social and physical reality.

Learning to relate oneself emotionally to parents, siblings, and other people.

Learning to distinguish right and wrong and developing a conscience.

Developmental Tasks of Middle Childhood

Learning physical skills necessary for ordinary games.

Building wholesome attitudes toward oneself as a growing organism.

Learning to get along with age-mates.

Learning an appropriate sex role.

Developing fundamental skills in reading, writing, and calculating.

Developing concepts necessary for everyday living.

Developing conscience, morality, and a scale of values.

Developing attitudes toward social groups and institutions.

Developmental Tasks of Adolescence

Accepting one's physique and accepting a masculine or feminine role.

New relations with age-mates of both sexes.

Emotional independence of parents and other adults.

Achieving assurance of economic independence.

Selecting and preparing for an occupation.

Developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence.

Desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior.

Preparing for marriage and family life.

Building conscious values in harmony with an adequate scientific world-picture.

Developmental Tasks of Early Adulthood

Selecting a mate.

Learning to live with a marriage partner.

Starting a family.

Rearing children.

Managing a home.

Getting started in an occupation.

Taking on civic responsibility.

Finding a congenial social group.

Developmental Tasks of Middle Age

Achieving adult civic and social responsibility.

Establishing and maintaining an economic standard of living.

Assisting teen-age children to become responsible and happy adults.

Developing adult leisure-time activities.

Relating oneself to one's spouse as a person.

Accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age.

Adjusting to aging parents.

Developmental Tasks of Later Maturity

Adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health.

Adjusting to retirement and reduced income.

Adjusting to death of spouse.

Establishing an explicit affiliation with age group.

Meeting social and civic obligations.

Establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements.

Failure to Master Developmental Tasks

Failure to master the developmental tasks the cultural group expects each individual to master may stem from *retardation* in the individual's developmental level. This is well illustrated in the case of the late maturer whose physical immaturity makes it difficult for him to establish new social relationships with his age-mates of both sexes because of the immaturity of his appearance, interests, and behavior (92, 129, 202).

Failure may result from *lack of opportunity to learn* the approved developmental tasks for the age level. Institutional children, for example, who have little handling by attendants have been reported to be slow in creeping, sitting, and standing as compared with babies brought up in their own homes where opportunities to

learn motor skills are not only given but encouraged (48,202).

More often, however, failure to master developmental tasks comes from *lack of motivation* on the individual's part (128, 202). A society that grants high status to older people provides them with a motivation to continue to function socially on a high level in spite of declining structural basis for the functioning. In a "youth-oriented society" that devalues age and denies the elderly an opportunity for social functioning, the motivation to continue to function at a high level will be greatly weakened (75). This is illustrated in Figure 1-8.

In commenting on the effects of role conflicts in weakening motivation to master the socially approved developmental tasks, Riesman (149) has pointed out:

My concern is that young people today, by playing it cool and fearing to be thought squares, may create a style of life, not only in work but in every dimension of existence, which is less full, less committed, less complex, and less meaningful than mid-century opportunities allow.

Importance of Developmental Tasks

Developmental tasks serve two very useful purposes. *First*, they are guidelines to enable the individual to know what society expects of him at a given age. Parents of a young child, for example, can be guided in their teaching him different skills by the knowledge that society will expect him to master them at certain ages and that his adjustments will be greatly influenced by how successfully he masters these developmental tasks.

The *second* important purpose develop-

mental tasks serve is to show the individual what lies ahead and what he will be expected to do when he reaches the next stage of development in the life span. Young adults, preoccupied with rearing children, can look ahead and see that one of the developmental tasks of middle age is to develop adult leisure-time activities to replace the time formerly spent on rearing children when their children grow up and leave home.

Because adjustment to a new situation is always difficult and is always accompanied by emotional tension of minor or major severity, much of this difficulty and stress can be eliminated by knowing what will come next and by preparing gradually for it. Just as the child who learns some of the social skills needed for the new social life of adolescence will find adjustment to members of the opposite sex easier when he reaches adolescence, so will the young adult find the transition into middle age easier and less stressful if he gradually cultivates adult leisure-time activities as his parental responsibilities lessen.

SIGNIFICANT FACTS ABOUT DEVELOPMENT

Studies of development have revealed certain fundamental and predictable facts so important to the understanding of the pattern of development that they are worthy of serious attention. These facts are: (1) childhood is the foundation period of life; (2) development comes from maturation and learning; (3) development follows a definite and predictable pattern; (4) all individuals are different; (5) each phase of development has characteristic traits; and (6) there are traditional beliefs about individuals of different ages.

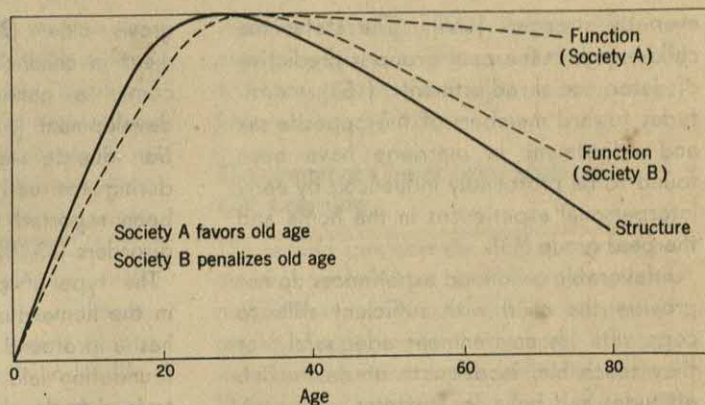


FIGURE 1-8 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE THROUGH THE LIFE SPAN IS INFLUENCED BY SOCIETY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS CAPACITIES. (ADAPTED FROM R. J. HAVIGHURST: *THE SOCIAL COMPETENCE OF MIDDLE-AGED PEOPLE. Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1957, 56, 297-375. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Childhood Is the Foundation Period of Life

During the early years of life, attitudes, habits, and patterns of behavior are established which will determine, to a large extent, how successfully the individual will be able to adjust to life as he grows older (64). There is much truth in the old Chinese saying, "Just as the twig is bent, the tree is inclined." Because of the plasticity of his physical and nervous structures, the human child is capable of learning and can develop more varied types of adjustment than are possible in animals (137).

Numerous studies of adolescents, as well as young and old adults, have emphasized the importance of childhood as the foundation period for different physical and psychological traits. Studies of obesity, for example, have revealed that over-

weight adults are the product of eating habits established early in life and of over-protection during their childhood years. Similarly, the role which the child plays in the family and in the peer group will determine whether he develops into a leader or a follower (13,35). People who are "self-bound" have had childhood experiences which have made them incapable of affectionate interchange with others (2,28). The limited interests of middle-aged and elderly people today are due not to mental deterioration but rather to the lack of opportunity to develop a wide range of interests when they were children (77,144).

The *basic personality pattern* of the individual is set during the early years of life (95,99). In fact, personality traits of men and women in later life have been found to be so similar to those of their childhood days that they can readily be identified

even by strangers (165). The status the child enjoys in the peer group is predictive of later social adjustments (153). Attitudes toward members of the opposite sex and adjustment in marriage have been found to be profoundly influenced by early interpersonal experiences in the home and the peer group (43).

Unfavorable childhood experiences do not provide the child with sufficient skills to cope with his environment adequately, or they teach him inadequate or destructive attitudes and behavior patterns. As a result, he feels inadequate to cope with the demands of society and makes poor social adjustments (10). Studies of adults in mental hospitals have shown that, as children, they had symptoms of withdrawal, shyness, listlessness, excessive daydreaming, and seclusiveness. They had few relations with others and showed little interest in them (59). Many showed signs of anomie or social disorganization (10,119,147). As Lane and Albee have pointed out, "Schizophrenia has its roots in early childhood" (106).

Serious behavior problems seldom arise abruptly in adolescence or adulthood but trace their origin to maladjustment in the early years (65,149). On the other hand, well-adjusted children, with few exceptions, develop into well-adjusted adolescents and adults.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING EARLY FOUNDATIONS Early unfavorable *interpersonal relationships*, especially with the mother, have a marked influence on the type of foundation laid. When mothers are tense or nervous, or when they try to compensate for negative feelings toward their babies, the child often makes poor personal and social adjustments as he

grows older (79,134,138,168). *Bereavement* in childhood, especially when it becomes a general trauma, affects later development (11,31). *Emotional deprivation* due to separation from the mother during the early years of childhood has been reported to cause later personality disorders (32,198).

The type of *child-training method* used in the home during the early years of life has a profound influence on the type of foundation laid (188). Children who are trained to develop a sense of responsibility have been reported to be academic achievers; those who are allowed to do much as they please often develop into academic underachievers (160).

The *ordinal position* of the child in the family and his relationships with his parents and siblings lay the foundations for later personality development (29,69). For example, as adults, firstborns have been reported to be less self-confident, to conform more, to be more efficient problem solvers in group situations, and to become more often the official leaders in their work groups than do those who are later born (164).

PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE IN FOUNDATIONS Despite the fact that the foundations are laid during the early years, changes can and do occur as the life cycle progresses. Early patterns are not, therefore, unchangeable, though they tend more often to be persistent than to change. This was recognized even in medieval writings when it was pointed out that "a childish dislike lasts longer than childhood" (143).

There are three conditions under which change is likely to occur. The *first* we will consider is guidance and help in making

the change. If, for example, parents believe that a child is born left-handed, they will not try to guide him into using his right hand. If, on the other hand, they accept the belief that handedness is a habit, they will make every possible effort to encourage the child to use his right hand in preference to his left (81).

Second, early foundations can be modified and changed when there is a change in attitudes toward and treatment of the individual by significant people in his life. A child brought up in a home where parents believe that children should be "seen but not heard," can be encouraged to express himself more freely if he has a teacher who makes him feel that he has something to contribute to the group.

Unfortunately, during the early years of life when the attitudes and behavior patterns are developed into habitual forms, the parents are more dominant in the child's life than teachers or peers. The way they treat the child, it has been found, tends to be persistent, with the result that the individual, as he grows older, continues to view the world and to react to it under the guidance of those early-developed patterns (20,57).

The third condition which can bring about changes in the foundations laid early in life is a strong motivation on the part of the individual to make the change. When behavior is rewarded by social approval, there is little motivation to make the change. When, on the other hand, behavior meets with social disapproval, there will be a strong motivation to change. This is well illustrated in the case of dependency. Because dependency is regarded as sex-appropriate for girls, girls have little motivation to learn to be independent. Boys, on the other hand, soon

discover that dependency is regarded as a sign of a "sissy." This provides them with the necessary motivation to try to be more independent (95,124).

Development Comes from Maturation and Learning

The second fundamental fact about human development is that it comes from both maturation and learning. "Learning" means development that comes through exercise and effort on the individual's part. "Maturation" is the "net sum of the gene effects operating in a self-limited life cycle." (62). It is the unfolding of traits inherent in the individual.

Attempts to control the environment of the individual so as to prevent him from having an opportunity to learn have been few in number but have provided significant findings. The elimination of opportunities for practice in reaching, sitting, and standing, for example, has shown little influence on the development of these abilities (47). In *phylogenetic* functions, or functions common to the race, such as crawling, creeping, sitting, and walking, training is of little importance, while in *ontogenetic* functions, or functions which are specific to the individual, such as roller skating, swimming, or tricycle riding, training is essential to the acquisition of the skill (116).

Maturation and learning are interrelated causes of development, the one aiding or retarding the other. Maturation provides the raw material for learning and determines the more general patterns and sequences of the individual's behavior. As Kelly has explained (99):

Beginning with the complex structures and functions provided by its unique genetic

constitution, each organism, while maintaining its organic integrity and a considerable residue of its original nature, moves through its maturational cycle adapting to and permitting itself to be modified by selected aspects of its immediate environment. These adaptive changes, occurring most rapidly in the years of infancy and childhood, are so appropriately timed that they do not threaten the organism either physiologically or psychologically.

The patterns of behavior developed through learning will be determined largely by cultural influences. Through child training in the home and through social pressures from the peer group and society in general, patterns of behavior approved by the cultural group are being learned throughout life (74,127). Unfavorable environmental influences may retard the individual's development or keep traits potentially present from developing to their maximum.

SIGNIFICANCE OF INTERRELATIONSHIP Three important facts emerge from our present knowledge of the interrelationship of maturation and learning as the causes of development. *First*, because humans are capable of learning, variation is possible. Individual differences in personality, attitudes, interests, and patterns of behavior come not from maturation alone but from maturation and learning (145,197). *Second*, maturation sets limits beyond which development cannot progress even with the most favorable learning methods and the strongest motivation on the part of the learner (63). This point has been stressed by Cattell et al. when they said, "All learning and adjustment is lim-

ited by inherent properties of the organism" (41).

The *third* important fact about the interrelation between maturation and learning is that it establishes a "timetable" for learning. The individual cannot learn until he is ready. "Developmental readiness" is the "individual's state of preparedness with some one or more areas of functioning" (25). In studies of ability to perceive the comic, for example, it has been reported that there is an increase in the number of objects or situations perceived as humorous with maturation of intelligence and with increased experience (68).

Developmental readiness provides the "teachable moment when the task should be learned" (74). Gross physical development, for example, has been found to be accompanied by the ability to manipulate the parts of the body that have grown (67). If the "teachable moment" has not arrived, forcing the child to learn will not only lead to failure on the child's part and wasted time and effort for the teacher, but it will result in negativistic, resistant behavior which will militate against successful learning when the child is ready (25). As Scott (159) has pointed out:

Any attempt to teach a child or animal at too early a period of development may result in his learning bad habits, or simply in his learning "not to learn," either of which results may greatly handicap him in later life.

Trying to teach a child to read, for example, before his spontaneous vocalizations have developed, will often dampen his interest in reading (87). Similarly forced toilet training often results in enuresis (126). Many underachievers in school

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and college are the products of forced learning on the part of overly zealous parents (140).

Equally as bad is delaying the opportunity to learn by depriving the child of learning opportunities, by underestimating the child's abilities, or by harboring misconceptions or cultural biases concerning the "right time" to learn. Motivation, so essential for learning, then lags to the point where learning is hindered (72,74).

That opportunity to learn when the individual is ready is important has been emphasized by Harris when he said, "It is possible, indeed likely, that a person who comes late to his training will never realize the full measure of his potential" (72). This has been well illustrated in the case of institutionalized children. If they are in institutions during the early years of their lives when speech development normally progresses rapidly, they tend to lag behind their age-mates in their communication skills and to lag behind their own potentials (70). Thus, it is apparent that Wishik was right when he said, "It is not so much *what we do as when we do it*" (197).

DETERMINATION OF READINESS How, one may ask, is it possible to know *when* to teach an individual what the cultural group expects him to learn? A number of readiness tests are available to help the teacher to know when children are ready to learn to read, to do arithmetic, or to study a foreign language. However, they are of little value to parents during the early, formative years of a child's life, before he goes to school. And they are of little value to people of any age who want to know if they are ready to learn something not specifically related to the school curriculum.

Three practical and easily applied criteria of readiness can be used in place of the standardized readiness tests which are meant primarily for school use. These criteria are: (1) the individual's interest in learning as indicated by his desire to be taught or his attempts to teach himself; (2) the continuation of this interest, even when he runs into minor obstacles in learning; and (3) progress with practice, even though this progress may be slight and fitful at times. When the individual's interest wanes or when he makes little or no progress, in spite of efforts on his part to learn, it is evident that the state of readiness, so essential to learning, is not present.

Development Follows a Definite and Predictable Pattern

Every species, whether animal or human, has a pattern of development which is normal for the species. Although individual differences exist within a species, these differences are, for the most part, slight and do not appreciably influence the general trend of development (63). By observing a group of individuals over a number of years, it is possible to see the genetic sequences in different areas of development and to note similarities in the patterns of development from one individual to another.

In *physical development*, there are many evidences of the orderly, predictable pattern of growth. During prenatal life, the pattern of development follows the *cephalocaudal sequence*, which means that improvements in structure as well as in control of different areas of the body come first in the head region, then in the trunk, and last, in the leg region. The same sequence is found in postnatal development.

A.G.E.R.T. West Bengal

Date

Acc. No. 5857





FIGURE 1-9 THE LAWS OF DEVELOPMENTAL DIRECTION. (ADAPTED FROM E. L. VINCENT AND P. C. MARTIN: *Human psychological development*. RONALD, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Not only do the structures in the head region develop sooner than those in the leg region, but motor control comes first in the upper areas of the body and last in the lower areas (6,63). This is illustrated in Figure 1-9.

Studies of puberty changes show that the pattern of development is regular and predictable for the two sexes. Not only do the sex organs of boys and girls grow and become functionally mature in much the same manner for all individuals of a given sex, but the secondary sex characteristics also appear in a patterned order (101,172).

At middle age, when the reproductive life ends with the menopause in women and the climacteric in men, there is ample evidence that individuals are following a pattern that is similar for all members of the same sex: that is, a slowing down of the sexual functions accompanied by a lessening in sexual desire, and finally, an end of both (120,136). As old age approaches, the process of deterioration like-

wise follows a pattern of structural change that is similar for all people (76,158).

Longitudinal studies have revealed that maturing *intellectually* is a "dynamic succession of developing functions, with the more advanced and complex functions in the hierarchy depending on the prior maturing of earlier, simpler ones" (17). The pattern of intellectual growth up to fifty years of age, for a group of gifted individuals, is illustrated in Figure 1-10. This pattern shows little change after twenty years but a slight rise up to fifty years. In the pattern of intellectual development, memory precedes reasoning, with abstract reasoning following concrete (89,135).

In *behavioral* development, there is ample evidence of a common pattern in all individuals. As Ames and Ilg have pointed out, "Behavior, like physical structure, has shape and pattern, and also like physical structure, it grows through a series of patterned, predictable changes" (6). These behavior patterns may differ in manner of expression and in timing, but they are consistent in basic structure and sequence from one individual to another.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERN The pattern of human development is *continuous*. From the moment of conception to the time of death, changes are taking place, sometimes rapidly and sometimes slowly. As a result, what happens at one stage of development carries over and influences the following stages. Unhealthy attitudes developed in childhood, for example, have been found to be at the root of much of the unhappiness and poor adjustment at middle and old age (165). Unfavorable conditions during intrauterine life affect the adjustment the baby makes to post-

natal life not only during infancy but often throughout the rest of his life (193).

Within the pattern of development, there is a marked correlation between physical and psychological development (63). See Figure 1-11. Only, for example, when the baby's body develops from the short, stubby to the elongated, rectangular form will his mental development reach the point where he is ready to learn what the school expects him to learn (163).

There is little evidence that inadequacies in one area of development are compensated for by superior development in other areas, and much evidence that superior development in one area is accompanied by superior development in others (50,108). Studies of gifted individuals from kindergarten to middle age led Terman and Oden to conclude, "Clearly, desirable traits tend to go together. No negative correlations were found between intelligence and size, strength, physical well-being, or emotional stability" (176).

Even though all individuals follow much the same pattern of development, the rate of development varies from individual to individual. Three distinct rates have been found: consistent progress, a generally progressive trend with intermittent pauses, and generally progressive trends with periods of regression. The second type, a progressive trend with intermittent pauses, has been found to be the most common (197).

Because rates of development differ, all children of the same age have not reached the same point of physical or mental development (24). Nor do all individuals decline physically or mentally at the same rate. Some are as old at fifty years as others who are a decade or more older than they. In the same individual, differ-

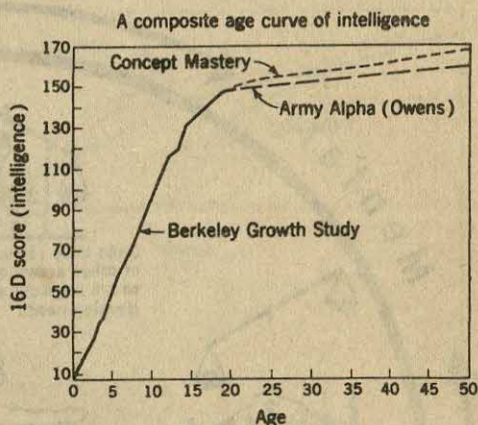


FIGURE 1-10 INTELLECTUAL GROWTH FROM BIRTH TO FIFTY YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM N. BAYLEY: RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT: A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1965, 11, 183-208. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ent physical and mental traits develop at different rates and reach their mature levels at different ages. Different rates of decline have likewise been observed for different physical and mental traits. Most individuals, however, are consistent in the rate of development and show a trend toward earliness or lateness in reaching critical periods in the growth cycle (17,64).

The rate of development is consistent because it is influenced by chronological age and by the mental development of the individual. The mentally retarded, for example, go through the same sequence of stages as do those of normal intelligence but at a slower rate. Similarly, the sequence of developmental stages is the same for the very bright, but they pass through these stages more rapidly than do those of normal intelligence and much

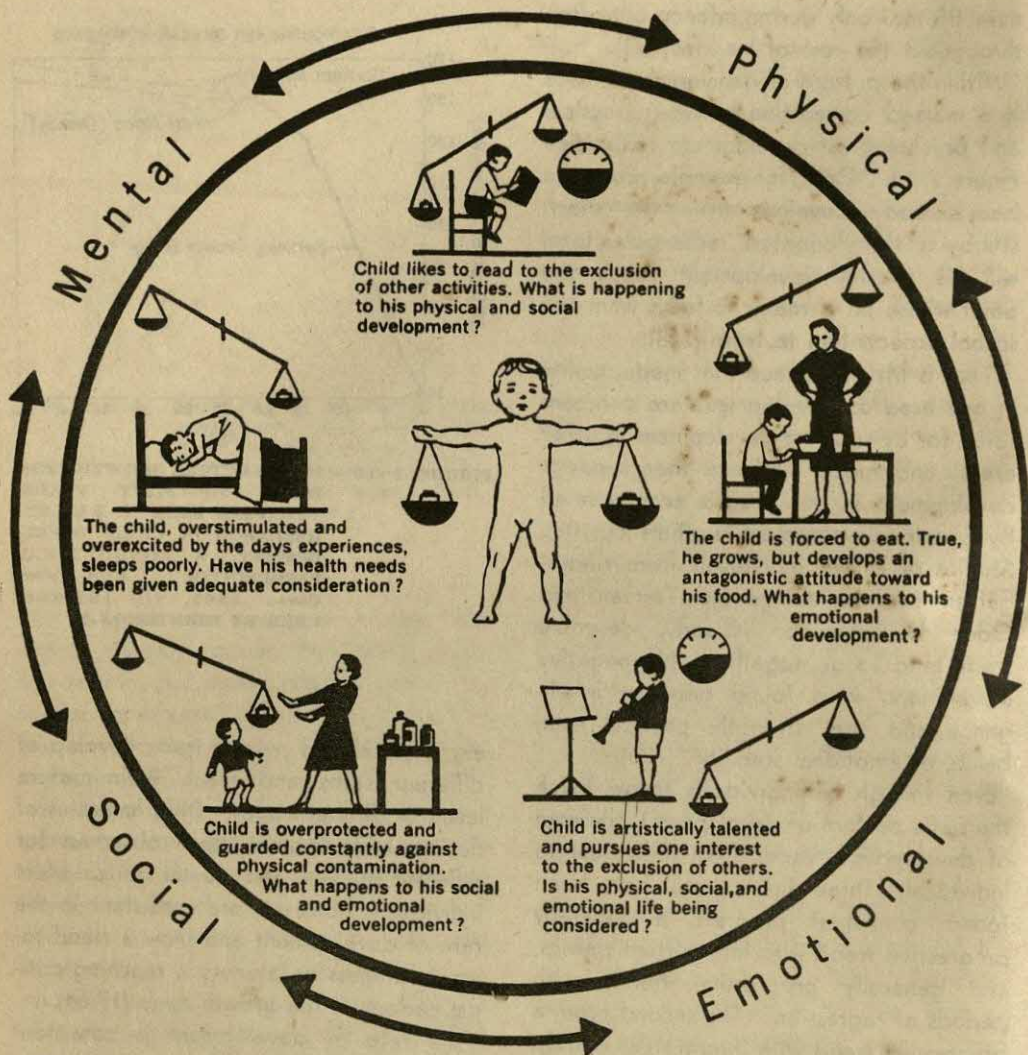


FIGURE 1-11 IN THE PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT, THERE IS A MARKED CORRELATION BETWEEN PHYSICAL, MENTAL, SOCIAL, AND EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. (ADAPTED FROM M. E. BRECKENRIDGE AND E. L. VINCENT: *Child development*. 5TH ED. PHILADELPHIA: SAUNDERS, 1965. USED BY PERMISSION.)

more rapidly than those who are mentally retarded (26).

Variations in the patterns of physical and intellectual growth may be altered by health, the emotional climate in which the child grows up, his cultural milieu, and

many other factors. However, these changes are often slight. The individual remains true to his own pattern of development and to the rate at which this development occurs (17). Physical growth, for example, may be retarded by illness, mal-

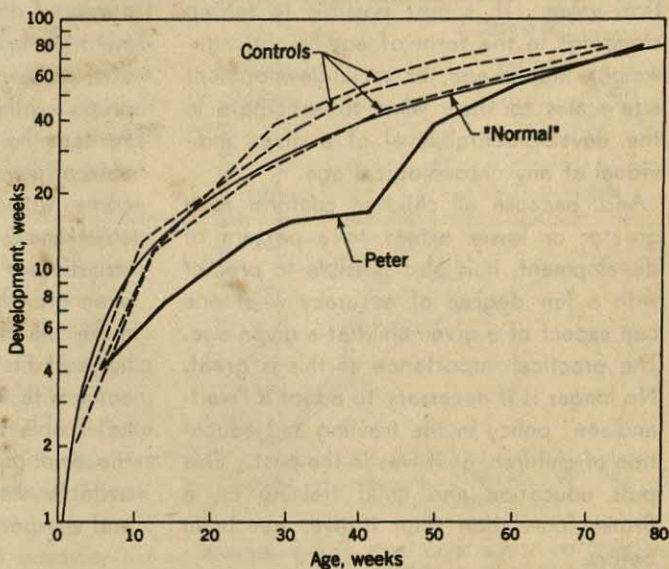


FIGURE 1-12 COMPARISON BETWEEN POSTURAL-LOCOMOTOR DEVELOPMENT OF A SCHIZOPHRENIC CHILD (PETER) AND A GROUP OF NORMAL CHILDREN USED AS CONTROLS. (ADAPTED FROM B. FISH: LONGITUDINAL OBSERVATIONS OF BIOLOGICAL DEVIATIONS IN A SCHIZOPHRENIC INFANT. *Amer. J. Psychiat.*, 1959, 116, 25-31. USED BY PERMISSION.)

nutrition, or other unfavorable conditions. When these unfavorable conditions are corrected, "catch-up growth" occurs. "Catch-up" growth is well illustrated in the case of the plateau following birth. Once the infant recovers from the shock of birth, he quickly regains the weight lost after birth and begins to forge ahead (175).

Irregularity of the rates of development, especially when pronounced, leads to many adjustment problems. Deviation from the normal pattern of physical development, for example, generally results in deviant psychological development. Studies of infants who showed disturbances in the pattern of growth from birth were found to deviate from the normal pattern of motor

development as they grew older (56). This is illustrated in Figure 1-12. The "superior-immature child," whose intellectual development has advanced more rapidly than his physical development, thus causing him to be immature in total functioning is likely to find himself socially unacceptable to older groups, and this will affect his social adjustment (64). A premature end of the reproductive life, through an early menopause, will result in physical and mental changes normally found in individuals of older ages (39,133).

IMPLICATIONS Knowing that development proceeds in an orderly, predictable way for all individuals is of great prac-

tical value. It is now possible to *set up standards* in the form of age-height, age-weight, mental-age, or social-development age scales to know what to anticipate in the developmental level of a given individual at any chronological age.

And, because all children conform to a greater or lesser extent to a pattern of development, it is also possible to *predict* with a fair degree of accuracy what one can expect of a given child at a given age. The practical importance of this is great. No longer is it necessary to adopt a "wait-and-see" policy in the training and education of children, as it was in the past. This puts education and child training on a firmer foundation than it ever has been before.

Knowing what to expect and when to expect it avoids *the tendency to expect too much or too little* of a child at a given age. When too much is expected of a child, he soon develops feelings of inadequacy because he realizes that he is falling below adult expectations. It is equally bad to expect too little of a child. When this happens, the child's motivation to do what he is capable of doing is stifled, and, at the same time, he builds up feelings of resentment toward the individual or individuals who do things for him when he would like to be independent of adult help.

There is another important advantage in *knowing what to expect of a child at a given age*. This is the correct timing of training and the introduction of incentives to stimulate the child's development (128, 142). When, for example, the child is ready to learn to read, that is the psychological moment to begin formal instruction in reading. In the absence of correct timing, there is a tendency to begin training in reading too soon or too late (87).

It is equally important to the child to be

prepared ahead of time for the development of new physical features, new interests, or new abilities, thus enabling him to prepare himself psychologically for them. Perhaps the best illustration of this is in the case of physical and mental changes which come with sexual maturity. When the child knows ahead of time about menstruation or nocturnal emissions, about uneven growth of facial features which may make the nose seem proportionately too large at first, or about the new urges that come with the maturing of the sex organs, he is able to face these changes without the emotional tensions that are almost inevitable when these changes come suddenly and unexpectedly.

All Individuals Are Different

Although all individuals follow a definite and predictable pattern of development, each individual has his own distinct style of doing so. Some develop in a smooth, gradual, step-by-step fashion, while others move in spurts; some show wide swings, while others show only slight ones (64). See Figure 1-13. As Frank (57) has stated, the life career of an individual is a

...broad highway along which every individual must travel.... Each individual, with his unique heredity and nurture (including prenatal) will travel along that highway at his or her own rate of progress and will attain the size, shape, capacity, and developmental status which are uniquely his or her own at each stage of the life career.

Individual differences are due partly to differences in hereditary endowment and partly to environmental influences (7,24). Even when the environment is similar, indi-

viduals react differently to it because of the differences in their makeups. As Carlson and Stieglitz have explained, "We are what we are today, to a great degree, because of what happened to us in our yesterday, and no two people have had identical sequences of yesterdays. Furthermore, the effect of all these experiences increases with age, because they accumulate" (40).

There are many factors in the individual's life which are responsible for bringing about differences in his physical and mental structure, the most important of these including such environmental factors as food, climate, health conditions, opportunities for learning, motivation to learn, social relationships, codes of behavior set up by the social group to which the individual belongs, and the strength of social approval or disapproval.

Not only are the patterns of physical and mental growth for each child unique in that they often deviate from the patterns of other children, but these patterns also vary from the child's own past history. As Bayley has emphasized, "It is a rare child who follows the same course in all of the observed variables through all of his growth" (18). Throughout the years of growth, structures and functions develop and become differentiated from each other at different rates and reach maturity at different times. This is true of mental as well as physical development (17, 18).

SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES From a practical point of view, it is important to know that individuals are different, because it means that no two persons can be expected to react in the same manner to the same environmental stimuli. What one perceives as humorous will depend a experi-

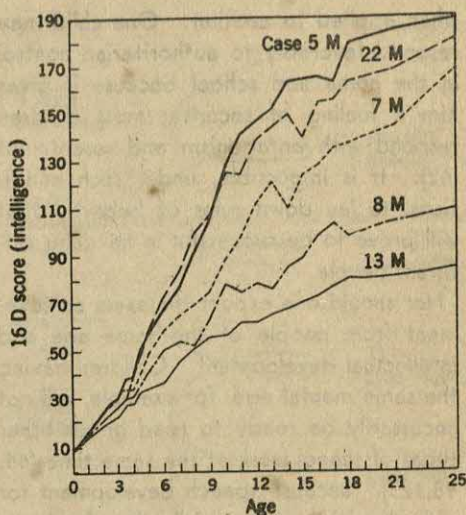


FIGURE 1-13 THE LIFE SPAN OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS A BROAD HIGHWAY ALONG WHICH EACH INDIVIDUAL TRAVELS IN HIS OWN WAY AND AT HIS OWN SPEED. (ADAPTED FROM N. BAYLEY: RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT: A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1965, 11, 183-208. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ences as well as upon the level of his intellectual development. Another person of the same intellectual development may not find the same thing humorous because his past experiences have been different (68).

Because the hereditary endowment and the environmental experiences are never identical for two individuals, one can never predict with accuracy how an individual will react to a situation even when there is ample information about his hereditary abilities and even when it is known how the average person behaves in similar situations (7). Furthermore, in dealing with people, methods that bring success when applied to one may bring failure

when applied to another. One child may respond favorably to authoritarian control in the home and school because it gives him a feeling of security; most children respond with antagonism and resentment (42). It is impossible, under such conditions, to lay down rules of behavior that will prove to be successful in handling different people.

Nor should one expect the same achievement from people of the same age and intellectual development. Children having the same mental age, for example, will not necessarily be ready to read or do other types of school work at the same time (44, 98, 123). Because speech development for girls develops more rapidly than for boys, age for age, girls can be expected to have larger vocabularies and better pronunciation than boys (114). And, finally, individual differences are significant because they are responsible for individuality in personality makeup. And individuality not only makes people interesting, but it also makes social progress possible (4).

Each Phase of Development Has Characteristic Traits

Because all traits develop in their own way and at their own rate, it is understandable that, at different ages, certain traits will stand out more conspicuously than others. In babyhood, for example, the major development consists of gaining control over the muscle patterns of the body. In adolescence, on the other hand, social adjustments to members of the opposite sex and adjustments to adult standards of behavior dominate the developmental pattern. Adjustment to physical and mental decline, to changed patterns of living, of work, and of social life, dominate the latter years of the life span (34, 169).

The developmental pattern is marked by periods of *equilibrium* and *disequilibrium*, which alternate in accordance with the principle of reciprocal neuromotor interweaving. *Equilibrium* occurs when there is easy adaptation to environmental factors and demands of daily living. At such times, the individual is "in focus" and is easy to live with. During periods of *disequilibrium*, by contrast, the individual is "out of focus" and difficult to live with. The "good" child suddenly is bad, or the happy adult turns, without any apparent reason, into a gloomy, morbid one (6, 63).

At times of disequilibrium, tensions, indecisions, insecurities, and similar forms of behavior—behavior often judged as "problem behavior"—are commonly observed (6, 63, 64). Behavior problems which occur at times of disequilibrium are due to a constellation of environmental conditions at those times and to biological conditions (193). When, for example, a young child is in a state of disequilibrium, he has difficulty in adapting to eating, sleeping, other people, and to life in general (6).

Behavior difficulties which occur during periods of disequilibrium are not individual aberrations. Rather, they are predictable and characteristic of the age level. Because development progresses at different rates for different individuals, it would be illogical to expect all individuals to show the same behavior at the same ages. Children who mature early, for example, show the characteristic behavior of periods of disequilibrium before those who mature later (64). Similarly, women who reach menopause late show the "menopausal syndrome" of disturbed behavior after their contemporaries have regained their equilibrium (133).

Genetic studies have revealed the ages when disequilibrium usually occurs. During

the preschool years of 2 to 6, periods of disequilibrium are commonly found at $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ years. (See Figure 1-14.) In the older child, a period of disequilibrium usually accompanies the onset of puberty, at 11 years. At these times, there is evidence that the child is "loosening up" and "snapping old bonds." Between the periods of disequilibrium are periods of equilibrium, when the child is "in focus" and when his behavior indicates better adjustment in the form of cooperation, friendliness, sympathy, affection and helpfulness (6,63,64).

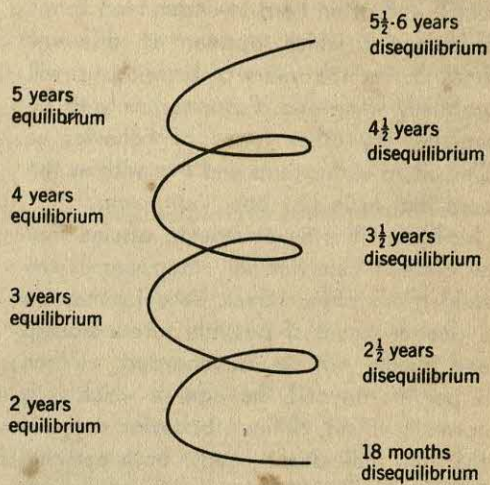


FIGURE 1-14 AGES OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DISEQUILIBRIUM DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF LIFE. (ADAPTED FROM L. B. AMES AND F. L. ILG: THE DEVELOPMENTAL POINT OF VIEW WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF RECIPROCAL NEUROMOTOR INTERWEAVING. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1964, 105, 195-209. USED BY PERMISSION.)

PRACTICAL APPLICATION While it is unquestionably true that some stages of growing up are marked by more difficult behavior than others, there is no stage when the characteristic behavior is not "problem behavior" if judged by adult standards. "Immature" is frequently used to describe children who incur adult displeasure. Sleep problems, such as bed refusal, waking at night, calling out, or early-morning wakening, are especially annoying to parents and are commonly found during the first three years of life (86,111). The elementary school child's carelessness about his work and his appearance, his daydreaming and indifference to school work, and his vocal aggressions, as seen in shouting and name calling, are normal at that age, especially among children of the lower social classes (97). It is important to know the pattern of normal development, with its periods of equilibrium and disequilibrium, so as not to interfere too soon and try to influence the individual's behavior (6).

Only when an individual's behavior is atypical for his age and leads to poor adjustment may it justly be referred to as "problem behavior." In most instances,

such behavior is infantile in that it is characteristic of an earlier age level. The child has not "learned to act his age" either because no one has taught him how to do so or because he derives more satisfaction from infantile behavior than from more mature behavior. Aggressiveness and destructiveness are perfectly normal and to be expected in the earlier stages of the individual's development. But if such behavior continues or reemerges at a later date, when society has decreed that it should long since have been successfully modified or repressed, the child is then labeled "delinquent."

Studies of normal growth patterns have revealed that many of these difficult, un-

social, and often hard-to-understand forms of behavior which appear at different times during the years of growing up will gradually wane and disappear, only to be replaced by other forms of behavior as difficult to understand and live with as the ones that have just been outgrown.

However, it is never safe to assume that all difficult behavior will disappear as the child grows older. Such behavior may be a danger signal of possible future trouble and should not be disregarded. When it persists beyond the age in which it is normally found, difficult behavior suggests that the individual's needs, both personal and social, are not being satisfactorily met.

There Are Traditional Beliefs about Individuals of Different Ages

These traditional beliefs, often called "old wives' tales," are beliefs that are passed down from one generation to another and accepted uncritically by each subsequent generation. In time, they develop a halo of infallibility (109). This halo of infallibility is strengthened if the belief is given the stamp of approval of scientific research. In discussing the scientific stamp of approval given to traditional beliefs about prenatal influences, Pasamanick and Knobloch (137) have pointed out:

Toward the end of the last century quite reliable journals and textbooks published reports by reputable reporters of congenital effects consequent to emotional stress. We all remember and smile condescendingly at the grandmother's story of the rat-faced boy whose mother was frightened by the appropriate rodent during her pregnancy. We must not forget that while these beliefs arose in folklore, they were accepted and given clinical support by the writings of physicians.

Sometimes traditional beliefs relate to behavior and sometimes to physical make-up, abilities, and personality patterns. The latter are known as "stereotypes" which are generally used to signify negatively valued judgments about an individual or a group (186). There is, for example, the widely held stereotype of the Negro and his high-priced car—a stereotype based on the belief that successful Negroes use cars as status symbols to impress members of the majority group with their equality (201).

Although there is no justification for believing that all "old wives' tales" are completely false, few of them bear up under the scrutiny of scientific investigation. It has been pointed out by Whitehead that the "doctrines which best repay critical examination are those which for the longest time have remained unquestioned" (194).

A few widely held beliefs that have come down through the generations and for which there is now contradictory scientific evidence will serve to show how important it is to reexamine *any* belief that has gained a halo of infallibility. The belief that the only child is "different" in his psychological makeup has been held from earliest times, and yet studies of young adults have revealed no real personality difference between only and non-only children (36). The stereotype of the "child genius" as physically inferior and poorly adjusted both personally and socially has been contradicted by scientific studies which show that very bright children are, on the whole, above average in physical makeup and attractiveness, that they have fewer sensory defects than individuals of average intelligence, that personality maladjustments and mental illness are less frequent among them than among the

average, and that they are above average in social adjustments, often being rated as very popular and being selected to play leadership roles (61,84,118).

The traditional belief of the superiority of the firstborn male child has served as the basis for the passing down of titles and family fortunes for centuries. Studies of the intellectual abilities and scholastic aptitudes of firstborns as compared with later-borns have not supported this "old wives' tale." Although it is true that first-born boys often have more education and, as a result, have greater opportunities to rise vocationally than do those who are born later in the same families, this is because they are given greater educational advantages, not because they are intellectually superior. As Altus has pointed out, later-borns are often the "have-nots," educationally speaking (5).

INFLUENCE OF "OLD WIVES' TALES"

Traditional beliefs influence the individual's attitudes and behavior, both toward others and toward himself. Parents who accept the belief that they will "spoil the child if they spare the rod," discipline their children by corporal punishment even when their better judgment tells them that it is unfair to the child to do so (42,46,78). Similarly, stereotypes regarding groups with different religious and racial origins lead to prejudice and discrimination (1,3).

In our culture, the commonly held stereotypes relating to middle and old age lead to the unfavorable treatment of individuals in the latter years of their lives (180). Some stereotypes lead to favorable attitudes and treatment, as in the case of the stereotype of the doctor. Most stereotypes, however, are unfavorable and lead to unfavorable attitudes and treatment (156).

Individuals themselves tend to accept the cultural stereotype of the group with which they are identified, and this, in turn, influences their self-concepts. Certain professions and occupations are believed to have in their groups individuals with characteristic "personality types," as the "crafty politician," the "absent-minded professor," or the "emotionally unstable artist" (27). The fact that scientists are thought of as "eggheads" or "longhairs" has been suggested as one of the influences in keeping high school students from planning to enter the sciences as a life career (121). Stereotypes set roles for individuals of a given group, and the adjustment of these individuals is then affected by how well they conform to the cultural pattern assigned to their group by society. This is well illustrated in the case of men and women in middle or old age who, according to the cultural stereotypes, are nearly "through" or "reaching the end." Acceptance of these stereotypes by the individuals is not only responsible for much of the unhappiness in the latter years of life, but is an important factor in physical and mental decline (104).

CONSEQUENCES OF ACCEPTANCE OF "OLD WIVES' TALES"

The seriousness of traditional beliefs lies in the fact that they are held to, even in the face of contradictory evidence, and thus continue to influence the behavior of people (33,173). Because twins are traditionally considered to be alike, there is a tendency for parents to treat them as such. This is, without question, an important factor in maintaining and increasing twin similarities and in preventing twins from developing a sense of personal identity (90). Much of the friction in family relationships can be traced to myths concerning the roles each mem-

ber of the family should play (55). In spite of the tremendous increase in Federal expenditures (since the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I in 1957) on science education and on attempts to make the image of the scientist more appealing to high school students so that they will enter the area of science as a career, high school students still regard the scientist as "gray, colorless and unaware of what's going on around him." As a result of this unfavorable image, many shun science as a career (195).

Why, one may justifiably ask, do people cling to traditional beliefs even when they know there is evidence to prove that these are partially or totally inaccurate? The answer is that people are sometimes motivated to accept them by sheer inertia—it is easier to believe what is unquestioned by most of their associates than to run the risk of being considered "extreme" if they accept a contradictory belief or to have to justify their acceptance. In addition, many people are motivated to cling to the traditional because it gives them a stronger feeling of confidence that they are right than they have when they accept a belief contradictory to that of the people with whom they are associated. Should their actions, based on this new belief, not come up to social expectations, they would then feel guilty.

Caldwell and Richmond have explained why so many parents cling to the "spare the rod, spoil the child" philosophy of discipline in spite of mounting evidence of the unfavorable effects of this traditional form of discipline. There are two reasons, they point out, for this. *First*, use of the traditional form of punishment—corporal punishment—makes it unnecessary for the parent to make a fresh decision about how to handle a particular type of behavior

each time it occurs: they merely spank when the child misbehaves, and this is an easy solution to the problem. *Second*, belief in traditional discipline insulates the parent from feelings of guilt about behaving punitively toward the child and against criticism from others about "spoiling" the child (38).

HAPPY AND UNHAPPY AGES IN THE LIFE SPAN

Childhood is, traditionally, the "happy age of life" because it is a carefree time. Likewise, there is a belief that with the approach of the end of life, the individual is happy not only because age releases him from many of the burdens and responsibilities imposed upon younger people, but also because the individual can look back over his life and say, "Well done."

But happiness, as experimental studies have revealed, depends not upon the chronological age of the individual, his intellectual level, his socioeconomic status, the religious group with which he is identified, or any similar factor. It is dependent upon the *adjustment* of the individual to the role he plays in life.

However, because the individual's needs, purposes, and desires change from age to age, there is no guarantee that a person who is well adjusted at one age will be well adjusted at another. A study of goals during the adult years has revealed that marriage is the goal of most women in their twenties. If they achieve this goal, they will be happy. If, on the other hand, they fail to do so, they are likely to be unhappy unless they substitute another goal that will bring them happiness. In this study, few women after thirty had the goal of marriage. Instead, they emphasized professional advancement, as do married men (103).

Successful adjustment to one social group does not guarantee successful adjustment to another. Although an individual may make good adjustments in a group where certain outstanding traits are admired, he will not make good adjustments in another group unless he conforms to the cultural pattern of that group (182).

As the individual's needs, desires, and goals change with different ages, different methods are needed to achieve good adjustment. At every age, however, the methods used by the individual may be limited by his physical or mental capacity, or by restrictions from the social group (162). In adolescence, girls have been found to be happier than boys, because boys feel more pressures toward goals and accomplishments than girls do. Girls, by contrast, are more protected and have fewer pressures placed on them. In addition, they are given more help and encouragement by their parents to achieve their goals than are boys, whose demands for independence force them to make their own adjustments (196).

In the middle- and old-age periods of life, obstacles to the achievement of satisfaction, such as poor health, waning vigor, reduced income, idleness from retirement status, and many other changes in the individual's pattern of living, result in difficulties in adjustment and subsequent unhappiness. Only when hopes and ambitions can be achieved and when there is freedom from worry and overburdening responsibility can the individual be happy (181).

Retrospective Reports

The best way to find out when people think they have been happy or unhappy is to ask them. This cannot be done with any degree of accuracy while the individual is living through a particular period of his

life span. But in retrospect he can get a clearer perspective and can see how one stage in his life compares with another. Like all retrospective studies, this is subject to error because of forgetfulness and the tendency to minimize some events that were mildly unhappy when they occurred and to exaggerate the severity of the unhappiness of others.

A study of the reported embarrassment memories of students from elementary school through college has revealed that, as adults, they tend to forget their earlier embarrassments as they grow older. This is especially true of those in whom there is a large discrepancy between their self-concepts and their ego ideals. They tend to think of childhood as a period of "unadulterated bliss" (85). As Rosenzweig and Rosenzweig have emphasized, "The golden days of childhood, as they appear in the conventional reminiscence of adults, are more consistent with fantasy than with fact. The myths of all races similarly portray the childhood of man as a paradise" (155).

However, although childhood is remembered as a happy age, it is not free from memories of unhappy experiences, most of which center around the home and the family. Later, when the child goes to school, where more demands are made on him, and when he meets more environmental obstacles, he has many memories of feelings of inadequacy and insecurity. Home and family become less important with each passing year; nevertheless, there are unhappy memories of friction with family members, of feelings of guilt when parental expectations were not met, and of feelings of being unloved and unwanted (15,166,179).

Retrospections covering the whole life span show how great the happiness is at

different ages. In one study, single men and women reported that they were happiest when young. Those who were married, divorced, or separated, by contrast, said they were happiest when married and when their children were in the home. In middle and old age, happiness centers around the home and children. When the individual is deprived of either or both, he is unhappy (120). Negative attitudes toward the older ages may be a projection of the individual's present adjustment and the acceptance of cultural stereotypes of the older ages (180).

Factors Influencing Happiness

There is a widespread traditional belief that happiness can come only to those who have the *material possessions* they crave or which give them prestige in the eyes of the social group. The fairy tales of childhood all reinforce this belief, as do the different forms of mass media enjoyed by adolescents and adults. A study of the effect of social class membership on early childhood memories has revealed that lower-class adolescents had more memories of angry feelings, while those of middle-class backgrounds had more of the euphoric type (52).

This would suggest that the traditional belief about the relationship between material possessions and happiness was correct. However, one must read between the lines to find out whether the relationship is direct or indirect. Doing so quickly reveals that it is not material possessions per se that determine whether the individual will be happy or unhappy but rather how he feels about them. If he feels inadequate because he lacks the material possessions his age-mates have and if he believes that lack of social acceptance

stems from this lack, it is understandable that he would be unhappy.

At any age, happiness depends on the adequacy of one's *emotional adjustment*. The difference between well and poorly adjusted people is in the quantity and intensity of their negative attitudes. In the well-adjusted, negative attitudes are expressed less often and with less intensity but with more focus and direction than in the poorly adjusted (125).

Adjustment is influenced by the *individual's attitude toward an age period*, and this, in turn, is influenced by childhood experiences and stereotypes. Because childhood experiences and stereotypes relating to middle-aged and elderly people are generally unfavorable, most people have unfavorable attitudes toward those periods of life and, as a result, make poor adjustments to them (100).

The *individual's own age* colors his interpretation of happiness at different life periods, since the meaning of happiness varies at different ages according to the values the individual assigns to them. Thus the young child who thinks of happiness in terms of freedom may regard adulthood as happy. For the adult with many responsibilities, "carefree" childhood may be looked upon as the happiest age. There is a tendency to regard ages already passed as more favorable for happiness than one's own age (181).

Happiness is greatly influenced by the individual's judgment of the *passage of time*. When time drags, the individual is bored and this leads to unhappiness; when it literally flies by, there is excitement stemming from anticipation of the new and untried. A study of college students' judgments of the passage of time over the life span showed that they judged the period after seventy to be the slowest

and the period from twelve through early adulthood to be the fastest. The slowness of the passage of time after seventy was attributed to inactivity, lack of interests, loss of adult roles, and no future. By contrast, the speed of the passage of time in the earlier years was attributed to new experiences and few responsibilities (178).

One very common cause of unhappiness throughout the major part of life is the individual's *unrealistic concept* of himself. He believes he has greater capacities than he actually has or than other people recognize in him. Because of this unrealistic self-concept, he expects greater success than he is capable of achieving and more acceptance from people than his behavior would warrant. As a result, he feels out of place, misunderstood, and mistreated—feelings that certainly are not conducive to happiness (12,14,122,187).

Having an *unrealistic concept of one's role* is an equally common source of unhappiness. Because there is a tendency to romanticize the role one will play at a later date and to think of it as having few of the sources of irritation and frustration that accompany the present role, the individual inevitably suffers from "reality shock" when a period of disenchantment sets in because the new role does not produce the pleasures anticipated. This is true of romanticized roles of marriage, parenthood, or vocations. Until the individual recovers, and recovers completely from "reality shock" to the point where he accepts the bad with the good in these roles, he will be disillusioned and, with it, unhappy (49,82).

Significance of Unhappiness

The significant fact about the unhappiness that prevails so generally throughout the life span of the human individual is that it

affects the individual's attitudes and, in turn, leaves its mark on his personality (85). In addition, it reduces his efficiency in whatever work he may undertake. Whether he be a school child, a factory worker, or a business executive, his chances of making the most of his potentialities are greatly reduced by his unhappy mental state. This deprives him of the motivation necessary to make the most of his potentials (141).

Equally as serious is the fact that unhappiness may and often does become a habit. And, like all habits, the longer it persists, the more deeply rooted and resistant to change it becomes (183). A study of loneliness made in England has emphasized how unhappiness, stemming from loneliness, becomes persistent. According to this report, "How happily a person gets along as an adult in his job, in his family and social life, depends a great deal on how he got along with other children when he was young" (131).

Because unhappiness can play such havoc with personal and social adjustments throughout life, an attempt will be made at each of the major developmental periods throughout the remainder of the book to discuss the causes of unhappiness at each age level and what might be done to prevent or to minimize unhappiness at that time. In addition, emphasis will be placed on the factors that contribute to happiness at each developmental age and on how they might be strengthened to counteract any unhappiness that is inevitable.

Essentials to Happiness

Because of the high value placed on "popularity" or social acceptance in America today, no one, regardless of his age, can be happy if he is friendless and lonely. Lack of social acceptance may come from

conditions over which the individual has no control: a child who lives in a geographically isolated area is deprived of opportunities to establish normal social relationships with his peers. This is true also of adults who live alone. According to the English report on loneliness (131):

Men and women living alone, making no friends at work, returning each night to a solitary existence, too old for youth clubs, too young for the sedate societies of the gray-haired, long for contact with men and women of like interests.

Lack of social acceptance, on the other hand, may come from poor personal adjustments on the individual's part. A person will be accepted by others only if he is a reasonably well-adjusted person. He can be a reasonably well-adjusted person only if he has a self-acceptant attitude—a reasonable satisfaction with himself and his achievements in life (53, 124, 146).

In summary, then, it becomes apparent that there are three ingredients essential to happiness—the three A's of happiness. They are *acceptance by self*, which can be achieved only when the individual's achievements come up to his expectations; *acceptance by others*, which is largely dependent upon good personal adjustments which come from self-acceptance; and *affection*, which is a normal accompaniment of acceptance by others.

Although acceptance by others is a source of personal satisfaction at any age and under any circumstances, it is especially satisfying if it is by people who are important to the individual *at that age*.

A young child, for example, is satisfied and happy if he feels loved and accepted by members of his family, especially by his parents. However, as his social horizons broaden and as he discovers the high value placed on popularity among members of the peer group, acceptance by and affection from members of the family will be inadequate to bring him happiness. Now he must feel loved and accepted by his peers as well as by his family (30).

Concern about the attitude of the social group outside the home toward him increases with each passing year as the individual passes from childhood into adolescence, from adolescence into adulthood, and from early adulthood into middle and, finally, into old age. Even though the older person may retain the affection and acceptance of his family, that is not enough to make him happy; he must also feel that he is loved and accepted by those with whom he is associated outside the home.

The child who is deprived of opportunities to learn how to make social adjustments or who is encouraged to have unrealistic ideas about himself and his achievements develops a scarred personality that makes self-acceptance difficult and, with it, acceptance by others impossible. In time, inability to "develop normal human relations may cause a child to become suicide-prone in later life" (131). By contrast, the child who is able to develop normal human contacts and who derives the satisfaction that comes from acceptance and affection will grow up to be a happy, useful member of society.

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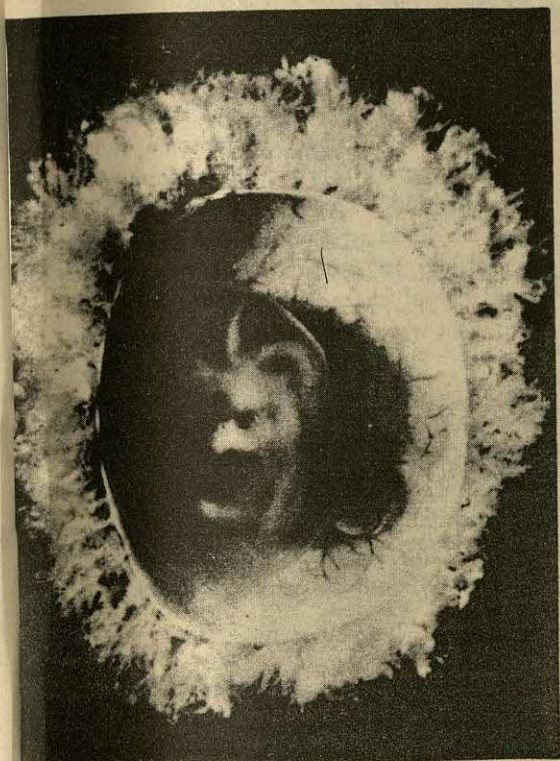
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The first major developmental period in the life span is next to the shortest of all, but it is, in many respects, the most important. This period, which begins at conception and ends at the time of birth is approximately 280 days long or nine calendar months. If measured in lunar months of twenty-eight days each, it is approximately ten lunar months in length.

The prenatal period, in spite of its relatively short length, is important for four reasons:

1. The hereditary endowment which serves as the foundation for later development is fixed, once and for all, at this time (5,116).
2. Favorable conditions in the mother's body can foster the development of hereditary potentials, while unfavorable conditions can stunt their development, even to the point of distorting the pattern of future development (19,111,116). As Davis and Havighurst have pointed out (28):

What happens to the fetus in the womb, and in the process of its birth; the adequacy of its uterine nutrition; its good or ill fortune at birth with regard to infection or injury, all these often prove as important as its heredity.

3. There is proportionally greater growth and development taking place during this period than at any other time throughout the individual's entire life (92,116).

4. This is the time when significant people in the individual's life are forming attitudes toward him. These attitudes will have a marked influence on the way they treat him, especially during the early, formative years of his life (14,114). How important these attitudes are in the individual's later development has been emphasized thus by Loesch and Greenberg: "The pregnancy state, while having certain idiosyncratic features, can only be understood in a larger framework—as a preparatory phase leading to the more fundamentally critical period of the early motherhood experience" (81).

Knowing what happens before birth is essential to a complete understanding of the normal pattern of development and to a realization of what can happen to distort this pattern. A study of the physical and mental handicaps that can and often do follow a disturbed pregnancy has revealed that the common syndrome of effects includes early ill health, as shown by failure to gain or "ailing," mental retardation, and congenital malformations (131).

In the remaining sections of this chapter, an attempt will be made to explain the major happenings during the nine months before birth and to show how each affects the course of human life from the time of birth until the end of the life span.

CARRIERS OF HEREDITY

The true carrier of heredity is the *gene*, a minute particle within the human sex cell which is passed on from parent to offspring. The gene is found in combination with other genes in a stringlike formation within each *chromosome*. It has been estimated that there are approximately 3,000 genes in each chromosome (92,116). "Sex-

linked" characters, such as color blindness, hemophilia, and hereditary baldness, are produced by the genes responsible for determining sex. Generally, they skip a generation and are transmitted by the male, through the female, to a male (127).

Each fertilized germ cell, or zygote, contains 23 pairs of chromosomes, one from each pair coming from the father and the other from the mother. This is illustrated in Figure 2-1. Each chromosome in turn contains genes from the parent from which it originated. But, because the combination of genes is a matter of chance, it is impossible to predict what the physical and mental characteristics of a child will be, even when the traits of his parents are known. Furthermore, because there are so many possible chromosome and gene combinations, it is understandable that siblings (brothers and sisters) within a family are likely to be very different from one another in physical as well as in mental traits. Only in the case of identical twins is there an identical genetic makeup.

Sex Cells

The maternal and paternal germ cells are developed in the reproductive organs, the *gonads*. The male germ cells, the *spermatozoa* (singular, *spermatozoon*), are produced in the male gonads, the *testes*, while the female germ cells, the *ova* (singular, *ovum*), are produced in the female gonads, the *ovaries*. Ova and spermatozoa differ from each other in the following five ways:

1. The spermatozoon is one of the smallest cells of the body, while the ovum is one of the largest. The ovum is approximately 0.1 millimeter in diameter, as contrasted with a diameter of approximately 0.05 millimeter in the case of the spermatozoon (79).

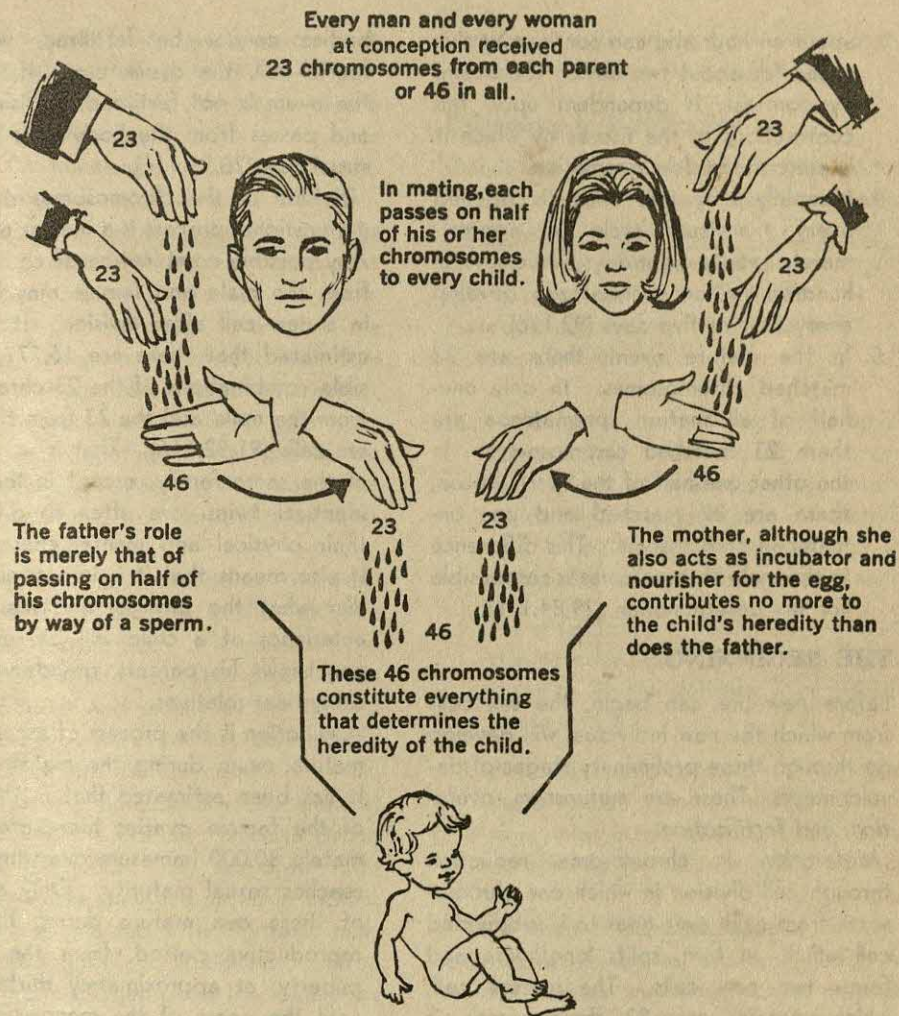


FIGURE 2-1 THE HEREDITARY PROCESS. (ADAPTED FROM A. SCHEINFELD: *The new you and heredity*. PHILADELPHIA: LIPPINCOTT, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

2. The ovum contains yolk which can be used to nourish a new individual should the ovum be fertilized. The spermatozoon contains no yolk, which is why the spermatozoon is so much smaller than the ovum.
3. The ovum is round and has no means

of locomotion within itself. By contrast, the spermatozoon is elongated with a fine, hairlike tail which can be lashed back and forth to enable the spermatozoon to swim through the semen in which it is found. A healthy spermatozoon can swim an inch in

about an hour and can continue at this speed for about two days. The ovum, by contrast, is dependent upon the contractions of the tissues by which it is surrounded for locomotion.

4. Normally only one ovum is ripened every menstrual cycle of approximately twenty-eight days, while several hundred million spermatozoa develop every four or five days (92,116).
5. In the mature ovum, there are 23 matched chromosomes. In only one-half of all mature spermatozoa are there 23 matched chromosomes. In the other one-half of the spermatozoa, there are 22 matched and one unmatched chromosome. This difference in the male chromosomes is responsible for sex determination (29,84,116).

THE BEGINNING

Before new life can begin, the sex cells from which the new individual will develop go through three preliminary stages of development. These are *maturation*, *ovulation*, and *fertilization*.

Maturation is chromosome reduction through cell division in which one chromosome from each pair goes to a subdivided cell which, in turn, splits lengthwise and forms two new cells. The mature cell, which contains only 23 chromosomes, is known as a *haploid cell*. Maturation of sex cells does not occur until sex maturity has been attained, following the onset of puberty in both boys and girls. In the case of the spermatozoon, there are four new cells, the *spermatids*, each of which is capable of fertilizing an ovum.

In the division of the ovum, one chromosome from each pair is pushed outside the cell wall and forms a *polar body*. Three polar bodies are formed in the process of division. Unlike the spermatids, the polar

bodies cannot be fertilized, while the fourth cell, the *ovum*, can. If, however, the ovum is not fertilized, it disintegrates and passes from the body with the menstrual flow (76,91,116).

Division of the chromosomes during the maturational process is a matter of chance. Any possible combination of chromosomes from the male and female may be found in a new cell after division. It has been estimated that there are 16,777,216 possible combinations of the 23 chromosomes from the male and the 23 from the female sex cells (91,92,116). That is why children of the same family, except in the case of identical twins, are often so different in their physical and mental characteristics. It also means that it is impossible to predict what the physical and mental characteristics of a child will be, even when one knows his parents, grandparents, and other near relatives.

Ovulation is the process of escape of one mature ovum during the menstrual cycle. It has been estimated that in the follicles of the female ovaries there are approximately 30,000 immature ova when the girl reaches sexual maturity. Only about 400 of these ova mature during the female reproductive period, from the onset of puberty, at approximately thirteen years until the onset of the menopause, in the forties or early fifties.

It is believed that the two ovaries alternate in producing a ripe ovum during each menstrual cycle of twenty-eight days. After being released from one of the follicles of the ovary, the ovum finds its way to the open end of the Fallopian tube nearest the ovary from which it has been released. Once it enters the tube, it is propelled along the tube by a combination of factors: cilia, or hairlike cells which line the tube; fluids composed of *estrogen*

from the ovarian follicle and a mucus from the lining of the tube; and rhythmic, progressive contractions of the walls of the tube (79,91,109).

When the female menstrual cycle is normal, lasting for approximately 28 days, ovulation occurs between the 5th and 23d day of the cycle, with the average on the 11.8th day. Even in the same woman, variations from one cycle to another are common. There are also marked individual differences from one woman to another and in the same woman from one menstrual cycle to another in the time during which the ovum remains in the tube. The time varies from 2 to 7 days, with an average of 3 days (29,109).

Fertilization, or conception, normally occurs while the ovum is in the Fallopian tube. More specifically it is generally believed that fertilization takes place within 12 to 36 hours and usually within the first 24 hours after the ovum has entered the tube (91,92,116). During coitus, or sexual intercourse, spermatozoa are deposited at the mouth of the uterus. Through strong harmonic attraction, they are drawn into the tubes where they are aided in making their way up the tubes by rhythmic muscular contractions. It is believed that a healthy sperm cell can be in the female sex organs for 24 to 36 hours before losing too much of its energy to reach the ovum and penetrate its outer wall (91,109).

After the spermatozoon has penetrated the ovum, the surface of the ovum changes so that no other spermatozoon can enter. After the sperm cell penetrates the wall of the ovum, the nuclei from the two cells, each containing 23 chromosomes, approach each other. There is a breakdown in the membrane surrounding each nucleus and this allows the two nuclei to merge. Thus the species number of chromosomes, 46,

is restored, half coming from the male and the other half from the female cell.

Difficulties in Fertilization

Conditions are not always favorable to fertilization. When these conditions persist month after month, a state of *sterility* is said to exist. Failure to produce an offspring may result from a number of unfavorable conditions, the three most important of which are:

1. An unfavorable condition in the female reproductive organs, such as excessive acidity of the vaginal secretions which kills the spermatozoa, or obstruction in the Fallopian tube, due to inflammation or some foreign substance.
2. An unfavorable condition of the ovum due to poor health, malnutrition, glandular or vitamin deficiency, or old age in the woman.
3. An unfavorable condition of the spermatozoa due to poor health, malnutrition, vitamin or glandular deficiency, or old age in the man (30,41,92,116).

As a result of female glandular deficiencies, especially of the pituitary gland, the normal female menstrual cycle may be interfered with. This usually results in the lengthening of the normal twenty-eight-day period. The ripened ovum is, therefore, delayed in its release from the follicle in the ovary or it remains longer than the usual time in its passage down the Fallopian tube to the uterus. Because it must rely upon its own yolk for nourishment until it becomes embedded in the wall of the uterus, the supply of nourishment may be insufficient to keep it alive. As a result, it dies even though it may have been fertilized.

Although sterility is popularly attributed to an unfavorable condition in the woman, this is not always true. If the male produces spermatozoa which are slow and sluggish, as happens when the health condition of the male is unfavorable or when he is suffering from the debilitating effects of old age, the sperm may not have the strength to travel up the Fallopian tube, swimming against the pressures of the walls of the tube to force the ovum down and resisting the currents of the liquids in which the ovum is immersed. Should the sperm overcome this handicap, it might not have enough strength left to penetrate the wall of the ovum (30,41,91).

IMPORTANCE OF CONCEPTION

Conception, or the fertilization of the ovum by the sperm cell from the male may be regarded as one of the most important single moments of the individual's life. The reason for this is that what happens then will determine the whole course of his future life (20). Three significant things are determined at that moment. They are: (1) the hereditary endowment of the offspring; (2) the sex of the offspring; and (3) the number of offspring.

Hereditary Endowment

With the fusion of the chromosomes from the male and female cells, the newly formed individual's hereditary endowment is established. As Kahlen and Thompson have pointed out, "Every individual's supply of genes, the bearers of hereditary factors, is given him once and for all and inalterably at conception" (76). These genes are assorted by chance during the maturation of the cells from the male and female and carry traits from the ancestors

on both sides. Thus every newly created individual is unique (20,79,109,127).

EFFECTS ON LATER DEVELOPMENT

First, heredity *places limits* beyond which the individual cannot go. It is then apparent that the determination of his hereditary endowment is of crucial importance to the pattern of his future development. With favorable conditions in the prenatal and postnatal environments, and with strong motivation on the individual's part, the physical and mental traits he has inherited will develop to their maximum potentials, but they can go no further (92,130). As Montagu has stressed, "Where we control the environment, we to some extent control heredity. Heredity, it has been said, determines what we *can* do, and environment what we *do* do" (91).

The second thing that is important about the determination of the hereditary endowment is that it is entirely a *matter of chance*: there is no known way to control the number of chromosomes from the maternal or paternal side that will be passed down to the child. This means that it is impossible to control the physical and mental traits the individual inherits. As Scheinfeld has pointed out, to be able to produce a given type of person, there must be the union of a particular ovum with a particular sperm. The probability that this particular union will occur is but 1 in 300,000,000,000,000 (116).

Sex Determination

There are many traditional beliefs and theories concerning the control of the sex of a child. The most common of the traditional practices are to regulate the time of conception to coincide with the period of the menstrual cycle when it is believed

that a male offspring will result, to eat a protein-heavy diet to guarantee a boy and a diet heavy in starches and sweets if a girl is wanted, or to drink certain alkaline potions regularly during pregnancy to produce a boy and acid ones to produce a girl (35,105,127).

In spite of scientific evidence to the contrary, many people still believe that it is within their power to control the sex of their offspring. The effects of such a belief are more serious than most people realize. When parents are convinced that they can produce an offspring of the sex they want, they are generally bitterly disappointed when the child turns out to be of the opposite sex. This disappointment may wane and disappear in time, but it frequently leaves its imprint upon the parents' attitudes toward the child. Furthermore, many men feel that it is the woman who has the power to control the sex of her child and, if she does not produce an offspring of the sex her husband wants, his attitude toward her may be seriously affected.

Since the turn of the century, there has been ample scientific evidence to disprove all the traditional beliefs and practices relating to sex control. It is now reliably proved that neither parent has any control whatsoever over the sex of the child. Whether the child turns out to be a boy or a girl is purely a matter of chance. Furthermore, if it were possible for either parent to control the child's sex, that power would be in the hands of the father, not the mother. It is from his germ cells that the types of chromosomes that produce male and female offspring come.

There are two kinds of mature spermatozoa produced in equal numbers. The first contains 22 matched chromosomes and one X chromosome; the second con-

tains 22 matched and one Y chromosome. The X and Y chromosomes are the sex chromosomes. The larger—the X chromosome—is approximately three times as large as the Y chromosome. The mature ovum, by contrast, *always* carries an X chromosome.

When the ovum is fertilized by the spermatozoon, there may be two X or one X and one Y sex chromosome. Should the combination be XX, the offspring will be a girl; should it be XY, the offspring will be a boy. There is absolutely no known way, at the present time, to control the fertilization of the ovum by a sperm that will produce the desired sex. Like heredity, therefore, sex determination is entirely a matter of chance. Figure 2-2 shows how sex is determined. Once the union of the male and female cells has occurred, nothing can be done to change the sex of the newly formed individual (20,29,91,116).

According to statistics, there are 105 to 106 male offspring born for every 100 females (11,41,87,116). Studies of deaths during the postnatal years have shown that at every age from infancy through adolescence, more males die or are killed than females. Consequently, by the time the individual reaches adulthood, the male sex is the "minority" sex (91,92,116).

The slight discrepancy in the law of chance at the time of birth has been explained in various ways, the most plausible being that because the spermatozoon bearing the Y sex chromosome (the male-producing) is slightly lighter than the spermatozoon bearing the X sex chromosome (the female-producing), it is able to move more swiftly and, as a result, has a slightly better than 50-50 chance of reaching the ovum first and fertilizing it.

Tradition holds that there are more boys born during wartime than girls. The expla-

Father produces sperms of two kinds, in equal numbers:

Mother produces eggs all of one kind, each with a large X sex chromosome.

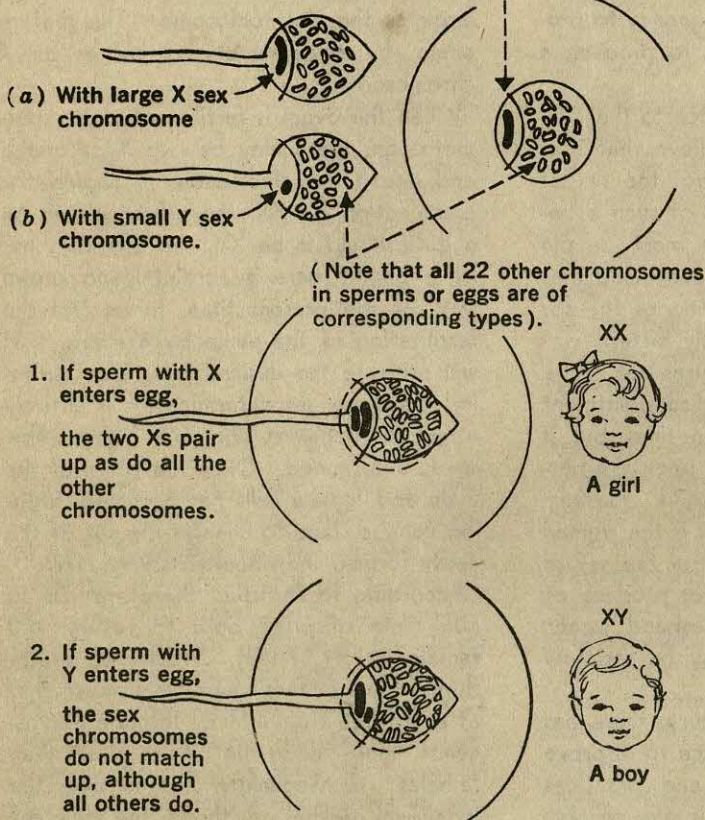


FIGURE 2-2 HOW SEX IS DETERMINED. (ADAPTED FROM A. SCHEINFELD: *The new you and heredity*. PHILADELPHIA: LIPPINCOTT, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

nation given for this is that nature is compensating for the disruption of the normal sex ratio brought about by war. Data from a number of countries involved in World War II, however, show that the sex ratio did not change appreciably during the years of the war as compared with the years immediately preceding or following the war (95).

Nor is there any evidence that certain

families can and do have only children of one sex (11,94,127). The traditional belief that young fathers produce more male offspring than older fathers is not borne out by evidence from scientific studies (12). There is, on the other hand, some evidence that lean men produce mostly daughters, while those who tend toward stockiness produce more sons than daughters (25). This is illustrated in Figure 2-3.

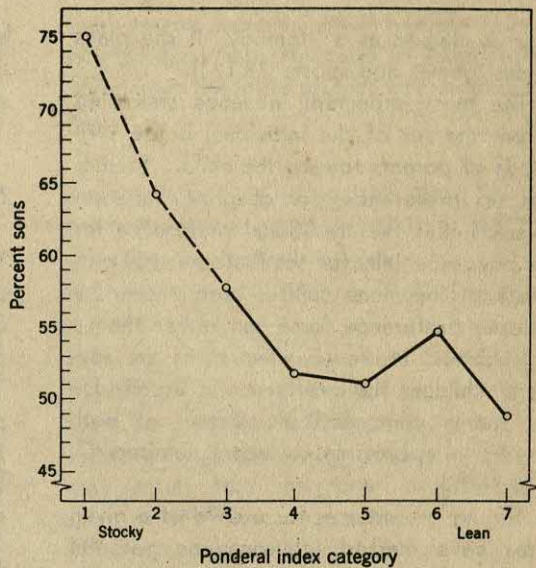


FIGURE 2-3 BODY BUILD OF FATHERS IN RELATION TO THE SEX OF THEIR OFFSPRING. (ADAPTED FROM A. DAMON AND R. L. NUTTALL: PONDERAL INDEX OF FATHERS AND SEX RATIO OF CHILDREN. *Hum. Biol.*, 1965, 37, 23-28. USED BY PERMISSION OF THE WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS.)

There is some evidence that families in the higher socioeconomic levels produce more male offspring than do those of the lower socioeconomic levels (13). There is also some evidence that men in the "masculine" occupations have a higher percentage of male offspring than those in the "female" occupations. In fact, however, there is no *conclusive* evidence that sex is determined by anything but chance (34, 91).

EFFECTS ON LATER DEVELOPMENT

The sex of the individual influences the whole pattern of his development from the moment of birth. *Cultural pressures* from parents, teachers, the peer group, and

society at large will be applied to the child with increasing force with each passing year to develop attitudes and behavior patterns that are sexually appropriate to the cultural group. The child who learns to behave in a way that is considered "appropriate" for his sex is assured of social acceptance; the child who fails to conform is subjected to criticism and social ostracism (45,105).

The *learning experiences* of the individual are determined by his sex. In the home, at school, and in play groups, the child is given an opportunity to learn what members of his or her sex consider appropriate. The boy who, for example, learns to play as girls play is labeled a "sissy" just as the

physical and mental development, which may give rise to personality patterns not found in individuals who have markedly dissimilar hereditary endowments.

In the *prenatal* period of development, the individual must share with one or more individuals the space nature has provided for one. Although the uterine walls are capable of expansion, there is a limit to the amount of expansion that can take place. As a result, there will be less space for each of the multiple births than there is for a singleton. This will limit the amount of fetal activity possible. This, in turn, will be a handicap to normal development of the fetal muscles. Because of crowding in the uterine environment, one of the fetuses may be retarded in development, with the result that he may be born with a birth defect not experienced by the other (6).

When the combined size of multiple births reaches that of a normal full-term fetus, there is likely to be a premature birth (49). The larger the number of multiple births, therefore, the greater the likelihood of prematurity. As a result, more cases of multiple births fail to survive than is true of singletons (115). Those who do survive are subjected to many of the unfavorable influences of prematurity (3, 60, 74, 103). (See pages 98-102 for a discussion of effects of prematurity.)

In the postnatal environment, the *attitudes of parents* and the *child-training methods* they use are different for singletons and multiple births, thus affecting further the patterns of their development. Mothers sometimes reject twins because they are "ashamed" or because twins make "too much work" (93, 99, 100, 108). Unfavorable attitudes are more likely to be present when multiple births come unexpectedly and parents have not had time

before the births to adjust to them. A new method of detecting multiple births which has proved to have high accuracy may help to minimize or eliminate any unfavorable parental attitude that comes from being taken by surprise (101).

Most parents, however, have favorable attitudes toward the twins but feel that they should share the same postnatal environment, just as they shared the same prenatal environment. Therefore, twins are treated as if they belonged together, are dressed alike, and are expected to share the same friends. Whether identical or nonidentical, twins of the same sex are subjected to more similar treatment than twins of both sexes (17, 65, 71, 93).

The effects of prenatal and postnatal environmental influences have been extensively studied in the case of twins and triplets. These have revealed a *developmental lag* in physical, mental, motor, and speech development in the case of multiple births, some of which is compensated for as development progresses to older ages. However, there are such marked individual differences between singletons, twins, and triplets that it would be incorrect to say that multiple birth per se causes a developmental lag or that twins and triplets are always inferior to singletons (43, 59, 64, 85). How much they differ from singletons depends more on their maturity level at birth than on any one other factor (75).

The common practice of keeping twins and triplets together affects their *social development*. In the preschool years, there is a tendency for them to be competitive for adult attention, to imitate one another's behavior, and to be more dependent upon each other for companionship than on outsiders (59, 93). As they grow older, sibling rivalry and competition

and feelings of inferiority develop. Because each individual feels that he lacks independence and is being compared with his twin in all his achievements, he experiences frustrations.

Furthermore, as is true of all social relationships, one individual is likely to usurp the role of leader and force the other into the role of follower. This affects social relationships with outsiders (17,93). Even the dating experiences and marital adjustments of twins are likely to be different from those of singletons (66,93).

The *personality development* of twins has been found to be markedly affected by the closeness of their association (43,64,90). It is difficult for identical twins to develop individuality because it is often impossible for them to distinguish between themselves and their twins, even though they may delight in the attention they attract. This lack of a feeling of individuality frequently leads to frustrations, conflicts, and aggressive reactions which leave their mark on the personality pattern (8,65,66,90,93,140). Even more serious effects on personality development have been reported in the case of triplets and quadruplets (78,119).

From extensive research work on twins and from examination of the findings of research by others, Koch has summarized the effects of certain persistent interpersonal and cultural relations on the personality structuring of the individuals. They are:

1. Twins tend to be subject to more trauma of all degrees and types in the very early stages of development than are singletons.
2. Twins, especially the identicals, may not only give each other constant com-

panionship and support but also less stimulation than siblings normally do.

3. Twins tend to be subjected to endless comparison.
4. Twins are often suddenly separated at school.
5. Twins have competition from the day they are conceived from a competitor whose needs and interests overlap to an extremely high degree.
6. Twins have a social conspicuousness which may color the rewards and stresses to which they are subject—perhaps even the kinds of defenses they can successfully achieve.

However, as Koch further explains, "the various types of twins... may experience the aforementioned influences quite diversely and in different degrees." She concludes her studies with the comment "It does seem to me that the play of forces, biological and social, upon twins is rather different in many respects from that which molds the singleton" (74).

PERIODS OF PRENATAL DEVELOPMENT

The normal prenatal period is 10 lunar months or 9 calendar months in length. However, there is great variation in this length, ranging from 180 days to 334 days, the legal limit of postmaturity. There are approximately three times as many babies born prematurely as postmaturely (19).

Prenatal development is orderly and predictable. Hence, it is possible to give a "timetable" of the important developments taking place during this period. The prenatal period is generally divided into three stages or periods, each charac-

terized by its own peculiar type of development (92,105,116). These three periods are: the *period of the ovum*, extending from the moment of conception to the end of the second week; the *period of the embryo*, from the end of the second week to the end of the second lunar month; and the *period of the fetus*, from the end of the second lunar month until birth.

The Period of the Ovum

During the entire two weeks of this period, the zygote, or fertilized ovum, remains practically unchanged in size because it receives little or no nourishment from outside. By the time it reaches the uterus, the size of the zygote is about that of a pinhead. It has been kept alive by the nourishment it received from the yolk of the ovum.

Marked internal changes begin immediately after fertilization, even as the zygote passes down the Fallopian tube into the uterus. The ovum divides and subdivides many times, forming a globular cluster of many cells. Within this cluster, a small cavity forms, causing the cells to separate into outer and inner layers. The *outer layer* later develops into the accessory tissues which protect and nourish the individual during the prenatal period and part of the *inner cluster* develops into the embryo.

While the fertilized ovum is completing its journey down the Fallopian tube, the lining of the uterus is completing its preparation to receive the ovum. This preparation consists of an increase in the blood-vessel and glandular systems of the wall so that it will be a soft, thick, cushionlike structure in which the ovum can be embedded and receive nourishment.

This type of preparation occurs during

every menstrual cycle and is brought about by the secretion of two hormones, *estrogen*, present in the follicle in which the ovum matures and from which it is released when the follicle ruptures, and *progesterone*, which is produced in the wall of the ovary. Should the preparation be unnecessary, as is true when the ovum has not been fertilized, the tissue in the uterine wall breaks down and is eliminated from the body in the menstrual flow (29,109).

IMPLANTATION During approximately the first half of the period of the ovum, the zygote is free roving and unattached. It is nourished by the yolk within the ovum. After the zygote emerges from the Fallopian tube, it usually floats about in the uterus, unattached, for several days. During this time, it must continue to nourish itself from its yolk.

Then, when the zygote finds a place in the uterine wall to lodge, it shoots out feelers which push their way through the blood vessels in the wall and thus create a new source of nourishment. *Implantation* usually occurs about ten days after fertilization. Once this has been accomplished, the zygote becomes a parasite and remains as such throughout the remainder of the prenatal period (79,109).

SIGNIFICANCE OF PERIOD The period of the ovum is important for three reasons: *first*, the ovum may die before it becomes lodged in the wall of the uterus; *second*, implantation may not take place; and, *third*, the ovum may become implanted in the wrong place. If the ovum has too little yolk to keep it alive until it can lodge itself in the uterine wall, or if it remains so long in the tube that the yolk is used up, the zygote will die. An insufficient number of hormones from the mother's thyroid

and pituitary glands slows down the pattern of reproduction and is believed, therefore, to be the cause of the zygote's remaining unattached for too long.

When there is a proper balance between the functions of the mother's pituitary gland and the ovaries, the walls of the uterus prepare themselves to receive the zygote. If this preparation is too late, because of glandular imbalance, implantation cannot occur; the zygote disintegrates and is washed out of the body with the next menstrual flow.

And, finally, the zygote may attach itself to a place where it cannot get nourishment and, as a result, it will die. It may become attached to a small fibroid tumor in the uterine wall from which it can get no nourishment. Or, it may not move down into the uterus but attach itself to the wall of the Fallopian tube. This is known as a *tubal pregnancy*. Because normal development cannot take place in the tube, the zygote must be removed surgically.

The Period of the Embryo

The period of the embryo is one of rapid change. From a mass of cells, the embryo develops in the short period of six weeks to a miniature individual. All the essential features of the body, both external and internal, are established at this time (92).

Development follows the *law of developmental direction*, with the major development occurring in the head region first and in the extremities last. Gradually, as the prenatal period progresses, development extends to the lower part of the body so that, at the time of birth, some of the original top-heaviness has been corrected. Figure 2-4 shows the disproportionately large head at the end of the period of the embryo and the changes in proportion that

take place as the prenatal period progresses. After the period of the embryo, the changes that occur are in actual or relative size and in the functioning of the parts of the body already formed, rather than in the appearance of new features.

ACCESSORY APPARATUS The outer layer of cells, which separated from the inner shortly after implantation, now develops into the accessory apparatus which will protect and nourish the embryo until the time of birth. These consist of the placenta, umbilical cord, and sac. The *placenta* develops where the zygote embedded itself in the uterine wall at the time of implantation. It is a pie-shaped structure which eventually grows to be about an inch thick and 8 to 10 inches in diameter. The *umbilical cord* is then developed from the placenta and is attached, at the other end, to the abdominal wall of the embryo. A ropelike structure containing blood vessels but no nerves, the umbilical cord eventually becomes the thickness of a man's finger and measures 10 to 20 inches in length (136). The third form of accessory apparatus to develop during the period of the embryo is the *amniotic sac*, made up of four membranes and attached to the placenta. It is filled with a watery fluid, the *amniotic fluid*, in which the embryo develops. Its function is to protect the embryo until the time of birth and to keep the temperature of the prenatal environment constant.

The maternal blood flows into the placenta from the arteries in the uterine wall and, in this way, oxygen, food materials, and water are transported from the mother's bloodstream, through the umbilical cord, to the embryo. Through the umbilical cord, waste products from the embryo's body are filtered back through

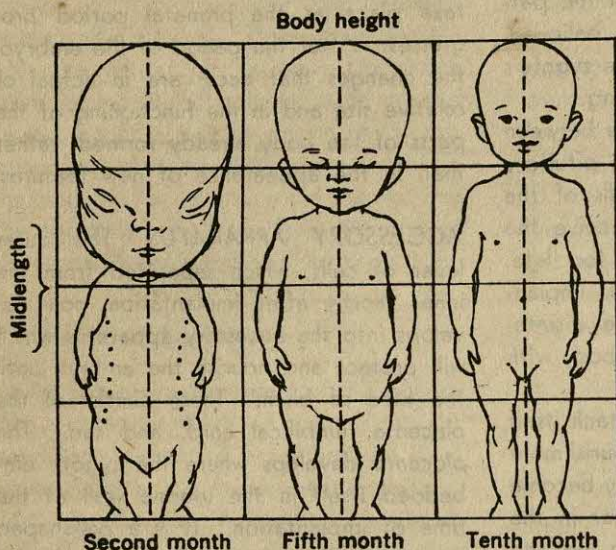


FIGURE 2-4 BODY PROPORTIONS AT THE END OF DIFFERENT LUNAR MONTHS DURING THE PRENATAL PERIOD. (ADAPTED FROM C. MURCHISON: *A handbook of child psychology*. 2D ED. WORCESTER, MASS.: CLARK UNIV. PRESS, 1933. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the placenta into the mother's bloodstream and are removed through her organs of excretion. The embryo develops its own circulatory system but must rely upon the placenta for its nourishment and the elimination of its waste products. There is no direct connection between the maternal and embryonic bloodstreams, only an indirect connection through the placenta, which acts as a filter (19,109). Just before birth, the sac in which the embryo has developed ruptures and releases the amniotic fluid, which helps to lubricate the passageway for birth. Within a short time after birth, all parts of the accessory apparatus, the sac, cord, and placenta, are expelled from the mother's body as *after-birth*. Their usefulness ends when the baby

leaves its prenatal environment (19,43,79, 84).

DEVELOPMENT OF EMBRYO The inner layer of germ cells divides into the *ectoderm*, the *mesoderm*, and the *endoderm*. The *ectoderm* produces the epidermis of the skin, hair, nails, parts of the teeth, the skin glands, the sensory cells, and the entire nervous system. At the beginning of the period of the embryo, a neural tube is formed by a groove in the *ectoderm*. Eventually this develops into the spinal cord and the upper part of the brain. By the fifth week, the principal structures of the brain can be distinguished at the top of the neural tube. From the *mesoderm* come the dermis, or inner layer of skin, the

muscles, and circulatory and excretory organs. The endoderm produces the lining of the digestive tract, trachea, bronchia, Eustachian tube, lungs, liver, pancreas, salivary glands, thyroid gland, and thymus.

The rapidity of development taking place during the period of the embryo can be appreciated only when one knows what changes occur at this time. By the end of the period, the embryo has enlarged from the size of a pinhead to an individual $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches long, and weighing about two-thirds of an ounce. This increase is estimated to be about 2 million percent (19).

The form of the embryo is distinctly human, though the proportions differ so markedly from those of an adult that one cannot refer to an embryo as a "miniature adult." The head is enormous, and the arms and legs are very small. There are eyes with *eyelids* in the form of folds of skin above the eyes, ears that are low on the side of the head, a broad nose, a large bulging forehead, a mouth that opens, and a very small lower jaw which makes the embryo appear chinless.

The rounded, elongated trunk contains a liver, one-tenth of the entire body volume, from which bile is excreted; intestines which are shoved into the umbilical cord; a diaphragm which divides the chest from the abdominal cavity; and sex organs which are differentiated enough both externally and internally to make it possible to distinguish the sex of an individual when operatively removed.

The arms have elbows and the legs, knees. The fingers and toes are webbed at this time. There is a tail which reaches its maximum development during this period and then regresses. The majority of the body muscles are now formed, and those

of the arms and legs are capable of functioning. There is cartilage in the backbone, ribs, and arms and leg bones. Around the cartilage is hard bone which spreads nearer and nearer the surface as time goes on and replaces the cartilage (43,91,92,116). By the end of the period of the embryo, the individual is distinctly human. All the important features, organs, and glands of the body have started to develop and the embryo represents a miniature human being (79,92).

In operatively removed fetuses, an examination of the umbilical cord shows regular twists which, it is believed, have come from turnings of the embryo in the uterus. It is also believed, though not definitely proved, that peristaltic movements begin before the end of this period. Spontaneous movements in the form of wormlike contractions of the arms, legs, and thorax can likewise be observed. All of these are of a random, uncoordinated type (43,84,91,116).

HAZARDS OF PERIOD The period of the embryo is not without its hazards. Of the important hazards, miscarriages, abortions, and developmental irregularities are the most common.

MISCARRIAGES Falls, emotional shocks, malnutrition, glandular disturbances, and other not fully determined causes may dislodge the embryo from its place in the uterine wall, thus resulting in a miscarriage, or "spontaneous abortion." There are many popular explanations for miscarriages, most of which are now disproved. The majority of these center around the mother's activities, emphasizing the fact that she was too active, she was too excitable, she smoked or drank too much, or

that she took too many automobile trips. There is also a popular belief that miscarriage is a "blessing in disguise" because it is nature's way of getting rid of the unfit (127). This belief has helped to ease the sorrow of many women who otherwise would have suffered from feelings of guilt for the role they played in bringing about the death of their unborn children.

Although it is true that a certain percentage of miscarriages come from the elimination of the unfit, most are the result of other causes. Of these, an amount of progesterone, insufficient to keep the uterine walls from contracting and thus dislodging the embryo before it is firmly implanted, is believed to be the most common and most serious (109). Other proved causes are insufficiency of the thyroid hormone, insufficiency of vitamin E, pronounced malnutrition or starvation, and serious diseases, such as pneumonia, smallpox, diphtheria, German measles, and diabetes (91,92,116).

For reasons as yet unknown, female embryos have a better chance of survival than male. For every 100 females lost through miscarriage, for example, there are 160 males (109,115). When miscarriage is due to a defective zygote, it usually occurs early in the prenatal period. If, on the other hand, it is due to some unfavorable condition in the prenatal environment, it generally comes between the tenth and eleventh weeks after conception (49). (See Figure 2-5.)

ABORTIONS The embryo may be dislodged from the wall of the uterus voluntarily because the pregnancy is unwanted. As soon as a woman suspects or discovers that she is pregnant, she may take steps to end the pregnancy if she does not want to have a child. This may be because she

is unmarried, because she already has more children than the family budget can provide for adequately, because having a child at this time may interfere with her husband's vocational plans, because of already-existing marital problems that will be further complicated by the arrival of a baby, and a host of other reasons. In general, abortion is less common among better-educated women who are aware of its potential dangers. It is very unusual in the devoutly religious (41,91,92).

Even where there is a justified reason for abortion, as in the case of evidence that the baby may be born deformed because of some unfavorable condition in the mother's body early in pregnancy which is *known* to produce physical or mental deformities in more than a chance number of individuals, and even when it is performed by doctors in hospitals for therapeutic purposes, it may be a psychological trauma for the mother.

Should the reason not be medically justifiable, the psychological trauma is likely to be greater and will lead to feelings of guilt and periods of severe depression. This may and often does affect the woman's marital adjustments and her attitudes toward any subsequent child she may have (41). Should an abortion be attempted by the woman without adequate medical care and be unsuccessful, such severe feelings of guilt may result that these feelings will affect her treatment of her child for the remainder of her life (18).

DEVELOPMENTAL IRREGULARITIES Developmental irregularities of minor or major seriousness are most likely to occur during the period of the embryo when the different characteristics of the body are in the process of formation. Developmental irregularities at this time are more

The beginnings of life : life size

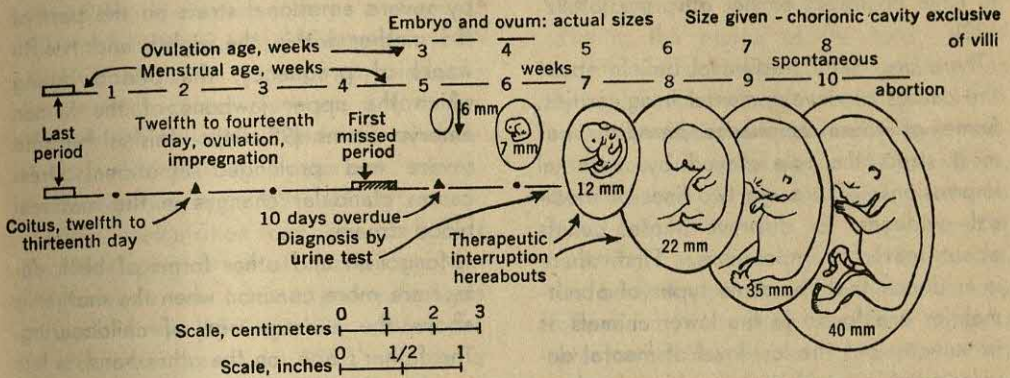


FIGURE 2-5 THE USUAL TIMES FOR MISCARRIAGES. (ADAPTED FROM E. L. POTTER: PREGNANCY. IN M. FISHBEIN AND E. W. BURGESS, *Successful marriage*, REV. ED. GARDEN CITY, N.Y.: DOUBLEDAY, 1955. USED BY PERMISSION.)

likely to be of a serious type than those which occur later (63,107,111). For that reason, the "first trimester may be the most significant period of our lives" (104). In discussing the importance of what happens during the period of the embryo and its effects on later development, Garn has pointed out (40):

The first trimester, moreover, is a time of tremendous danger to the embryo; though tiny, its rapidly developing cells are highly susceptible to oxygen-deprivation, toxins, and viral agents. It is during the first trimester that almost all developmental defects—the cleft palates, missing limbs, blindness, and monstrosities—we see at birth occur. Possibly a single virus affecting susceptible tissue at a critical horizon results in the association between Mongolism and leukemia. The one bright side of the picture of embryonic wastage and prenatal loss is that the grossest of the defects and the most lethal of the genes never get beyond the first trimester. Thus we are spared untoward numbers of

defective individuals and our genetic makeup constantly purifies itself by pre-natal attrition.

If the defects are serious and if the embryo does not miscarry, the individual will develop into a *monster* or badly deformed human being. As a result, he will be "subject to a miserable life" (118). Unfavorable environmental conditions are especially serious at the time when the embryonic brain is developing (46,77,107).

There is a special time in the timetable of prenatal development for the development of each organ. If something hinders an organ from developing at the proper time, "it will never be able to express itself fully since the moment for the rapid growth of some other part will have arrived" (92). Developmental irregularities are not likely to occur, however, if unfavorable factors in the prenatal environment occur before a certain part of the body has started to develop or after it has formed (50). After the first five months of pregnancy, rubella, or German measles,

in the mother, for example, has been found to have no effect on her offspring (58,82, 122).

There are many traditional beliefs about the causes of developmental irregularities. Some of these emphasize heredity, but most stress the role played by maternal impressions. There are two lines of medical evidence to disprove these beliefs about maternal impressions. First there is evidence that the same types of abnormalities are found in the lower animals as in humans, but the low level of mental development in the animals would make them incapable of maternal impressions (37).

Second, there is no direct nervous connection between the mother and the embryo. There are no nerves in the umbilical cord and, as a result, the mother's thoughts, feelings, and emotions could have no direct influence on the embryo (35,37,116,127).

It is now known that developmental irregularities are due to either *internal* (inherent in the ovum from the start) or *external* (acting on the embryo from a very early stage) causes (107,111). It has been suggested that structural abnormalities may be the result either of a good egg in a bad environment or a bad egg in a good environment.

Little is known about the *internal* causes except that heredity plays a part in the occurrence of certain deformities. *External*, or environmental causes, on the other hand, account for most of the abnormalities. Many abnormalities formerly believed to be hereditary in origin are now being found to be the result of unfavorable environmental conditions during the period when the deformed structure is in the process of development (4,47,117).

Cleft palate and harelip, which formerly were believed to be hereditary, have re-

cently been demonstrated to be caused by severe emotional stress on the part of the mother within the eighth and twelfth weeks of pregnancy, the period during which the upper jawbone of the human embryo forms (98,104). This is because severe and prolonged emotional stress causes glandular changes in the maternal blood stream.

Mongolism and other forms of birth defect are more common when the mother is above the average age of childbearing. The father's age, on the other hand, is less important (88). Such evidence has led Ingalls to conclude that "Mongolism and other congenital defects can no longer be shrugged off as mysterious acts of God or allowed to go to the geneticist by default" (62).

In lower animals, experiments have demonstrated that changes can be brought about in the very early stages of growth by chemical, thermal, or other agents (134). A systematic reduction of oxygen at different periods in the pregnancy of mice resulted in deformities of their offspring. When the deprivation of oxygen was on the eighth day of pregnancy, for example, the offspring had an incompletely formed skull, and a harelip resulted from oxygen deprivation occurring on the twelfth day (61,111).

In humans, when some foreign agent changes the rate of development, the course of growth in the different parts of the organism is altered and abnormalities result. If the mother develops a case of rubella during the first three or four months of pregnancy, such defects as blindness, deafness, anomalies in the structure of the heart, microcephaly, or mental deficiency may result in her offspring (47,58,82,117, 122).

It is known that irradiation therapy by

deep X ray or radium during pregnancy affects the developing embryo and causes deformities (91,92,116). Glandular deficiencies, as in the case of thyroid deficiency which causes *cretinism*, deformities of physical structures, and mental deficiency, also play an important role in producing monsters (19,91,109,127).

Serious malnutrition can likewise affect the developing brain of the embryo unfavorably as can intense and prolonged maternal stress (22,72,92,128). Since the "thalidomide scare" in 1962, increasing evidence has appeared of the harmful effects of drugs when taken in the first trimester of pregnancy. In the case of thalidomide, for example, malformation of the long bones of the limbs, especially of the arms, was an aftermath of the mother's use of thalidomide to ease the discomforts of morning sickness during the early stages of pregnancy (132). Regardless of the unfavorable condition of the prenatal environment, it is important to stress that *the timing of the disturbance is the crucial factor rather than the disturbance itself* (63, 67,72,92,116).

The Period of the Fetus

The period of the fetus is by far the longest but, in many respects, the least important subdivision of the prenatal period. The reason for this is that the development which takes place during this period consists mainly of changes in actual or relative size of the parts of the body already established during the preceding period rather than in the appearance of new parts (84,92). This is illustrated in Figure 2-6, which shows that at nine weeks, close to the end of the period of the embryo, the features of the face and body give the embryo a distinctly human look. After

that, the development is mainly in the size and complexity of these features.

During the period of the fetus, actual growth and development are greater than during the period of the embryo. However, they occur at a relatively slower rate. As is true during the period of the embryo, development during the period of the fetus follows the *law of developmental direction*. In the early part of the period, the body length shows a rapid increase followed by a steady decline in growth rate toward the end of the period, when increase occurs in the length of the limbs.

The increase in *body length* at this time is slightly over sevenfold. By the end of the third lunar month, the fetus measures approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and weighs $\frac{3}{4}$ ounce; at five months, 10 inches and 9 to 10 ounces; at eight months, 16 to 18 inches and 4 to 5 pounds; and, at ten months, 20 inches and 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.

The *head* is almost one-third of the total body length at the beginning of the period, one-fourth at the sixth month, and slightly less than one-fourth at birth. During this period, the *face* becomes relatively a little broader, and there are many changes in the nose, mouth, and throat. Sockets for the teeth appear at this time.

During the early part of this period, the *skin* is wrinkled, owing to the comparative absence of subcutaneous fat. At the end of the period, the skin is very red, owing to the visibility of the vascular system just beneath it. The *hair* on the scalp is short, poorly pigmented, and often scanty. There is usually soft, wooly hair covering most of the body, *lanugo hair*, which is shed shortly after birth (19,84).

Rapid growth takes place in the *trunk* also. The increase is between seven- and ninefold. Before the third fetal month, the *arms* are longer than the *legs*. Later

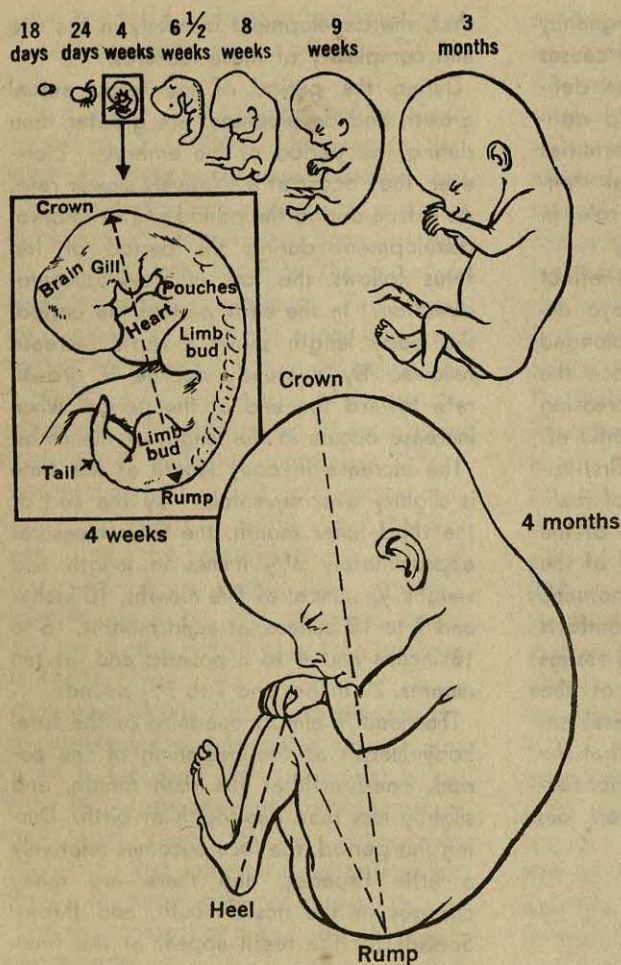


FIGURE 2-0 HOW THE BODY DEVELOPS DURING THE EARLY MONTHS OF PRENATAL LIFE. (ADAPTED FROM P. C. MARTIN AND E. L. VINCENT: *Human development*. RONALD, 1960. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the reverse is true. During the fourth month, the toe and finger patterns are established. They continue to develop so that, by birth, the hands and feet, though proportionally small, are well developed. The nails on the toes and fingers grow

gradually during the last part of the period of the fetus (19,84).

At the end of the third lunar month, the *internal organs* are well developed. In some instances, they begin to function at this time. *Fetal heartbeat*, for example,

can be detected through the use of a stethoscope by the fourteenth or sixteenth week. By the end of the fifth lunar month, the different internal organs have assumed positions nearly like those in an adult body. Changes in relative weights of the thymus, thyroid, and adrenal glands occur during this period. At the fourth prenatal month, the adrenals are relatively the largest, the thyroid is immature, and the thymus begins to grow steadily (32). Most of the primary ossification centers have appeared before the end of the fourth fetal month (43).

By the third lunar month, short, thread-like prolongations, which later develop into the *axons* and *dendrites* of the *neurons*, appear. Two months later, the complete number of neurons possessed by a mature individual are present. From then on, development consists of extension of the axons and dendrites, acquisition of a covering or myelin sheath, and modification of the synapses. Not all parts of the brain develop at the same time. The regions that control motor activities develop far in advance of the other areas of the brain (19,43,84).

The condition of the *sense organs* during the fetal period is difficult to determine. There are indications, however, that stimulation of the sense cells in the fetus is impossible because of the constant conditions which exist within the uterus. *Taste* buds, which begin to develop in the third fetal month, are found on the hard palate, the tonsils, and in parts of the esophagus, as well as on the tongue. *Smell* reactions in prematurely born infants show that the smell mechanism is well developed before birth. But like taste, olfaction cannot begin until the nasal cavity is filled with air (19,84).

Stimulation of the visual cells in the eye does not take place until birth, though the

eye itself begins to develop in the second or third week after fertilization. For six or more months before birth, the eyes move with increasing coordination, even though they are in darkness. This is nature's preparation to meet the demands that will be made upon the eyes when subjected to light. Two months before birth, the retina assumes an adult arrangement. Four months before birth, the fovea forms and establishes itself definitely at the final adult distance from the optic nerve head (19,43).

The infant remains partially deaf, even after birth, until the Eustachian tube of the ear is opened and the liquid from the middle ear is drained out. However, the fetus can hear strong sounds produced by doorbells, buzzers, and wooden knockers struck against a dish attached to the mother's abdomen. Fetal reaction to such sounds occurs four or five weeks before birth (10).

Cutaneous sensitivity begins in the nose and mouth region then spreads gradually over the remaining surface of the body. Even in prematurely born infants, little or no response is made to *pain* stimulations. The *temperature* sense is much the same in premature as in full-term infants. Reactions to stimuli warmer than the body are stronger than to stimuli that are colder. The semicircular canals in the inner ear, responsible for *balance*, begin to function early in the fetal period and attain their adult size by the end of this period (19,84).

FETAL ACTIVITY The *muscles* are well developed, and *spontaneous movements* of the arms and legs appear by the third lunar month (19). Fetal activity differs markedly in different fetuses, not only in amount but also in type (138). See Figure 2-7. In some instances, the fetus is active as much as 75 percent of the time;

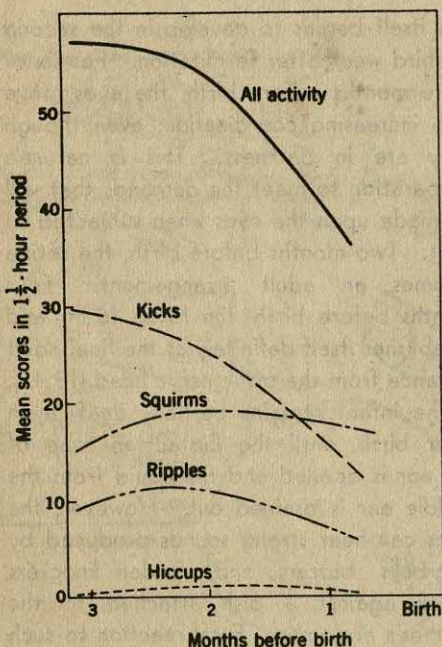


FIGURE 2-7 TYPES OF FETAL ACTIVITY. (ADAPTED FROM C. E. WALTERS: RELIABILITY AND COMPARISON OF FOUR TYPES OF FETAL ACTIVITY AND TOTAL ACTIVITY. *Child Developm.*, 1964, 35, 1249-1256. USED BY PERMISSION.)

in others, as little as 5 percent. In some fetuses, constant turning and twisting are noted; in others, the movements are limited to kicks of the legs and thrusts of the arms (138). Some have hiccups almost every day, others rarely hiccup. There is a significant increase in the amount of fetal movement from the sixth to the ninth lunar month. During the last lunar month before birth, there is increased pressure on the fetal head, thus inhibiting bodily movement, and crowding of the fetal body in the amniotic sac. This limits the space for movement (19,43,57,102,138).

Early fetal activity is greater in the head than in the leg region, showing the opera-

tion of the law of developmental direction. Toward the end of the period of the fetus, however, the amount of activity in the leg region is similar to that in the head region (57). Activity is greater at the end of the day than in the morning, suggesting that the mother's fatigue may be a contributing cause (53). The periods of activity increase in length but decrease in number as the fetus grows older (70).

Two distinct types of fetal activity have been reported: specific reflexes and generalized movements, or mass activity, involving most of the body. Between the fourth and fifth prenatal months, most of the basic reflexes, such as swallowing and the flexion reflex, are established. Mass activity, in response to external stimuli, occurs as early as the third prenatal month. Later, mass activity becomes spontaneous and does not have to be stimulated by external stimuli. As the period of the fetus progresses, mass activity becomes more differentiated, thus allowing different parts of the body to move independently of the rest of the body (19,43).

Variations in fetal activity have been found to be associated with different conditions in the fetal environment. Maternal activity temporarily decreases fetal activity. When the mother is severely fatigued, more frequent and more violent fetal activity occurs (53). Sudden feelings of fear or anger on the mother's part produce immediate and marked increases in the number and violence of fetal movements. Fetuses of mothers undergoing severe emotional stress exhibit many times the amount of activity they previously did (10).

It has been noted that infants who were most active as fetuses show certain motor performances at an earlier age than do those who were less active (125,139). Excessive activity of fetuses, on the other

hand, may cause infants to be considerably underweight for their body length at birth, because energy-producing foods are used up in activity rather than stored as fat. Infants who were less active as fetuses are covered with more fat tissue at birth, but they have been found to be slower in acquiring skills postnatally. However, they generally have less difficulty in adjusting to their postnatal environment than those who were excessively active during the fetal period (102,125,139). Hyperactive fetuses, by contrast, often become "hyperactive irritable, squirming, crying" infants, suffering from a "prenatally produced neurosis" which makes their adjustment to life outside the mother's body difficult (125).

HAZARDS OF PERIOD As with the preceding periods, the period of the fetus is not without its hazards. As Garn has pointed out (40):

From the sixth through the ninth month of pregnancy, hazards are fewer and the completion of major stages of development makes the fetus less vulnerable to injury. Yet it is in this period when mental growth may be set back by environmental insults too mild to yield gross anatomical defects. Nutritional deficiencies during later pregnancy may lead to unsound teeth, jaw-face defects, and disturbances of behavior and personality observable in later life.

Of the possible hazards to fetal development, miscarriages, prematurity, complications of delivery, and developmental irregularities are the most common and most serious.

MISCARRIAGES There is always the possibility of a miscarriage up to the fifth

month of pregnancy, with the most vulnerable times when the woman's menstrual period would normally occur. With each passing week, voluntarily ending pregnancy by an abortion becomes increasingly difficult and dangerous as the fetus becomes more firmly attached to the uterine wall (41,49).

PREMATURITY Normally, the fetus has reached a state of development by the end of the seventh lunar month which makes survival possible, should birth occur at that time. This is known as the *age of viability*. By the end of the next month, the fetal body is completely formed though smaller in size than the body of the normal, full-term infant. The chances of survival, should birth occur then, are greatly increased.

Sometimes, even those fetuses who weigh less than the borderline size between viability and nonviability—2 pounds 3 ounces—do survive, but their chances are less than those of heavier fetuses, and their chances of malformations are greater (19, 49). Approximately 50 percent more male fetuses die if born prematurely than is true of female (115). The causes and consequences of prematurity will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

COMPLICATIONS OF DELIVERY The ease or difficulty of childbirth has been found to be influenced by prenatal conditions, especially those existing during the period of the fetus. Of these conditions, maternal attitudes are reported to be the most detrimental. Maternal anxiety during pregnancy tends to lead to birth complications by affecting uterine contractions. As a result, labor time is longer and the chances of complications greater because the fetus must often be delivered by instru-

ments (26,48,68,86,135). Furthermore, anxiety often leads to weight gain in pregnancy which further complicates birth (68).

Pregnant women whose attitudes toward sex and pregnancy are rated negatively and whose marital adjustments are poor have been reported to have the greatest complications, not only during childbirth, but also during the entire pregnancy period (33). These unfavorable attitudes carry over and affect the fetus's adjustment to postnatal life (36,125). Severe and prolonged stress may result in such complicated childbirth that the fetus will be born prematurely, will die before or after birth, or will be so damaged by a complicated birth that the whole course of his future life will be unfavorably affected (48,118).

DEVELOPMENTAL IRREGULARITIES Markedly unfavorable conditions in the prenatal environment will have their effect on the developing fetus. The conditions may not be pronounced enough to cause developmental irregularities, as is true of the period of the embryo, when different parts of the body are in the formative stage (69,133). Only those developments which take place during the period of the fetus, such as the mineralization of the skeleton, will be profoundly influenced. However, unfavorable conditions in the prenatal environment will retard fetal development, as in the case of *cretins*, whose physical and mental development are deformed as a result of thyroid and pituitary deficiencies (9,91,92,116).

Since growth is most rapid during the period of the fetus, proteins are needed for tissue building and repair, fats for the formation of fat tissue and fuel for the body, and carbohydrates for strength and

energy. If the mother suffers from serious *malnutrition* due to poverty, ignorance of proper diet, war conditions, or desire to retain a slender figure through the use of "crash diets," serious damage may be done to the fetus in the form of general physical weakness, rickets, nervous instability, mental deficiency, or a host of other physical abnormalities (16,22,52,55,72,92,128).

Whether these effects will eventually be compensated for will be determined largely by the conditions that exist in the early postnatal environment (4,52,68,97,106). Deficiency of vitamins C, B-6 or B-12, D, K, and E in the mother's diet during pregnancy has been found to lead to rickets, scurvy, and stillbirths (116).

The *Rh* blood factor in which the blood cells of the fetus are damaged because of incompatibility of chemical substances in the mother's and fetus's blood, or any *diseased condition* of the mother which affects her general metabolism, such as syphilis, gonorrhea, tuberculosis, diabetes, or toxins in the bloodstream may produce physical defects, mental deficiency, prematurity of birth, or stillbirths (9,42,91,92,109,113,116).

The use of *drugs*, especially barbiturates and other "pain killers" prior to delivery may affect the oxygen supply to the fetal brain and cause brain damage of major or minor importance (91,92,116,132). When X ray is used lightly during the latter part of pregnancy for diagnostic purposes, there is little evidence of damage to the fetus; if X ray is used for therapeutic purposes when greater strength is needed, it may cause damage to the fetal brain which results in mental deficiency (91,92,116).

Relatively little is known about the effects on the fetus of the mother's use of *alcohol*

and tobacco. So long as they are used in small quantities, there appears to be no more than temporary effect, as increase in fetal activity. However, if used in large enough quantities that the mother shows signs of nervousness, wakefulness, or irregular heart action, it is possible that there will be some effect on the fetal heart and circulatory system as well as on the other fetal organs that are developing at this time. Excessive smoking is associated with premature births (124,125).

Endocrine disorders are known to be a common cause of some of the developmental irregularities that occur during the period of the fetus. One of the reasons given for the greater number of developmental disorders in children whose mothers are older than the average is that, as women approach the menopause in the late thirties or early forties, there is a change in the balance in the endocrine system. This causes a slowing down of the development of the fetus and causes cretinism, mongoloid idiocy, heart malformations, and hydrocephaly or "water on the brain," all of which are accompanied by physical and mental defects (9,88,91,92, 104,116). There is also a tendency for fetuses of older women to be smaller and to have more complications in birth (91,92).

Endocrine imbalance may come from prolonged emotional strain on the part of the pregnant woman. Whether the strain comes from unfavorable attitudes toward pregnancy, marital troubles, economic problems, not wanting the child because it is illegitimate, or some other cause, it is now known that it has a serious effect on the physical and mental development of the fetus (27,36,37,41,48,131). These "blood-borne" anxieties also carry over into the period of the newborn and seri-

ously affect the infant's adjustment to postnatal life (83,125,137). From observations on the adjustment difficulties such infants experience, Ferreira has commented: "The psychiatric and social implications of these observations suggest a sober reappraisal of the current attitudes toward the unwanted pregnancy" (37).

One of the serious aspects of developmental irregularities that happen because of some unfavorable condition in the uterine environment during the period of the fetus is that they are often not diagnosed as such until months or even years after birth (56,92,113,116). Epilepsy, cerebral palsy, or mental deficiency, for example, may not show up until babyhood or even early in the childhood years (68,104).

Parents who believe that their baby is normal at birth find it difficult to accept a defective child and often blame themselves for something they have done to cause the defect. This leads to strong feelings of guilt on their part and a tendency to overprotect the defective child or to refuse to accept the fact that the child is as defective as he is (83).

It is now known that malnutrition during pregnancy may damage the developing fetal brain to the point where, as a young child, the individual will have learning difficulties in school, especially reading disabilities (46,52,68). Whenever the fetal brain is damaged, whatever the cause, there will be effects on the individual's behavior that become more and more apparent as he grows older and is compared with other children of the same age.

A comparison of brain-injured and normal children, for example, showed marked impairment in the cognitive and perceptual-motor areas on the part of those whose brains had been injured. This is

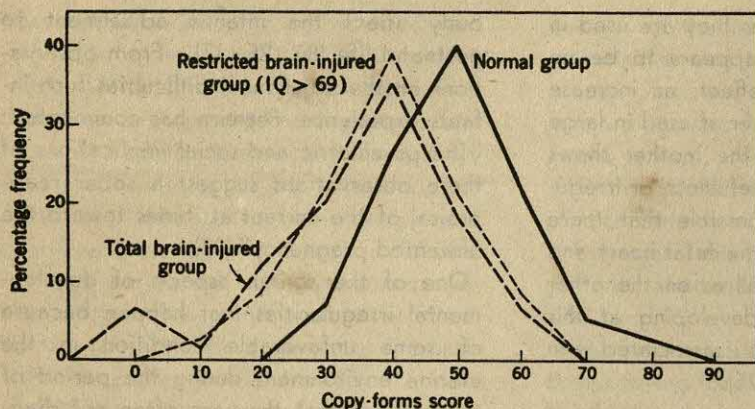


FIGURE 2-8 COMPARISON OF CHILDREN WHOSE BRAINS WERE INJURED AT BIRTH WITH NORMAL CHILDREN ON THE COPY-FORMS TEST. (ADAPTED FROM C. B. ERNHART, F. K. GRAHAM, P. L. EICHMAN, J. M. MARSHALL, AND D. THURSTON: BRAIN INJURY IN THE PRESCHOOL CHILD: SOME DEVELOPMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS. II. COMPARISON OF BRAIN INJURED AND NORMAL CHILDREN. *Psychol. Monogr.*, 1963, 77, NO. 11. USED BY PERMISSION.)

illustrated in Figure 2-8, which shows their performance on a copying-of-forms test. In addition, unfavorable personality characteristics, such as hyperactivity, impulsivity, and distractibility, are common among brain-injured children.

Prolonged and extreme maternal stress during the period of the fetus frequently causes more illness during the first three years of the baby's life than is experienced by babies who have had a more favorable fetal environment (104). They also show more "free-floating anxiety," which, while enabling them to perform their daily routines, causes them to lose much of their ability to remember and reason to the level of their full capacity. As a result, they

seem to be less bright than they actually are (126).

In spite of the hazards of the period of the fetus, most fetuses develop normally and come into the world with the capacity to make good adjustments to their post-natal environments. As medical science discovers the causes of developmental irregularities, premature births, and other conditions that may and often do impair the individual's abilities to adjust normally to life, remedial steps are taken to control or to minimize the severity of these conditions. As a result, the number of babies who will face a "miserable life" because of some defect caused by an unfavorable prenatal condition grows smaller each year.

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Infancy, or the period of the newborn, is the shortest of all the developmental periods. It begins at birth and ends when the infant is approximately two weeks old. This is the time when the fetus must adjust to life outside the uterine walls of the mother where he has lived for approximately nine months.

According to medical criteria, the adjustment is completed with the fall of the umbilical cord from the naval; according to physiological criteria, it is completed when the infant has regained the weight lost after birth; and according to psychological criteria, when he begins to show signs of developmental progress in behavior. Although most infants complete this adjustment in two weeks or slightly less, those whose birth has been difficult or premature require more time (73).

The period of infancy is generally subdivided into two periods: the period of the parturient and the period of the neonate. The *period of the parturient* lasts for the first fifteen to thirty minutes of postnatal life—from the time the infant emerges from the mother's body into the world until the umbilical cord has been cut.

The cutting of the umbilical cord marks the beginning of the second subdivision of the infancy period—the *period of the neonate*. At this time, the infant is no longer a parasite but has become a separate, distinct and independent individual. This period is characterized by the making of adjustments to a new environment in the world outside the mother's body.

Although the human life span legally begins at the moment of birth, birth is merely an interruption of the developmental pattern that started at the moment of conception. It is the graduation from an internal to an external environment. Like all graduations, it requires adjustments on the individual's part. It may be easy for the infant to make these adjustments or so difficult that he will fail to do so. As Miller has commented, "In all the rest of his life, there will never be such a sudden and complete change of locale" (127).

ADJUSTMENTS OF INFANCY

Even in the case of difficult births, it seldom takes more than forty-eight hours for the fetus to emerge from the mother's body into the world outside. By contrast, it requires approximately two weeks to adjust to this new environment. As Montagu (129) has explained:

Birth is an event—which embraces a vast number of critical changes which exercise an important series of influences upon the fetus about to be born, and which prepare him for the new kind of life he will live outside the womb.

Types of Adjustment

There are four major adjustments the infant must make before he can resume his developmental progress. If he does not make them, and make them quickly, his life will be threatened. While these adjustments are being made, there will be no developmental progress. Instead, the infant will remain on a plateau or may even regress to a lower stage of his development. The major adjustments he must make include adjustments to temperature

changes, to breathing, to sucking and swallowing, and to elimination.

ADJUSTMENT TO TEMPERATURE CHANGES In the sac in the mother's uterus, there is a constant temperature of approximately 100°F; in the hospital or home, it will vary from 60° to 70°.

ADJUSTMENT TO BREATHING During prenatal life, the necessary supply of oxygen came from the placenta through the umbilical cord to the fetal body. With the cutting of the umbilical cord, oxygen must come from inhaling and exhaling air through the lungs. Before this is possible, the lungs must be inflated. This normally occurs with the birth cry. At first, breathing is irregular and imperfect and must sometimes be supplemented with the administration of oxygen (170).

ADJUSTMENT TO SUCKING AND SWALLOWING During prenatal life, nourishment came in a constant supply through the placenta and umbilical cord to the fetal body from nutritive substances in the maternal bloodstream. As a result, the fetus grew and developed at a rapid rate. After birth, nourishment must come from the infant's sucking and swallowing.

These reflex activities are usually imperfectly developed at birth. The result is that the infant often does not get as much nourishment as he needs and, consequently, loses weight. Only after the reflexes of sucking and swallowing become more regular will he get enough nourishment to regain his lost weight and resume the pattern of growth interrupted at birth.

ADJUSTMENT TO ELIMINATION Waste products, during prenatal life, are eliminated from the fetal body through the

umbilical cord and the placenta into the maternal bloodstream. Within a few minutes or hours after birth, the infant's organs of excretion begin to function. This takes care of the elimination of waste products from his body.

DIFFICULTIES IN MAKING ADJUSTMENTS

Every newborn infant finds adjustment to postnatal life difficult. That the four major adjustments the infant must make are very difficult for him is apparent in the effects they have on the pattern of his development.

Indications of Difficulty

There are three major indications of the difficulty the infant has in adjusting to postnatal life (6). These indications include loss of weight, disorganization of behavior, and the relatively high infant mortality rate.

LOSS OF WEIGHT The newborn infant generally loses weight during the first week of postnatal life. As was pointed out above, this is because the sucking and swallowing reflexes are imperfectly developed at birth. Consequently, the infant is unable to get a constant supply of nourishment adequate to meet his needs for growth.

Normally, however, he is able to adjust to this new method of taking nourishment as the sucking and swallowing reflexes develop through maturation and through use. As a result, he begins to regain the weight lost after birth. Normally, by the time the infant is two weeks old, he weighs approximately what he weighed at birth.

DISORGANIZATION OF BEHAVIOR All newborn infants experience a state of rela-

tive disorganization of behavior during the first day or two of postnatal life, though in others it may last longer. This gradually clears up so that, by the end of the first week of postnatal life, the infant normally achieves a more organized pattern of behavior (21). Disorganization of behavior is shown in irregularities in the rate of respiration and pulse, in frequent urinations and defecations, in wheezing, colic, and regurgitation of food taken by sucking and swallowing (75).

There are two major causes of the disorganized behavior. *First*, newborn infants are stunned by the ordeal of birth with its pressure on the brain, which is only partially protected by a still-undeveloped skull. Consequently, as Schwartz has pointed out, "almost every baby born normally suffers some disturbance of the cranial and even the cerebral circulation" (167). The *second* cause of disorganized behavior is that the infant has deficient mechanisms for maintaining body homeostasis, because of the undeveloped state of his autonomic nervous system. Before birth, homeostasis was maintained for him by the mother's homeostasis. With the cutting of the umbilical cord, this now becomes a responsibility for his own body to achieve (75,111).

INFANT MORTALITY The most important evidence of the difficulty in adjusting to postnatal life is the relatively high infant mortality rate. Although it is true that deaths during the period of postnatal adjustment have been declining in recent years, the death toll is still high. The most critical time is the day of birth, when 29 percent of all neonatal deaths occur; the next most critical are the second and third days after birth (59,166,168).

Over three out of four deaths of babies

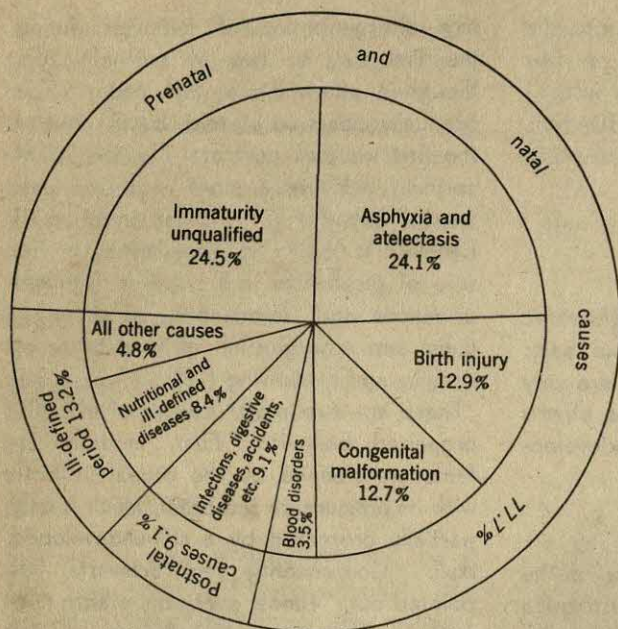


FIGURE 3-1 OVER THREE OUT OF FOUR DEATHS OF INFANTS ARE FROM CAUSES ARISING EITHER BEFORE OR DURING BIRTH. (ADAPTED FROM E. M. GOLD: A BROAD VIEW OF MATERNITY CARE. *Children*, 1962, 9, 52-58. USED BY PERMISSION.)

under one month of age are from causes arising either before or during birth (68). See Figure 3-1. Of these, the most common are prematurity, congenital debility, injury at birth, malformation, diarrhea, influenza, pneumonia, and oxygen deficiency resulting either from having the umbilical cord tighten around the fetal neck during the birth process or from excessive use of drugs to relieve childbirth pains for the mother (14,68,121,159).

Variations in Difficulty

Girls generally adjust better to their postnatal environments than do boys (67,75,129). This is shown by the fact that 40

percent more males die during the first four weeks of postnatal life than females (165). White infants adjust better than nonwhites (68,121,196). The higher the socioeconomic status of the family, the better the adjustment of the infant (68, 101). As median family income decreases, the neonatal mortality rate increases (195, 196). Figure 3-2 shows the infant mortality rate in relation to family income. The reason for this increase is primarily the poorer prenatal care women get in areas of the community where poverty prevails (196). The neonatal death rate has been found to increase with birth order. This may be explained, in part, by the fact that very large families are more common

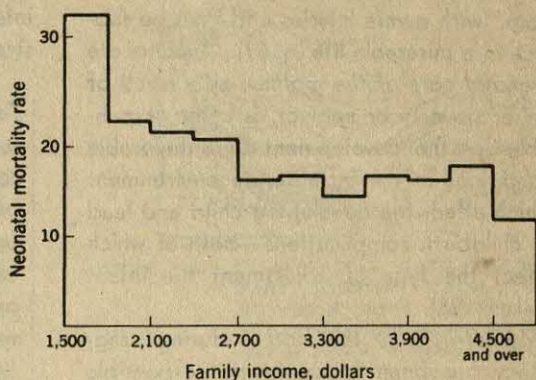


FIGURE 3-2 THE RELATION BETWEEN ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME AND THE NEONATAL MORTALITY RATE. (ADAPTED FROM C. V. WILLIE AND W. B. ROTHNEY: RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND INCOME FACTORS IN THE EPIDEMIOLOGY OF NEONATAL MORTALITY. *Amer. sociol. Rev.*, 1962, 27, 522-526. USED BY PERMISSION.)

in the lower socioeconomic groups than in the upper (101,143).

Infants whose *birth weight* is average or slightly above average adjust better to their postnatal environments than do those whose birth weight is below average or than those born before full term (67,166). Unquestionably the factors responsible for the greatest variations in neonatal adjustment are the physical and emotional condition of the mother during the pregnancy period and the type of birth the infant has experienced. Because of their importance, they will be discussed in detail in the following section of this chapter.

FACTORS INFLUENCING ADJUSTMENT

There are many factors which influence the success with which the infant makes the necessary adjustments to postnatal life.

These include the type of prenatal environment the infant has had; the type and severity of birth he experiences, prematurity, parental attitudes and postnatal care.

Prenatal Environment

The health of the mother and her emotional condition during pregnancy play important roles in determining the ease or severity of birth and the ease or difficulty the infant experiences in his adjustment to postnatal life. This is true even when there is no evidence of congenital malformations (37,182). Complications of pregnancy and birth are shown in hypersensitivity and confused, disorganized activity during the infancy period. These greatly complicate the infant's adjustment to his new environment (156).

There are many types of intrauterine disturbance which may cause an infant to be

born "with severe injuries and then be subject to a miserable life" (167). *Inadequate prenatal care of the mother*, as a result of either poverty or neglect, is often responsible for the development of unfavorable conditions in the intrauterine environment which affect the developing child and lead to childbirth complications—both of which affect the type of adjustment the infant makes (196).

Malnutrition of the mother during pregnancy has been found to be responsible for premature births, stillbirths, and infant mortality during the early days of life. Improvement in maternal nutrition, on the other hand, helps to prevent these hazards and makes postnatal adjustment easier for the infant (143). With advancing *maternal age*, there are likely to be more problems during pregnancy and more complications in adjustment to postnatal life (129). Infants whose mothers suffer from *diabetes* have more difficulties in adjustment and a higher incidence of mortality than infants whose mothers are nondiabetic (159).

Unquestionably one of the most important factors that contributes to difficulties in postnatal adjustment is a prenatal environment characterized by prolonged and intense *maternal stress* (92, 111, 173). As has been mentioned earlier, this leads to complications of pregnancy and of childbirth (23, 39, 54, 74). Because maternal stress causes a hyperactive state of the fetus during the last months of pregnancy, this condition tends to persist after birth and manifests itself in feeding difficulties, failure to gain weight, sleep problems, general irritability, distractibility, and a host of other conditions that make adjustment to postnatal life difficult (28, 55, 71, 182). In commenting on the effects of *maternal stress* during pregnancy on the

infant's adjustments, Sontag (172) has stressed:

To all intents and purposes, a newborn infant with such a background is a neurotic infant when he is born—the result of an unsatisfactory fetal environment. In this instance, he does not have to wait until childhood for a bad home situation or other cause to make him neurotic. It was done for him before he even saw the light of day.

When, by contrast, the physical and emotional states of the mother are healthy, the infant will make quick and satisfactory adjustments to his new environment. After several days, he will begin to regain the weight lost immediately after birth, and his behavior will show signs of becoming more stable and better organized.

Studies comparing the effects of normal fetal activity with those of the excessive activity that is characteristic of fetuses whose mothers are suffering from prolonged and intense stress have revealed a high correlation with postnatal adjustments. Healthy fetuses who are normally active during the latter months of pregnancy not only adjust more quickly and more satisfactorily to their postnatal environments immediately after birth, but they also adjust better and develop faster during the early part of babyhood (129, 174).

Birth

Birth has been described as "hazardous." As Jeffcoate has pointed out, the "most dangerous journey made by any individual is through the four inches of the birth canal" (88). Schwartz has further emphasized the hazardous nature of birth when

he said that "Birth is almost without exception a brutal process which endangers the life and health of the child" (167).

As we have seen, even in normal birth there are transitory effects, such as disorganized behavior and irregularity of heartbeat (132,149). In complicated births, there may be long-term effects that will influence the type of adjustment the individual makes to life, not merely to the first few days after birth (63,152). The ease or difficulty with which the infant adjusts to life is influenced by the type of birth he experiences, the conditions associated with birth, and the time of birth. Each of these factors plays its own distinctive role and, for that reason, will be discussed individually.

TYPE OF BIRTH There are three types of birth. The first is the *natural* or spontaneous type in which the position of the fetus in the mother's uterus and the size of the fetus in relation to the mother's reproductive organs make it possible for the fetus to emerge into the world in the normal, head-first position.

Sometimes the infant is too large in relation to the mother's reproductive organs. Or, the position of the fetus may be such that he is born with the buttocks appearing first, followed by the legs and finally the head—a *breech birth*. In a *transverse presentation*, the position of the fetus is crosswise in the mother's uterus, and instruments must be used in delivery unless the position can be changed before the birth process begins.

The second type of birth is thus the *instrument birth*, which occurs when the fetus is too large to emerge spontaneously from the mother's body, or when the position of the fetus makes normal birth impossible.

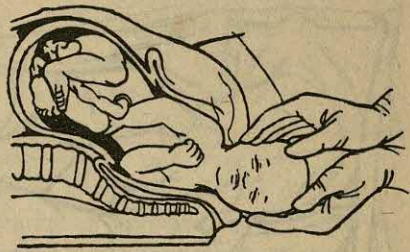


FIGURE 3-3 IN A NORMAL BIRTH, THE INFANT EMERGES FROM THE MOTHER'S BODY HEADFIRST. (ADAPTED FROM *Heredity and prenatal development*, A McGRAW-HILL TEXT-FILM.)

When X-ray pictures of the fetus indicate that a complication in birth is possible, the birth may be of the third type, the *caesarean section*, in which the infant emerges into the world through a slit in the mother's abdominal wall instead of through the birth canal (42,73,148). Figure 3-3 shows the position of the fetus in a normal, spontaneous birth and Figure 3-4 shows the position in a breech birth.

The infant who has been born spontaneously usually adjusts more quickly and more successfully to his postnatal environment than those whose births have been difficult enough to require the use of instruments or than those born by caesarean section (73,129). However, electroencephalogram records of the brain waves of newborn infants reveal that even the normal birth process shows some disturbance in the brain, though this is usually only temporary in nature (6,73,125).

There are more hazards associated with instrument births and with caesarean sections than with spontaneous births. The more difficult the birth, the greater the chance of damage and the more severe the damage. Small women show a rela-

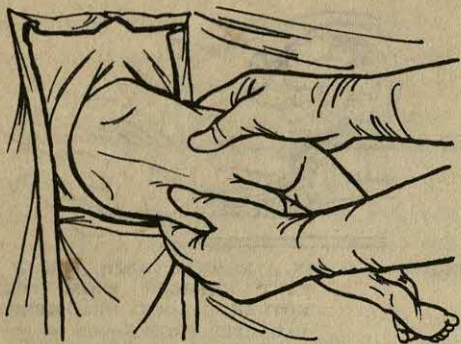


FIGURE 3-4 IN A BREECH BIRTH, THE INFANT EMERGES FROM THE MOTHER'S BODY WITH THE BUTTOCKS FIRST AND THE HEAD LAST. (ADAPTED FROM N. J. EASTMAN AND L. M. HELLMAN: *Williams obstetrics*. 12TH ED. NEW YORK: APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS, 1963. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tively high stillbirth rate as compared with larger women, the reason being that the fetus may have to be delivered with the aid of instruments (6,9,129,149).

Even in difficult births where the use of instruments has not been necessary, there is likely to be damage. When instruments are used, the likelihood of damage is greatly increased. Compression of the brain as the fetal head passes down the birth canal and hemorrhages in and around the brain may occur. Pressure on the bones may cause a fracture of a bone; there may be temporary or permanent damage to some of the nerve centers; there may be damage to the sense organs, especially the eyes or the ears; or there may be a slight interruption of the oxygen supply to the brain, which results in destruction of some of the brain cells. Motor disabilities, paralysis, cerebral palsy, and mental deficiency are frequently reported as aftermaths of difficult births, especially

when instruments have had to be used (6, 14,27,129).

Caesarean babies are the quietest, crying less than those born spontaneously or with the aid of instruments and showing greater lethargy and decreased reactivity (20,125). As a result, they normally make better adjustments to their postnatal environment unless they have difficulty in establishing respiration which may cause temporary or permanent damage to their brains (5,20). Neonatal deaths are more frequent among those born by caesarean section than among those born spontaneously or by instruments (47).

Unfavorable effects of birth may be apparent immediately after birth, in difficulties in adjusting to postnatal life, or they may not become apparent for months or even years after birth (92,114,156,167, 188). Comparisons of the IQs of children in their early teens who were born spontaneously with those who were assisted into the world by instrumental or other operative methods have revealed more unfavorable personality characteristics, such as general hyperactivity, restlessness, irritability, distractability, anxiety, speech defects—especially stuttering—and poor concentration, than among those who were born spontaneously (19,194).

CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH BIRTH The effects of birth may be *direct*, in that some part of the fetal body may be damaged during the birth process or they may be *indirect*, in that they affect the attitudes of his parents toward him, and this, in turn, will be reflected in his emotional, social, and personality development. Regardless of type of birth, certain conditions favor successful postnatal adjustment and certain others, unsuccessful

adjustment. Of these conditions, the most significant have been reported to be medication of the mother, establishment of respiration, and time of birth.

MEDICATION OF MOTHER Although some doctors today favor "natural childbirth" or childbirth without the use of drugs, many doctors use anesthetics in varying amounts to ease the mother's pain during childbirth (153). The more anesthesia given to the mother, the longer the adjustment period of the infant to postnatal life and the more difficulties he will encounter in this adjustment. It has been reported that infants whose mothers were heavily medicated showed disorganized behavior for three to four days after birth as compared with one to two days for those whose mothers were lightly medicated or who had received no medication at all (6).

The type, amount, and timing of medication are factors of importance in determining what effect it will have on the infant's adjustment to postnatal life. An inhalant anesthesia has a more transient effect than barbiturates, given as premedication (6). Depressed cortical activity in newborn infants has been found to persist after postnatal drowsiness normally disappears when mothers are given sodium seconal to ease childbirth pain (82).

Infants whose mothers have been heavily medicated lose more weight and take a longer time to regain their lost weight than do infants whose mothers have less medication. In the case of the former, the regaining of lost weight does not begin until six days after birth as compared with three days in the case of the latter (21).

ESTABLISHMENT OF RESPIRATION The ease or difficulty with which the newborn

infant starts to breathe after birth will affect his postnatal adjustments (170). When there is interruption of the oxygen supply to the brain before or during birth—*anoxia*—the infant may die (5,129). Even those infants who do not die may be temporarily or permanently damaged by impairment to the fetal brain, although the damage may not be apparent until months or even years after birth (5,23,30,70,129,188).

Epilepsy, for example, is more common among children whose birth was by instruments or by caesarean section where establishment of respiration was delayed (20,27). Even more common is mental deficiency which causes behavior disorders and learning difficulties (142,197). Oxygen deprivation of short duration, on the other hand, may result in poor developmental adjustment in infancy and early babyhood but later a gradual recovery process may be apparent (178). This is illustrated in Figure 3-5.

A long and difficult birth or birth in the breech position may be accompanied by oxygen deprivation. As a result, the fetus may suffocate before its head emerges (14,20,129). The fetus delivered by caesarean section frequently has difficulty in establishing respiration and, as a result, may die from oxygen deprivation or suffer injury to the brain cells. In addition, the development of a hyaline membrane in the lungs, shortly after birth, is common among infants born by caesarean section. This leads to oxygen deprivation which may prove fatal to the infant who apparently was normal and healthy, at the time of birth (51).

Equally as serious in establishing respiration is precipitate labor—labor of less than two hours' duration. When this occurs,

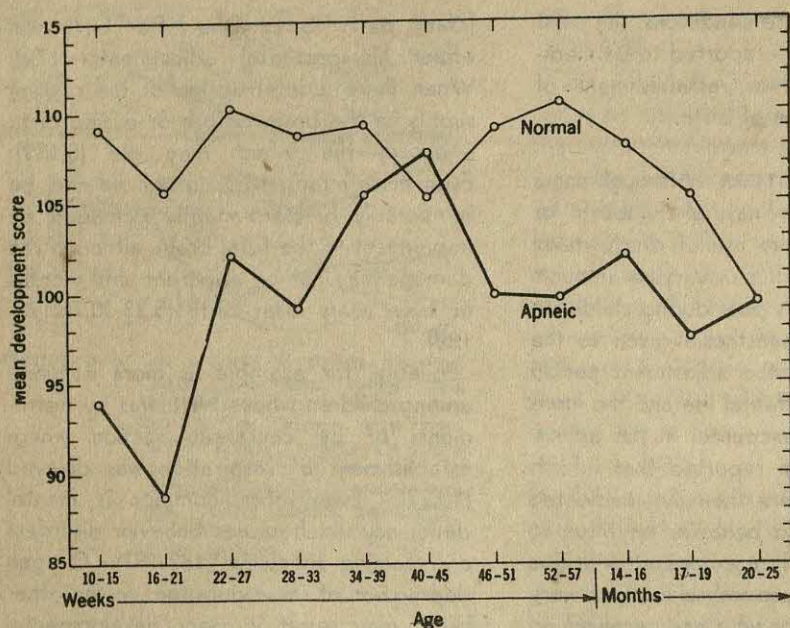


FIGURE 3-5 COMPARISON OF GEESSELL DEVELOPMENTAL SCORES OF APNEIC INFANTS WHO EXPERIENCED OXYGEN DEPRIVATION OF SHORT DURATION WITH NORMAL INFANTS AT DIFFERENT AGES DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF LIFE. (ADAPTED FROM G. STECHLER: A LONGITUDINAL FOLLOW-UP OF NEONATAL APNEA. *Child Developm.*, 1964, 35, 333-348. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the infant is introduced to oxygen too suddenly and is not yet ready to start to breathe. How much brain damage there will be and how permanent its effects will depend largely on how quickly the infant can establish respiration (202).

TIME OF BIRTH When a baby is born is unimportant in comparison with how he is born. In spite of the many traditional beliefs about the significance of the day of the week or the season of the year that a baby is born, there is little scientific evidence to show that these are contrib-

uting factors in the mental and physical development of the individual (31,40,101, 110,137,138).

What variations there are in intelligence, sociability, physique, or personality among those born at different seasons of the year may come mainly from the health factor or from the fact that parents of the higher intellectual levels regulate the time when the baby will be born (7,123,135,139,145). As Gordon and Novack have pointed out, "There is nothing that denies a slight IQ advantage for cold-weather conceptions; on the other hand, there is nothing that

would warrant long vacations for the country's obstetricians for the first half of each year" (69).

However, because the mother's health plays such a critical role in development before birth, its importance cannot be overlooked. The individual who is conceived during the winter months reaches the critical time in his development—the first trimester of the prenatal period—when children's diseases most often occur. Should the mother contract rubella at this time, it can play havoc with embryonic development. If the individual is conceived during the spring months, the critical period occurs during the heat of summer when the mother's diet is most often its poorest, especially in proteins (101).

Prematurity

Should the infant arrive in the world prematurely, there are usually complications in adjustment to the postnatal environment, complications that may even affect his pattern of future development very seriously. That adjustment to postnatal life is complicated by prematurity is shown by the fact that more than one-third of all neonatal deaths occur among infants whose prenatal period was shorter than normal (47,51,165). The reason for this high mortality rate is that the prematurely born infant is relatively unfit for extrauterine life because his prenatal development has not been completed. As a result, every difficulty the normal, full-term infant faces in his adjustment to his new environment is much harder for the premature infant to meet (4,49,84,128).

Seven out of every one hundred babies born today are premature. In the past 10 years, there has been an increase in the

number of prematurely born babies because medical science has found ways to prevent miscarriages but has not, as yet, solved the problem of keeping the fetus from arriving in the world ahead of schedule (51,128).

Prematurity is more common among first-born than among later-born children, and among boys than among girls (33). It is more frequent in the lower than in the upper socioeconomic classes, and among nonwhites than among whites (154,201). Small women have a higher percentage of prematurely born babies than larger women (154). The larger the number of multiple births, the greater the chances are of premature birth. There are, for example, proportionally more cases of prematurity among twins and triplets than among singletons (51,149).

CRITERIA OF PREMATURETY An infant is considered premature if the gestation period has been between twenty-eight and thirty-eight weeks long, or when the birth weight is 5 pounds 8 ounces or less. Additional proof of prematurity is found in body measurements of the infant. Should the head circumference be less than 33 centimeters and the crown-rump length less than 32 centimeters, the infant is considered to be premature (52). Because the length of the gestation period cannot always be estimated accurately, birth weight and size are more commonly used as criteria for determining prematurity.

The smaller the infant at birth, the less chance he has for survival. An infant who weighs 3 pounds 5 ounces or more, for example, has four times as great a chance for survival as does the infant whose birth weight is less than this (33,51). Even those infants who do survive have a greater

chance of having some abnormality than do those who are larger at birth (4,180).

CAUSES OF PREMATURITY According to tradition, prematurity is caused by some imprudent act on the part of the mother. This "imprudence" was supposed to be too strenuous physical exertion, being emotionally disturbed, drinking, or smoking. Today it is *believed*, though not actually proved, that prematurity comes either from uterine crowding or from some glandular imbalance in the mother's body.

As has been pointed out above, prematurity is more common in multiple births than in singletons. This would suggest that when the combined size of twins, triplets, or other multiple births reaches a point where the uterine walls can expand no further, they are discharged from the uterus ahead of schedule.

As has likewise been stressed before, prematurity is more common when mothers suffer from prolonged stress than when they experience only the normal amount of emotional disturbance during the pregnancy period. Prolonged stress is always accompanied by glandular disturbance of minor or major seriousness (77). This, in turn, affects the glands that are directly involved in procreation and causes them to start up the uterine contractions that dislodge the fetus from its attachment to the uterine wall before it is ready for post-natal life.

The traditional belief that smoking by the mother causes prematurity has been substantiated to some extent by studies of the relationship between excessive smoking of the mother and prematurity of her baby. In one study it was reported that prematurity was about twice as great for smokers as for nonsmokers, and the num-

ber of premature births increased as the number of cigarettes smoked per day by the mother increased. Among mothers who smoked over 31 cigarettes a day, for example, there was 33.33 percent of the premature births in the group studied (169). The relationship between number of cigarettes smoked per day by the mother and the percentage of premature births is illustrated in Figure 3-6.

Interpreted on face value, this would suggest that a serious cause of prematurity is cigarette smoking. Looking under the surface, one sees the relationship between heavy smoking and emotional tension. Women who smoke excessively do so generally because of stress, just as is true of those who drink excessively. Smoking, *per se*, may have nothing to do with prematurity. Instead, prematurity may be caused by glandular conditions brought about by prolonged emotional stress, of which smoking is only an outward manifestation.

ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS OF PREMATURITY The special problems of adjustment the prematures must solve come mainly from the undeveloped state of the brain rather than from undeveloped body organs (20,83). Because the skull is too soft, the brain of the premature is often injured by the pressures of birth, or it may be deprived of the necessary supply of oxygen owing to difficulties in breathing (34).

The premature infant requires nearly three times as much oxygen as a full-term infant because his breathing is characterized by jerks and gasps. He often has difficulty in expanding his lungs, and muscular weakness makes breathing difficult. In prematures who weigh less than 3 pounds,

it is not uncommon for a hyaline membrane to develop inside the lungs within the first thirty-six hours after birth. This blocks the small air spaces and passages, and is responsible for many of the deaths among the prematures (51,116,199).

The premature infant is often anemic and requires blood transfusions. Because his sucking and swallowing reflexes are underdeveloped, he will require special feeding with a medicine dropper or tube. As body temperature is not yet properly controlled, the premature infant requires special equipment to duplicate as nearly as possible the constant temperature of intra-uterine life.

Furthermore, because he is subject to infection, he requires careful medical supervision. In the modern incubators, the intrauterine environment is duplicated as nearly as possible. Because of his immaturity, the premature infant cannot be expected to conform to a schedule of feeding (18,51,78).

In spite of the medical advances in the care of prematurely born infants, the mortality rate is still high and the chances of permanent physical and mental injury are still great (34,49,84). To prevent brain injuries during birth, doctors relax the muscles of the birth passage and put forceps on the fetus's skull to shield it in the last few minutes of labor. They have devices to clear out the mucus from the lungs and inflate collapsed areas. They can use oxygen to aid the infant's breathing, though this may result in injury to the eyes if the use must be continued over a period of time (51,116,147,203).

But, as there is no known way to hasten the ripening of the brain cells which are essential to survival without artificial aid, emphasis is now being placed on prevent-

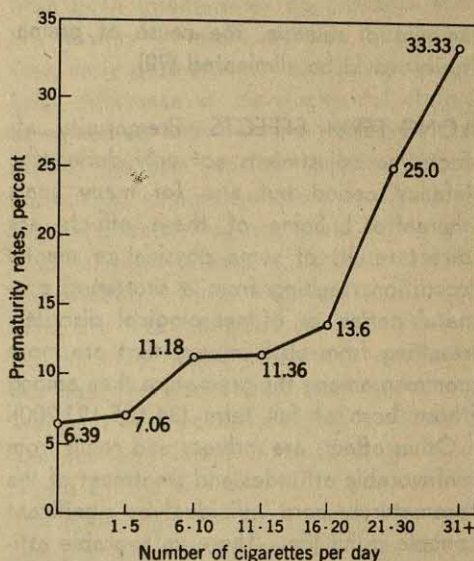


FIGURE 3-6 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF CIGARETTES SMOKED PER DAY BY THE MOTHER AND PREMATURE RATES OF INFANTS. (ADAPTED FROM W. J. SIMPSON: A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON CIGARETTE SMOKING AND THE INCIDENCE OF PREMATUREITY, *Amer. J. Obstet. Gynaec.*, 1957, 73, 808-815. USED BY PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER, C. V. MOSBY CO.)

ing prematurity (51). Good maternal health and medical care during the pregnancy period not only cut down the number of prematurely born infants but also enable more prematures to live (18).

It is hoped that by increasing the amount of *releasin* in the mother's blood during the latter part of pregnancy, premature births can be eliminated. *Releasin* is a hormone produced by the female reproductive glands. When there is a deficiency of this hormone, uterine contractions begin too soon and bring about premature labor. Thus by increasing the

amount of releasin, the cause of prematurity would be eliminated (90).

LONG-TERM EFFECTS Prematurity affects the adjustments not only during the infancy period but also for many years thereafter. Some of these effects are *direct* results of some physical or mental condition resulting from a shortened prenatal period or of neurological disorders resulting from birth injuries that are more common among the premature than among those born at full term (34,155,193,200).

Other effects are *indirect* and result from unfavorable attitudes and treatment of the prematurely born individual by significant people in his life. These unfavorable attitudes and the treatment the individual receives are primarily the result of acceptance of traditional beliefs about the unfortunate effects of prematurity and often put the prematurely born infant at a disadvantage from the start.

According to tradition, he is doomed to be a physical and mental weakling. Among the ancients, it was customary to take prematurely born infants, along with other defectives, to a mountain where they were allowed to perish. Even in modern civilization, where every possible attempt is made to save the lives of those born ahead of schedule, there is still the belief that, because the development before birth has been incomplete, the infant will never grow up to be like other children. Because of these supposed physical and mental handicaps, parents of prematurely born infants have a tendency to be over-protective of their children throughout the years of their childhood (81,100).

In light of these widely accepted beliefs, the following statement by Gesell, based on his research studies of the development of prematurely born infants, is especially

interesting and significant. According to Gesell (66):

The healthy premature infant does not acquire any unnatural precocity from his head start. Neither does he suffer any setback. This should be a great comfort to his anxious mother. She should be assured that the healthy premature infant follows the basic sequence of normal mental growth, making due allowance for his spurious age. . . . The developmental status of the premature infant must always be appraised in terms of corrected age rather than in those of his spurious chronological age. Born or unborn, the infant cleaves to the inherent sequences of behavior maturation. He remains faithful to his fetalty, even when birth has made him an infant.

If, however, the premature infant is not healthy, or if he suffers some injury at birth, the long-term effects will be serious in proportion to the unfavorableness of the birth conditions (49,103).

A hasty survey of research studies of prematurely born babies will give a clue concerning how serious prematurity is to the later development of the individual how long the effects of prematurity can be expected to persist, and whether the effects are direct or indirect. If they are the former, little or nothing can be done to minimize their seriousness. If, on the other hand, they are primarily the result of unfavorable attitudes on the part of significant people, much can be done to control the effects, *provided* these significant people can be convinced to accept scientifically proved facts in place of beliefs that have come down through the ages.

Of the many effects of prematurity on later development, some have been sub-

jected to intensive scientific investigation; these include the effects on (1) physical development, (2) developmental status, (3) motor control, (4) speech, (5) sensory behavior, (6) intelligence, (7) socialization, (8) emotional behavior, and (9) general development.

EFFECTS ON PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Throughout babyhood, prematurely born babies are smaller than those born at full term. Gain in weight is more retarded than gain in height with the result that children who were born prematurely tend to be thin not only for their ages but also for their heights (49,50). By the preschool age, differences in height, weight, and general physical development between prematures and those born at full term are less than they were earlier (35,199). By the time the growth spurt of puberty has been completed, prematures tend to be smaller than the norm for their age and sex (4,49,116). Only in the case of head circumference does the prematurely born baby catch up quickly to those born at full term (57).

During the first year of life, premature infants have more illnesses and more serious illnesses than those born at full term (86). As they grow older, they suffer more from malnutrition, dwarfism, and obesity than do their age-mates (50,116). They also have more physical defects, especially eye defects, than do full-term children of the same ages (35,84,147). In one study, it was reported that one-half of the prematurely born children had visual defects serious enough to handicap them in their adjustments to life (49).

EFFECTS ON DEVELOPMENTAL STATUS In measuring development, if the starting point is taken from conception rather than

from birth, prematurely born infants who are healthy generally develop quickly in their early postnatal environment and show little difference in developmental status, as compared with full-term babies, by the end of the first year of life (49). Unless corrections in age are made for the premature infants, they are found to lag behind full-term infants in sitting, standing, and walking. Those who were smallest at birth are most retarded (66,100). When, on the other hand, corrections are made for age, the prematurely born infant who weighs 4 or 5 pounds at birth is ahead of the full-term infant in his developmental status by the end of the first year of life, but if his birth weight is under 4 pounds, the premature infant generally lags behind the full-term infant by a month or two until he is eighteen months old (4).

EFFECTS ON MOTOR CONTROL In motor control, prematurely born infants are somewhat backward. In *postural and locomotor* control, not only is their development delayed, but they are also frequently awkward, clumsy, and have poor posture. They are either active, or slow and sluggish (35,48). Likewise, in control of the *hands*, they are retarded, especially in the use of the index finger for pointing and in the pincer grasp (49). A comparison of ten-year-olds showed significantly more symptoms of brain injury in the prematures than in those born at full term (116,157, 187). As a result, cerebral palsy is common (147).

EFFECTS ON SPEECH Speech is slower in developing in prematures than in those born at full term. Baby talk persists longer, and more letter substitutions, such as "tix" for "six," are used. Furthermore, more defects, especially stuttering, appear

in the speech of the prematures (41,42,49, 116,151).

In a study of kindergarten children, it was reported that prematures were inferior to children of full term of the same ages in such important areas of speech development as comprehension, number of words used, and elaboration of sentences. The explanation given for this difference was the lingering neurophysiological immaturity of the prematures (43).

EFFECTS ON SENSORY BEHAVIOR In sensory behavior, premature infants are more alert than those born at full term. They are especially sensitive to sounds, noises, moving objects, and colors. They are more easily distracted by voices, traffic noises, and other babies than are those born at full term (41,163). How long this difference persists is not known because, to date, no follow-up studies have been made.

EFFECTS ON INTELLIGENCE When testing the intelligence of babies, if the amount of prematurity is taken into consideration, there is no significant difference in the IQ scores of prematurely born as compared with full-term infants (69,81, 163). The incidence of mental defect in prematures is no different from estimates for the general population, though there is a somewhat higher incidence of serious mental defects among the prematurely born (35,116). The smallest prematures contribute more than their share to the ranks of the mental defectives (34,103). Figure 3-7 shows IQ distributions according to birth weight. Low IQs among the premature may be due more to neurological damage than to prematurity per se (34).

In one preschool group, it was found that only 14 out of a group of 38 children had DQs of 90 or over. In those of school age,

only 3 out of 21 were of average intelligence (49). In another study, it was reported that there was some evidence of "catching up" academically between kindergarten and the end of the second grade. However, significant lags were found to persist well into the eighth year of life, causing the prematures to be regarded as an academic "high-risk" group (44).

Reading difficulties are especially common among children who were born prematurely. These difficulties appear as soon as they enter school and persist as they grow older (92,142). Because prematurity is more common in the lower socioeconomic groups than in the higher, poor health conditions and lack of environmental stimulation may, in part, exercise a generally depressing effect on the intellectual development of children born prematurely and be responsible, in part, for their reading difficulties (201).

EFFECTS ON SOCIALIZATION In their relationships with other people, as they grow older, prematurely born children are generally inferior to other children. They are likely to be shy and much attached to their mothers. This is primarily the result of the overprotection given by parents, owing to the physical weakness of the premature at birth (49,84,163).

In the preschool years, there are more behavior problems, especially feeding problems, among the prematures than among those born at full term. In the late teens, the prematures have been reported to make less satisfactory social adjustments than full-term boys and girls (4,81,103,163).

EFFECTS ON EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR Prematurely born babies are sometimes "gentle" with moderate affective reac-

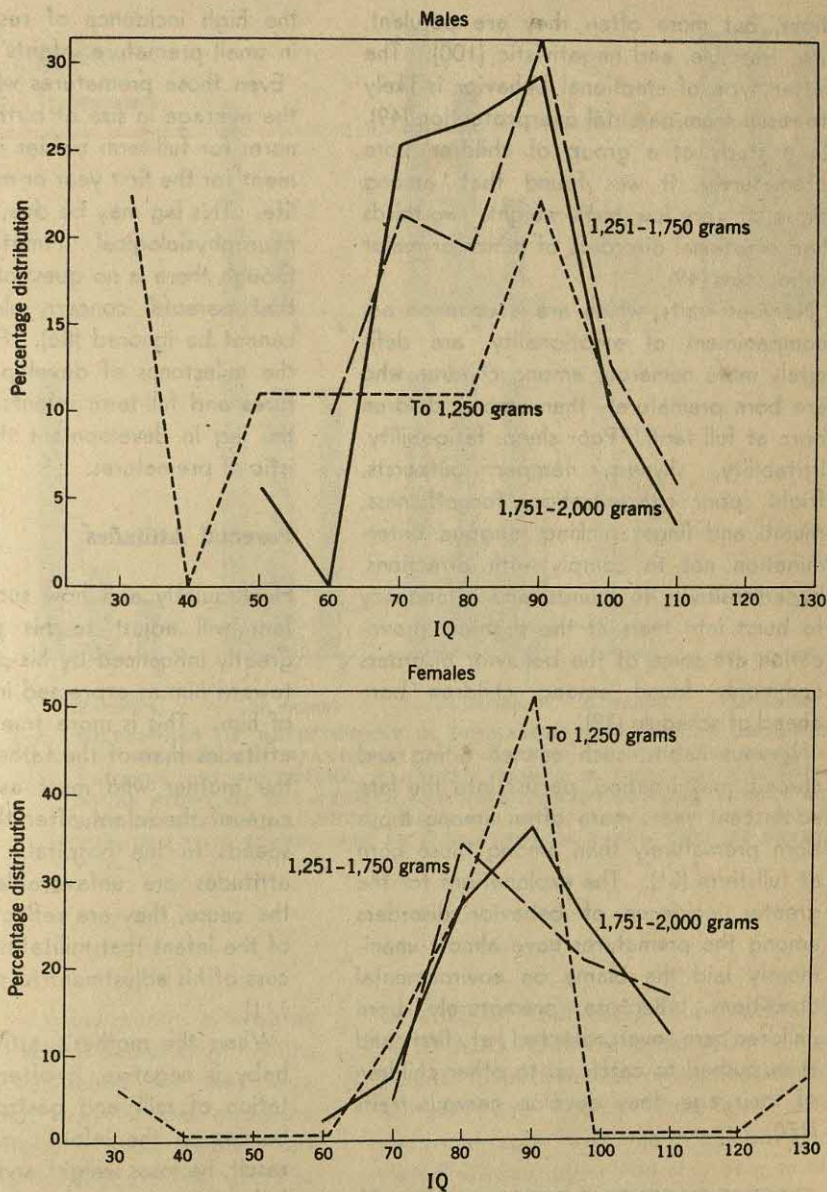


FIGURE 3-7 IQ DISTRIBUTION AT 30 MONTHS OF AGE ACCORDING TO BIRTH WEIGHT. (ADAPTED FROM R. CUTLER, C. B. HEIMER, H. WORTIS, AND A. M. FREEDMAN: THE EFFECTS OF PRENATAL AND NEONATAL COMPLICATIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PREMATURE CHILDREN AT TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS OF AGE. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1965, 107, 261-276. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tions, but more often they are petulant, shy, irascible, and negativistic (100). The latter type of emotional behavior is likely to result from parental overprotection (49). In a study of a group of children born prematurely, it was found that, among those of very low birth weight, two-thirds had emotional disorders of minor or major seriousness (49).

Nervous traits, which are a common accompaniment of emotionality, are definitely more numerous among children who are born prematurely than among children born at full term. Poor sleep, fatigability, irritability, shyness, temper outbursts, fright, poor concentration, forgetfulness, thumb and finger sucking, dogged determination not to comply with directions, hypersensitivity to sounds, and a tendency to burst into tears at the slightest provocation are some of the behavior disorders commonly found among children born ahead of schedule (39).

Nervous habits, such as nail biting and chronic masturbation, persist into the late adolescent years more often among those born prematurely than among those born at full term (81). The explanations for the greater incidence of behavior disorders among the prematures have almost unanimously laid the blame on environmental conditions. Because prematurely born children are overprotected at first and then pushed to catch up to other children of their age, they develop nervous traits (150).

EFFECTS ON GENERAL DEVELOPMENT Although prematurity may have few long-term effects on the developmental pattern of the individual, this is not true when birth weight is low. As Lubchenco et al. have pointed out, there is "little doubt about

the high incidence of residual handicaps in small premature infants" (116).

Even those prematures who are closer to the average in size at birth lag behind the norm for full-term babies in their development for the first year or more of postnatal life. This lag may be due, in part, to their neurophysiological immaturity at birth, though there is no question about the fact that parental concern plays a role that cannot be ignored (86). Figure 3-8 shows the milestones of development of prematures and full-term infants and emphasizes the lag in development that is characteristic of prematures.

Parental Attitudes

How quickly and how successfully the infant will adjust to his postnatal life is greatly influenced by his parents' attitudes toward him as expressed in their treatment of him. This is more true of the mother's attitudes than of the father's, because it is the mother who must assume the major care of the infant after the short time he spends in the hospital. When parental attitudes are unfavorable, regardless of the cause, they are reflected in treatment of the infant that militates against the success of his adjustment to postnatal life (60, 111).

When the mother's attitude toward her baby is negative, it often causes regurgitation of milk and gastrointestinal disturbances on the infant's part (146). As a result, he loses weight and strength. Similarly, when mothers are anxious, it has been reported that their infants cry more before and after feeding than is true of infants whose mothers are more relaxed (140).

Unfavorable maternal attitudes not only affect adjustment during infancy, but the

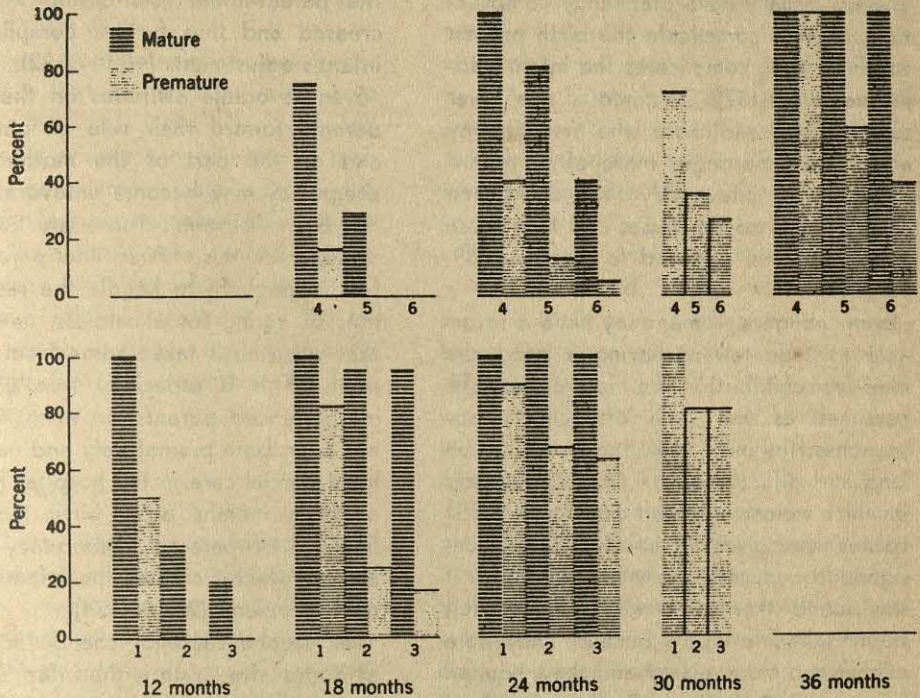


FIGURE 3-8 MILESTONES OF DEVELOPMENT IN PREMATURE AND MATURE CHILDREN: (1) SITTING, (2) STANDING, (3) WALKING, (4) SINGLE WORDS, (5) PHRASES, (6) SENTENCES. (ADAPTED FROM C. M. DRILLIEN: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF PREMATURELY AND MATURELY BORN CHILDREN. PART VI. PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT IN AGE PERIOD 2 TO 4 YEARS. *Arch. Dis. Childh.*, 1961, 36, 1-70. USED BY PERMISSION.)

effect persists for many months afterwards (60,111). In a study of babies eight months after birth, it was found that they were more nervous, had more illnesses, and were lagging behind babies whose mothers had more favorable attitudes. The average developmental quotient for babies of mothers who showed low anxiety, for example, was 109.4 as compared with an average developmental quotient of 102.6 for babies whose mothers showed high anxiety (38).

CAUSES OF UNFAVORABLE PARENTAL ATTITUDES Difficult births often cause parents to become overprotective in their attitudes and anxious about their adequacy to cope with the problems associated with an infant who may or may not have been damaged during birth. Difficult births, in turn, are often caused by pregnancy tension arising from not wanting a baby or at least not wanting it at that time (60,205).

Women who regard childbearing as an

"illness" usually have pregnancy complications. These complicate the birth process which, in turn, complicates the infant's adjustments (23,182). Women of the lower social classes and those who are unhappy about their marriages more often regard childbearing unfavorably than do women of the higher social classes and than those who are better adjusted to marriage (39, 157,158).

Even though a woman may have a favorable attitude toward having a baby, she may fear childbirth. The more anxious she becomes as the time of delivery approaches, the more likely the birth is to be long and difficult (23,111,182). In a study in which women who were having their first babies were given a course of lectures designed to educate them for childbirth, it was found that those who received this training had less pain because they were calmer and more relaxed and they required less sedatives during birth than did those who were not given this training (15).

When birth is difficult, it may mean that the mother can have no more children. This can cause an unhealthy attitude that will lead to overprotectiveness or resentment toward the baby for depriving his parents of the children they had hoped to have. Regardless of what form it takes, an unhealthy attitude on the parents' part will complicate the infant's adjustments (42, 74,134). Even more seriously, a difficult birth can damage the infant either temporarily or permanently. This embitters the mother, especially if she feels that she has been responsible in some way for this damage (62,99,206).

Anxiety about the normalcy of the infant is reflected in a nervous, tense relationship with him. If anxiety is accompanied by feelings of guilt, the unfavorable effects on

the parent-infant relationship will be increased and thus further complicate the infant's adjustments (46,117,182).

Even favorable attitudes on the part of parents toward their role of parenthood and on the part of the mother toward pregnancy may become unfavorable after the baby is born. There are two major reasons for this. *First*, the parents may feel inadequate to handle the responsibilities of caring for a helpless, newborn infant when he is taken home from the hospital. This is especially true of young, inexperienced parents or when the baby has been born prematurely and has had to have special care in the hospital for weeks or even months after birth (25,37,150). Feelings of parental inadequacy lead to anxiety which increases the infant's adjustment problems (26,106,134).

The *second* cause of change in parental attitudes after birth is the infant's appearance. Almost all parents, but especially those who are having their first child, have a highly romanticized concept of what a baby looks like (131). With months of anticipation of their "dream child," parents may "find the first brush with reality something of a shock" (8). Even a normal, full-term infant is anything but a thing of beauty at first. Those who are premature look like scrawny, withered old people, and those who have had a difficult birth often have bruises and other marks on their heads and bodies.

Concern and disappointment about the infant's appearance cannot fail to be reflected in the way the parents react to the infant. Furthermore, not realizing that every newborn infant cries frequently and has other physiological problems that make him far from as appealing as their "dream child" was, parents may intensify their dis-

appointment and, with it, their unfavorable attitudes (8,109,190).

By contrast, parents who are well aware of the fact that *all* newborn infants are homely or even ugly right after birth and that *all* have problems in adjusting to their postnatal environments are spared the shock which less experienced parents have. They can, as a result, take a more relaxed, philosophical attitude, which will be reflected in a relaxed treatment of the infant. By doing so, they help him through the difficult first adjustments to his new environment.

Postnatal Care

The newborn infant, accustomed to a stable environment before birth in which his bodily needs were automatically met with no effort on his part, must now depend on the people in his new environment to meet these needs for him. Because of his neurophysiological immaturity, these needs will not necessarily arise at given times. Furthermore, he cannot tell those around him what he needs: all he can do is cry to let them know that he needs their attention.

In the past, when babies were born at home, it was customary for the infant's crib to be placed beside the mother's bed so that she was ever-ready and available to tend to him when his cries indicated some need. Furthermore, because she was supposed to "take it easy" until she had recovered completely from the ordeal of childbirth, she had plenty of time to "mother" the infant—to rock him, to sing to him, to hold him close to her body, and to give him her undivided attention and affection (134,146).

Today, all of this has changed. In the

modern hospital, the infant is placed in a nursery with other infants. Unless he has been damaged at birth or is premature, he will not have a nurse to take care of him exclusively. Instead, he must wait his turn for an overworked nurse to come to him when he cries. She will not have time to "mother" him but will go to the next infant when he has been fed or turned around or bathed. Furthermore, the person who tends to him will shift every eight hours, and there will be times, when she is off duty, when she will not tend to him again for several days. As a result, he must constantly adjust to different types of handling.

Adjusting to postnatal life is difficult enough for the infant without complicating it with inadequate attention and shifts in the type of attention given. Although it is true that this will last for only five to six days—the usual hospital stay for childbirth cases today—these are the critical days in adjustment to postnatal life.

While most healthy, normal full-term infants suffer no serious effects or effects with lasting consequences from this impersonal type of care, there is evidence that it delays their adjustment to postnatal life.

When a group of newborn infants who received no more handling than necessary in the routine care and feeding given in a hospital nursery was compared with a group that received three times as much handling and individual attention—such as being rocked after feeding and gently held—it was reported that the nonmothered group cried significantly more and that this had a marked effect on their weight gain and other criteria of adjustment (141).

Some hospitals today are trying out a new system of infant care—the "rooming-

in" system—similar to that used in the home in past generations. Instead of being put in a hospital nursery, the infant is placed in a crib beside the mother's hospital bed, and she is not only encouraged to take care of his needs but she is also given instruction in how to do so by a nurse.

While many doctors feel that a woman needs time to recover from childbirth before assuming responsibility for the care of her baby, others recognize that the rooming-in plan has three advantages that are valuable to the infant's adjustments to his new environment: *First*, the infant's needs can be met promptly, thus eliminating the excessive crying that wears him out physically and interferes with his adjustments. *Second*, he does not have to adjust to handling by different people—an adjustment that is difficult even for older babies and young children.

Third, and most important of all, practice in taking care of her baby under the guidance and direction of a nurse and with the knowledge that someone is within call, should an emergency arise, goes a long way toward overcoming the tenseness and anxiety almost every mother experiences when she leaves the hospital with her new baby. Relaxed, confident care goes a long way toward helping the infant to be relaxed—a condition essential to good adjustment (184).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INFANT

Because some infants are born prematurely, some postmaturely, it is obvious that the same level of physical and mental development will not be present in all

infants (12,62,189). The description of the neonate, given below, will refer to the normal, full-term infant. When deviations from these norms occur, the reasons for them will be explained.

Physical Development

How greatly infants differ in appearance and physiological functions at birth and in their early adjustments after birth will be readily apparent from the following description of the physical development of the newborn infant.

SIZE At birth, the average infant weighs $7\frac{1}{2}$ pounds and measures $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. Weight in relation to height is less at birth, on the average, in the more active fetuses than in those who have been less active during the latter part of the fetal period (173). Boys, on the whole, are slightly longer and heavier than girls. There are marked individual differences, however, in infants of both sexes. These differences are greater in weight than in length. Ranges in weight, for example, are from 3 to 16 pounds and, in length, from 17 to 21 or 22 inches (35,119,149).

Postmature infants are not only bigger and heavier than those born at full term, but they are also less scrawny and better filled out because they have more fat tissue. Prematures are deficient in fat tissue and, as a result, they appear to be withered and scrawny (181). Girls have more fat at birth than boys even though they weigh slightly less than boys. Normally, all infants gain in fat tissue after they have adjusted to the weight loss following birth, but this gain is less for those who were fatter at birth than for the lean (65).

CAUSES OF VARIATION Variability in size is dependent not so much upon sex as upon factors in the prenatal environment. Of these, *maternal diet* is one of the most important. On the average, infants whose mothers had prenatal diets that were rated as "superior" have been found to weigh 2 to 3 pounds more at birth than do infants whose mothers had diets that were rated as "very poor." They are likewise approximately 2 inches longer, on the average, at birth than are those whose prenatal environment was not so favorable (129). Because of the relationship of maternal diet to infant size at birth, the average size of infants in the *poor districts* is significantly smaller than in the better districts (67,149).

Firstborn infants generally are smaller in length and weigh less than do later-born infants (126). During the first few days after birth, losses in weight are usual though not universal. A loss of 6 to 7 percent of the birth weight is common. By the tenth day after birth, most infants regain part of the weight lost immediately after birth. *Light infants*, as a rule, show smaller postnatal weight losses than do those who are heavier at birth, and they also regain the lost weight more quickly. Infants *born in the summer and autumn* tend to regain their lost weight slightly sooner than do infants born in the winter and spring. Infants who are *fed for the first time* six or more hours after birth lose less weight than those who are fed earlier (162). The more *active* the infant was as a fetus, the *scrawnier* he is likely to be when he is born, though fetal activity has not been found to affect length (174).

INFANTILE FEATURES The *muscles* of the newborn infant are soft, small, and uncontrolled. At the time of birth, less

development has taken place in the muscles of the neck and legs than in those of the hands and arms. The *bones*, like the muscles, are soft and flexible because they are composed chiefly of cartilage or gristle. Because of their softness, they can readily be misshapen. The *skin* is soft, deep pink in color, and often blotchy. The flesh is firm and elastic (149,181,183).

Frequently, soft *downy hair* is found on the head and back, though this soon disappears. The eyes are bluish gray, though they gradually change to whatever their permanent color will be. The tear glands are inactive at first though, in full-term babies, *tears* often appear within the first day of life. By the time infants are five days old, most shed tears when they cry. Tearing comes later in prematures. By the time they are two months old, most shed tears (144). *Natal teeth* occur approximately once in every 2,000 births. They are the "baby" type and are usually lower central incisors (120).

PHYSICAL PROPORTIONS The newborn is not a miniature adult. This is illustrated in Figure 3-9. His *head* is approximately one-fourth of his body length; the adult head, by comparison, is approximately one-seventh of the total body length. The *cranial region*, the area over the eyes, is proportionally much larger than the rest of the head, while the *chin* is proportionally much too small.

By contrast, the eyes are almost mature in size, but, because of the weakness of the eye muscles, they move in an uncontrolled way in the sockets. The *nose* is very small and almost flat on the face, while the tiny *mouth* looks like a slit because of the narrow lips.

The *neck* is so short that it is almost in-

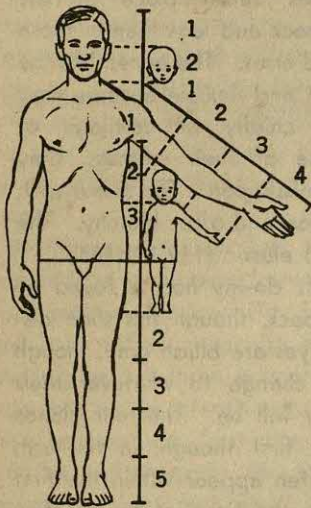


FIGURE 3-9 CHANGES IN BODY PROPORTIONS FROM BIRTH TO ADULTHOOD. (ADAPTED FROM P. C. MARTIN AND E. L. VINCENT: *Human development*. NEW YORK: RONALD, 1960. USED BY PERMISSION.)

visible, and the skin covering it lies in thick folds or creases. In the trunk, the *shoulders* are narrow, while the *abdomen* is large and bulging. It appears to be even larger than it is after the infant has taken nourishment. Proportionally, the *arms* and *legs* of the infant are much too short for his head and trunk. The *hands* and *feet* are miniature. (119,149,181).

PHYSIOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS Before birth, *homeostasis* is maintained for the fetus by the mother's homeostasis. After birth, the infant's body must take over this responsibility (45). Because of the undeveloped state of the autonomic nervous system at birth, the infant is unable to maintain homeostasis. However, this condition changes rapidly as the autonomic nervous system matures. As a result,

homeostasis improves and, with it, the tendency to suffer from illness, especially respiratory and gastrointestinal illness, decreases. The poor homeostasis of the infant's body immediately following birth is one of the causes for the high mortality rate at this time (68,196).

With the birth cry, the lungs are inflated and *respiration* begins (170). The respiration rate at first ranges from 40 to 45 breathing movements per minute. By the end of the first week of life, it normally drops to approximately 35 per minute and is more stable than it was at first. This compares with the average adult rate of 18 breathing movements per minute (170). The respiration rate varies markedly according to the activity of the infant. Just before he wakes, for example, the mean rate has been found to be 32.3 respirations per minute as compared with a mean of 133.3 during crying (122).

Neonatal *heartbeat* is more rapid than that of the adult because the infant's heart is small as compared with the arteries. This more rapid heartbeat is necessary to maintain normal blood pressure (75,149). When body movements are restricted by means of swaddling the infant's body, there is an increase in stability of the heartbeat. As a result, the infant is quieter, sleeps more, and has a lower heart rate (115). Even in a healthy infant, the *temperature* is higher and more variable than in the adult (149).

Reflex *sucking movements* occur when the infant is hungry or when the lips are touched. Breast-fed infants develop stronger sucking reflexes than do infants fed by the bottle (176). Regardless of method of taking nourishment, there is an increase in the rate of sucking and in the amount of nutrients consumed with each

passing day partly because of maturation and partly because of learning (17,76,105, 149,185).

Because nourishment comes in a continuous stream through the placenta and cord before birth, the *hunger rhythm* does not develop until several weeks after birth. The hunger demands of the newborn are, therefore, irregular, not only in regard to intervals between feedings, but also in regard to amounts. By the age of two or three weeks, a hunger rhythm develops. Then infants can adjust to a feeding schedule (10,136,176). Because the hunger contractions of the infant are more vigorous than those of the adult, the infant experiences real pain when he is hungry (149, 176).

Elimination of waste products begins a few hours after birth. Many voidings occur during periods of wakefulness and when the infant is quiet, usually within an hour after feeding. However, the time and amount are very variable. Defecations likewise occur when the infant is awake and quiet, shortly after feeding. But, like voidings, they are variable both in regard to time and amount (75,149,176). The infant's stomach empties in 4 to 5 hours, the small intestines in 7 to 8 hours, and the large intestines in 2 to 14 hours (149,176).

In no physiological function is lack of homeostasis more apparent than in *sleep*. At first, the infant sleeps or dozes for approximately 80 percent of the time as compared with 49 percent at the age of one year. By the fourth day of life, the amount of time spent in sleep drops to 68 percent (22,149). Neonatal sleep is broken by short waking periods which occur every two or three hours, with fewer and shorter waking periods during the night than during the day (149,176).

The infant is wakened by internal stimuli, such as pain, discomfort, and hunger. The only environmental stimuli that disturb him are very loud noises and marked changes in temperature (198). The infant falls asleep readily and can be wakened easily. The greatest depth of neonatal sleep comes during the first hour. After that, sleep is light and can be broken easily (22, 149,176).

Although there are marked variations in the patterns of neonatal sleep, there are two patterns that are common (22). The first is *regular* sleep during which the breathing rhythm is smooth and regular and the second, *irregular* sleep, during which breathing is irregular or alternates between rapid, shallow and deep, slow excursions. In regular sleep, there are frequent spontaneous startles, but otherwise the infant moves little. In irregular sleep, by contrast, there are few spontaneous startles, but many other movements ranging from simple limp movements to "voluptuous writhing of the whole body" (198).

There are marked variations also in infant posture during sleep. However, the characteristic posture, when prone, is similar to that of the fetus during intrauterine life. By the end of the first month of life, this posture is generally outgrown, owing to the tonus of the baby's musculature (119,181). Throughout the neonatal period, there is a general increase in body movements during sleep, as is true also of waking periods. Infants who are swaddled sleep more and are quieter during sleep (115,149,176,198).

Activities of the Infant

Movements of the body begin early in the period of the fetus and become stronger and more frequent as the fetus grows.

larger and stronger. Movements of the body appear as soon as the fetus emerges from the mother's body. Because of the neurophysiological immaturity of the infant, one could not expect his movements to be coordinated or meaningful. Nor are they related to events in his environment or under his voluntary control. As a result, he behaves without goals (95). This is one cause of the helplessness of the newborn infant.

In spite of their random, meaningless nature, movements of the infant can be classed, roughly, into two general categories, mass activity and specific activities.

MASS ACTIVITY Mass activity includes general movements of the whole body. When a sensory stimulus is applied to any part of the body, activity occurs throughout the entire body. It is most pronounced, however, in the area that has been stimulated. When the left hand is stimulated, for example, the infant moves not only that arm but the other arm as well. In addition, he is likely to kick his legs, twist his trunk, turn his head from side to side and, if the stimulus has been intense, he will cry. Otherwise, he may sneeze or yawn.

Because activity is diffused, the amount of energy expended is great. It has been estimated that the energy expended by an infant is two or three times greater than that expended by an adult when pound-to-pound comparisons are made. Likewise, because crying is accompanied by mass activity, a great amount of energy is expended, and the infant becomes fatigued quickly.

Normally, mass activity increases in intensity and frequency with each passing day (95,97). In Figure 3-10 are shown the

increases during the first five days after birth. Mass activity also varies within the day. The greatest activity generally occurs early in the morning, after the infant has become rested from a relatively long sleep, and is lowest at noon, a time when he is apt to be fatigued because the usual time to bathe and dress an infant is during the morning. After a nap, activity increases and remains at a relatively stable rate until early the following morning when it once again increases (95).

FACTORS INFLUENCING MASS ACTIVITY In spite of the relatively predictable patterns just described, there are marked variations in mass activity from one infant to another and within the same infant at different times (16,156). The *prenatal* and *birth* experiences of the infant influence his activity after birth. Infants who have been most active as fetuses tend to be most active during the period of the newborn (12,124,156,173,191). A long and difficult labor or medication of the mother to kill childbirth pains causes the infant to be relatively inactive for the first few days of life (12,82,124). Infants delivered by caesarean section have been found to be the least active of all (20).

The condition of the *infant's body* has a marked influence on mass activity. Hunger, pain, and general discomfort give rise to great activity, while limited activity follows nursing (80). Breast-fed infants show slightly greater general body activity than those fed by the bottle (149,176). Up to the fifth day, activity increases after feeding; after that, it decreases (80). Activity decreases with sucking and then rises after sucking. This is not true of forehead stroking (96).

When *clothing* and covers are removed

from the infant's body, activity increases (115,149). The greatest amount of activity is in the trunk and legs, the least in the head (32,149). The infant moves more when awake than when asleep, though, even in sleep, he moves about 20 percent of the time. The greatest amount of movement occurs when the infant is awake and crying (149,176).

Environmental conditions also influence the amount of neonatal activity. All light is disturbing and becomes increasingly so with added intensity. Sounds likewise produce an increase in the infant's activity. Both sound and light are most disturbing when the infant's physiological state is unfavorable (32,149,176).

SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES Specific activities involve certain limited areas of the body. They include reflexes, which are definite responses to specific sensory stimuli and which remain unchanged with repetition of the same stimulus, and generalized responses, which use larger groups of muscles than are involved in reflexes and which may be aroused by either external or internal stimuli.

REFLEXES Most of the important reflexes of the body, as the pupillary, lip, tongue, sucking, flexion, knee jerk, sneezing, and others are present at birth. The first reflexes to appear have distinct survival value. The others appear within a few hours or days after birth. With practice, the reflexes become stronger. Because infants suck when awake, regardless of food deprivation, this helps to strengthen the sucking reflex. They suck little, however, when asleep (108).

Several reflexes, as the *Babinski*, the *Moro-embrace*, and the *Darwinian*, which

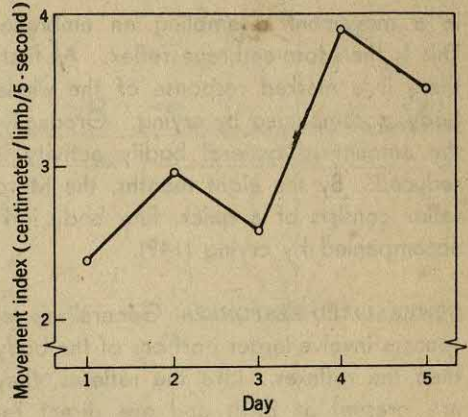


FIGURE 3-10 INCREASE IN NEONATAL MOVEMENT DURING THE FIRST FIVE DAYS OF LIFE. (ADAPTED FROM W. KESSEN, E. J. WILLIAMS, AND J. P. WILLIAMS: SELECTION AND TEST OF RESPONSE MEASURES IN THE STUDY OF THE HUMAN NEWBORN. *Child Developm.*, 1961, 32, 7-24. USED BY PERMISSION.)

have no survival value, appear shortly after birth but disappear during the early months of life. The *Babinski*, or fanning of the toes following a gentle stroking of the sole of the infant's foot, is accompanied by movement of the entire leg. At the age of four months, the speed of the withdrawal has diminished, and fewer segments of the leg are involved. By the age of 2½ years, the response is limited to movements of the ankle and toes. A distinct weakening of the *Darwinian*, or grasp, reflex occurs by the end of the second month of life. Almost all newborn infants can suspend body weight, but this ability begins to decline rapidly after the first postnatal month (149).

When the infant is placed flat on his back and the table or mattress on which he is lying is struck hard, he throws out his arms

in a movement resembling an embrace. This is the Moro-embrace reflex. At first, there is a marked response of the whole body, accompanied by crying. Gradually, the amount of general bodily activity is reduced. By the eight months, the Moro reflex consists of a quick, fine body jerk, accompanied by crying (149).

GENERALIZED RESPONSES Generalized responses involve larger portions of the body than the reflexes. Like the reflexes, they are present at birth and are direct responses to external or internal stimuli. Some of the most common of these are visual fixation on light, spontaneous eye movements, shedding of tears, feeding responses such as sucking, swallowing, tongue, cheek, and lip movements, sucking of the fingers, yawning, hiccuping, rhythmic mouthing movements, frowning and wrinkling of the brow, turning and lifting the head, turning of the trunk, body jerk, hand and arm movements, prancing and kicking, leg and foot movements. All of these are uncoordinated, undefined, and aimless. However, they are important because they are the basis from which skilled movements of a highly coordinated type will develop as a result of learning (149).

In hand-mouth contacting, for example, the infant tries to put his hand into his mouth but, in doing so, he makes many random, uncoordinated movements (95,97). His hands are in constant motion, sometimes loosely fisted, sometimes tightly fisted, and sometimes partly open. They are especially active during crying (29).

While lying in a prone position, the newborn infant lifts his head and turns it. Because boys tend to be stronger than girls, they lift and turn their heads more

during the early days of life (13). Three types of head turning have been observed in newborn infants. In the first, the infant turns his head to both sides of the body midline; in the second, the head does not cross the body midline and the movement is limited to an arc of 90° or less; in the third, the head does not cross the body midline and the movement is limited to an arc of 45° (186). These three types of infantile head turning are illustrated in Figure 3-11.

Vocalization of the Newborn

Most people believe that the only sounds a newborn infant can make are cries. While it is true that most of his vocalizations are cries, he occasionally utters other sounds. All his vocalizations, however, are random and uncontrolled because of his neurophysiological immaturity. Consequently, they contribute their share to his helplessness.

The vocalizations of the newborn infant can be divided into two categories, crying and explosive sounds. During infancy and the early months of babyhood, crying is the dominant form of vocalization. However, from the long-term point of view, explosive sounds are the more important type of vocalization because, from them, speech eventually develops.

CRYING Normally, crying will begin at birth or shortly afterward. There have been cases, however, of prenatal crying. Occasionally, in a long and difficult birth, the fetus will cry even while in the uterus. Prebirth cries are rare and dangerous, for there is always the possibility that the fetus will be choked by the fluid in the uterus (161).

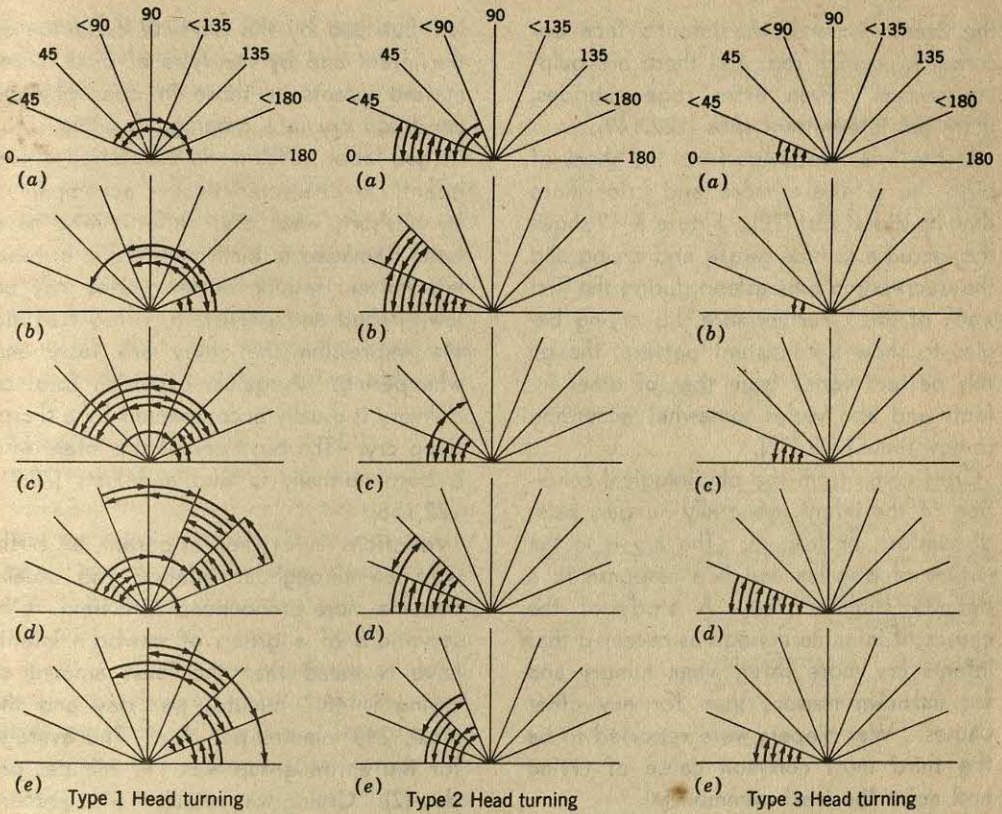


FIGURE 3-11 TYPES OF HEAD TURNING OBSERVED IN NEWBORN INFANTS. (ADAPTED FROM G. TURKEWITZ, E. W. GORDON, AND H. G. BIRCH: HEAD TURNING IN THE HUMAN NEONATE: SPONTANEOUS PATTERNS. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1965, 107, 143-158. USED BY PERMISSION.)

The birth cry is a purely reflex type of activity and results from air being drawn rapidly over the vocal cords, thus causing them to vibrate. The cry of the newborn is uttered with force and loudness and is characterized by regularity of breathing. The purpose of the birth cry is to inflate the lungs, thus making breathing possible, and to supply the blood with sufficient oxygen (122,149,170).

Shortly after birth, the cry of infants

shows variations in pitch, intensity, and continuity. It is then possible to tell, within limits, what is the matter. When the cry is staccatolike, intermittent, and monotonous in pitch, it means general bodily discomfort or hunger. When discomfort turns into pain, the cry rises in pitch. Should the pain lead to increasing physical weakness, piercing tones then give way to low moans. Rage is expressed through a long, piercing cry during which

the breath is held, the infant's face becomes a purplish red, and there are gulping sounds. Even after rage subsides, there are intermittent sobs (122,149).

As the infant recovers from the shock of birth, he is awake more and cries more than he did at first (22). Figure 3-12 shows the increase in time awake and crying and the decrease in time asleep during the first week of life. Furthermore, his crying begins to show a consistent pattern, though this pattern varies from that of other infants and also varies somewhat according to how tense he is (97).

Cries come from the physiological condition of the infant, generally hunger, pain, discomfort, or fatigue. The cry is in the nature of a reflex and is a response to a definite stimulus (16). A study of the causes of infantile crying has revealed that infants cry more often when hungry and for unknown reasons than for any other causes. Wet diapers were reported to be the third most common cause of crying and noise the least common (1).

Bodily activity of some sort almost always accompanies the infant's crying. The more vigorous the crying, the more widespread the activity. If permitted to cry for any length of time, the infant becomes exhausted and falls into a comalike sleep. Crying then subsides not because his need has been met but because he has too little energy to cry any more. Bodily activity that accompanies crying is a signal that the infant needs attention. It is thus a form of language (122).

VARIATIONS IN CRYING There are marked variations in the amount of crying different infants do and in the tonal quality of their cries (12). These variations are apparent in the birth cry which, to a certain extent,

is influenced by the *physical condition* of the infant and by the *type of birth*. Premature infants or those in poor physical condition cry in a moaning fashion. Prolonged labor, resulting in exhaustion of the infant, is characteristically accompanied by a short, weak cry. Infants who have been damaged in birth may cry in a weak, intermittent fashion or their cries may be low-pitched and persistent, often creating the impression that they are fussy and whimpering. A quick, expulsive form of delivery is usually accompanied by a sharp, deep cry. The birth cry of the infant who is born normally is loud and lusty (70,71, 122,156).

Variations in crying, apparent at birth, continue throughout infancy and usually become more pronounced with time. Observations of a group of newborn infants have revealed that the least amount of crying is 48.2 minutes per day and the most, 243 minutes per day. The average for the entire group was 117 minutes per day (2). Crying was reduced 51.4 percent when the nursing care of the newborn infant was individualized (1).

Infants who have been *damaged at birth* or whose mothers received heavy *medication* during childbirth normally cry more and have weaker and more intermittent cries than infants whose more normal condition enables them to make quicker and more satisfactory adjustments to postnatal life (61,82,91,102). Infants delivered by *caesarean section* cry less than those born in normal or instrumental births, and their cries are weaker (64,160).

When mothers are anxious and feel insecure about their abilities to carry out mothering activities, they tend to be less "motherly" in their relationships with their babies. This predisposes the infant to cry

more, as is true of lack of individualized care in the hospital nursery (106,140). Infants whose motor activities are restricted by *swaddling* cry less than do those who are unrestricted (115,198). Children who are *bright* have been reported to have cried more as infants than those who are less bright (91). However, as there are so many factors responsible for the amount of crying an infant does, it is never safe to conclude that the more he cries, the brighter he will be as he grows older.

EXPLOSIVE SOUNDS In addition to crying, the newborn infant occasionally makes explosive sounds similar to heavy breathing. They are uttered without meaning or intent and occur purely by chance whenever the vocal muscles contract. They are commonly called "coos," "gurgles," or "grunts." These are gradually strengthened and develop into *babbling*, which later develops into *speech*. *Sneezing* is a reflex type of explosive sound which first occurs within a few hours after birth and occasionally before the birth cry itself. Healthy infants sneeze several times a day, thus cleaning the nose of any foreign matter (122).

Yawning, another type of explosive sound, may be heard as early as 5 minutes after birth. *Whining*, which can be distinguished from crying, occurs during irregular breathing. *Hiccupping* occurs during the first week of life and ranges in length from 35 seconds to 18 minutes 20 seconds, with a mean of 6 minutes 34 seconds. Hiccupping begins and ends abruptly. It varies from barely audible inspirations to loud sharp sounds. Hiccups usually come in groups of loud sounds interspersed with groups of relatively quiet inspirations (122, 149).

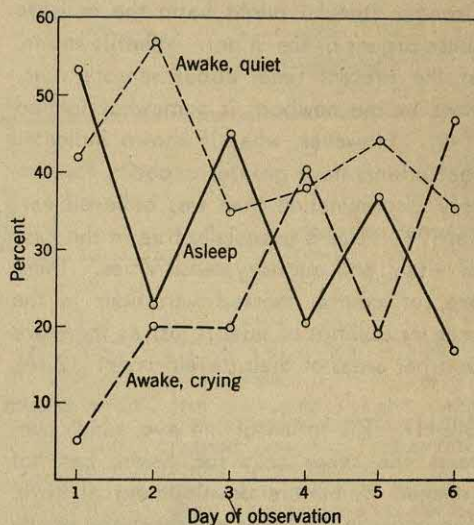


FIGURE 3-12 PERCENT OF TIME ASLEEP, AWAKE AND QUIET, AND CRYING DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF LIFE. (ADAPTED FROM J. L. BROWN: STATES IN NEWBORN INFANTS. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1964, 10, 313-326. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Sensitivities of the Newborn Infant

Because sensation is best studied by the introspective method, and because introspection is impossible at the prespeech level of development, the only criterion that can be used to determine the presence or absence of sensory capacity is the motor response to sensory stimuli that would normally arise when these sense organs are stimulated. However, it is often difficult to tell whether a motor response is made to a stimulus or whether the reaction is a part of general mass activity.

Furthermore, absence of response does not necessarily mean absence of sensitivity. It may only mean that the stimulus used was too weak to elicit a response and yet a

stronger stimulus might harm the delicate sense organs of the infant. What is known, at the present time, about sensory reactions in the newborn is somewhat limited (149). However, what is known indicates that infants have greater capacity for sensory discrimination than was believed earlier (94). This is especially true in the case of visual and auditory sensitivities. There are, of course, marked variations in the sensory abilities of infants just as there are in other areas of their development (12,16).

SIGHT The retina of the eye, which contains the sense cells for vision, has not reached its mature development at birth. The cones in the fovea are short and poorly defined, though the number of cones per unit area is the same as in the adult eye. This would suggest that the infant at birth is totally or partially color-blind.

Within a day or two after birth, the pupillary reflex is well established, as is true of the protective responses of turning the head, closing the eyelids, and crying. During the first week of life, most infants respond to light by signs of discomfort. Infants seven to nine days old respond in a slightly dissimilar way to colors of the same physical energy (149).

The rods in the retina—the cells responsible for black-and-white or colorless vision—are better developed than the cones, though they are limited to a relatively small area surrounding the fovea. As a result, the infant's visual field is smaller than it will be in time, when the rods in the other areas of the retina develop.

Equally as important as development of the rods and cones is the development of the muscles that control the movements of the eyes in the sockets. Immediately after birth, they are in such an undevel-

oped state that the infant cannot focus both eyes on the same object. As a result, he sees everything as a blur. By the time he is ten days old, if he is normal and full term, and if other areas of development are progressing, there will be a marked improvement in eye coordination, partly because of maturation and partly because of experience (133). Shortly after infancy is over, the young baby of one month of age begins to adapt to stimuli, and this means he can see them more clearly and distinctly (79).

An experiment in which infants were shown plainly covered surfaces and pictures of faces or concentric circles indicates that they have more visual attention to patterned stimuli than to plainly covered surfaces. This the experimenter interpreted to mean that the visual world of the infant is not as formless or chaotic as it is believed to be (58).

The ability to follow a moving object and then move the eye backward—*optic nystagmus*—appears several hours after birth (133,149). On the first day of life, incipient fixation of a near, approaching object can be observed. In the first week, there is sustained fixation of near objects and, by the end of the first month, there is fixation of more distant objects. This has led Gesell to conclude that the infant "takes hold of the physical world ocularly long before he grasps it manually" (66).

HEARING At birth, hearing is at the lowest stage of development of all the sensitivities. Many infants are totally deaf at birth and for several days thereafter, owing to the stoppage of the middle ear with amniotic fluid. Even loud noises near the ear produce little if any reaction. The average newborn gives no evidence of

hearing ordinary sounds during the first two days of life, though most make some response to such sounds during the third to seventh day (149). There are marked individual differences in the ages at which infants begin to hear, with prematurely born infants lagging behind those born at full term (12).

Low-frequency tones have been found to be a more effective inhibitor of infantile motility than high: when aroused to intense mass activity by crying, infants can be soothed better by low auditory stimuli than by high (16). Nonnutritive sucking likewise is suppressed by auditory stimuli, especially those that are low (93). It has been reported that infants can discriminate the location of sound within the first 118 hours of life (107).

SMELL The sense of smell is well developed at birth or within a few days after birth (113). As may be seen in Figure 3-13, the infant becomes increasingly responsive to odor stimulation as shown by the fact that the thresholds of sensitivity change drastically during the early days of life (53). This high sensitivity is shown by squirming, crying, and sucking movements, even when the infant is asleep. It has been reported that infants will refuse to take the breast when it has been rubbed with such an odor as petroleum (149).

Infants can not only smell but they can also distinguish between different odors, such as acetic acid, phenylethyl alcohol, anise oil, and asafetida. At first, the infant's response is diffuse and disorganized—similar to a mild startle. Later it changes to a smooth, efficient attempt to escape from the unpleasant odor, first, by turning the whole body and, later, by turning the head (53).

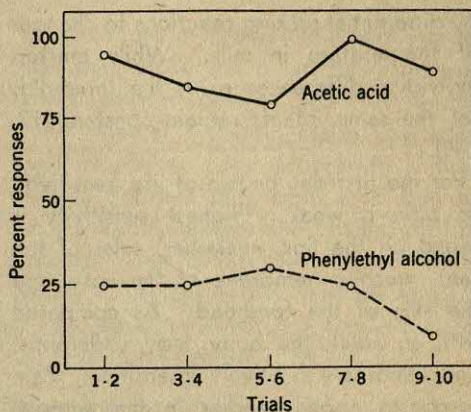


FIGURE 3-13 THE NEWBORN INFANT CAN DISTINGUISH BETWEEN DIFFERENT ODORS. (ADAPTED FROM T. ENGEN, L. P. LIPSITT, AND H. KAYE: OLFACTORY RESPONSES AND ADAPTATION IN THE HUMAN NEONATE. *J. comp. physiol. Psychol.*, 1963, 56, 73-77. USED BY PERMISSION.)

TASTE Because taste is markedly influenced by smell, it is not surprising that, like smell, taste is well developed at birth. Reactions to sweet are primarily positive; to salt, sour, and bitter, negative. Wide individual differences in taste thresholds are found, however, as is true of other sensitivities (12,149).

SKIN SENSITIVITIES The skin sensitivities of touch, pressure, temperature, and pain are present at birth. Some parts of the body are, however, more sensitive to touch than others, especially the lips. The skin on the trunk, thighs, and forearms is, on the other hand, less sensitive (192). Cold stimuli produce prompter and more pronounced reactions than do heat stimuli. Sensitivity to temperature stimuli is shown

by differential sucking reactions to changes of temperature in milk. While marked individual differences exist, the thresholds for the same infants remain constant (12, 149).

For the first day or two of life, sensitivity to *pain* is weak. Highest sensitivity is found on the lips, eyelashes, soles of the feet, mucous membrane of the nose, and the skin of the forehead. As compared with an adult, the body, legs, underarms, and hands are relatively insensitive. Pain responses appear earlier in the anterior end of the body and develop more rapidly than those in the posterior end (114). Sleep increases the threshold of pain sensitivity.

Normally, the pain threshold drops during the first four days of life. The result is that the infant responds to increasingly weaker pain stimuli. This does not happen when infants suffered from anoxia at birth or when their mothers had strong medication to ease childbirth pain. Instead, the decline in pain thresholds is slower, and it does not follow the usual pattern (72, 114). Because even normal infants experience some anoxia during the early hours or days of life, and because of the immaturity of the respiratory system, it is logical that they would recover at different rates from these respiratory traumas (114).

ORGANIC SENSITIVITIES Hunger contractions are fully developed at birth and appear shortly after birth. They differ from those of an adult only in that they occur at more frequent intervals. They occur every ten or fifteen minutes and end in a complete tetanus or rigid contraction of the muscles. Stomach contractions appear even before the stomach contains food (149).

State of Consciousness

Because of the relatively undeveloped state of the most important sense organs, the eyes and the ears, one could not logically expect the newborn infant to be keenly aware of what goes on in the environment surrounding him. His awareness would more likely be "one great, blooming, buzzing confusion" (87). And, because the mind of the newborn infant is different from that of the older child, and because his experiences are linked to those of intrauterine life, the newborn infant experiences the world differently, just as "an unmusical person hears a symphony differently from one who is musical" (104).

The longer and more difficult the birth, the longer the state of confusion of the infant. As was pointed out earlier in the chapter, *all* infants experience some disorganization for the first day or two after birth (21). This would suggest that they are not conscious of what goes on around them. Gradually, as the shock of birth wears off, and as their sense organs begin to function better, they become more conscious of their surroundings.

The consciousness of the infant is markedly influenced by the depressant effects of drugs used in labor. These effects persist longer than in adults (179). Prematurely born infants require longer to adjust to the ordeal of birth than do full-term infants whose birth has been difficult (49). Consequently, it takes them even longer to become conscious of what goes on around them.

Capacity for Learning

To learn, the individual must be aware of what he is expected to do. Furthermore, the brain and nerves must be developed

enough to make learning possible. These conditions do not exist in newborn infants, especially during the first few days of postnatal life. Studies of newborn infants have revealed that they are incapable of even the simplest form of learning—conditioning or learning by association. With the possible exception of conditioning in the feeding situation, conditioned responses are difficult to elicit. When they do appear, they are unstable and of little permanent value (118,149).

Emotions of the Newborn

In view of the incoordination that characterizes the activities of the newborn infant, it would be illogical to expect that emotional states at birth would be so well defined that they could be readily identified as specific emotions. Instead of specific patterns, the newborn's reactions can be divided into two groups, the pleasant or positive responses and the unpleasant or negative responses.

Unpleasant responses can be elicited by changing the infant's position abruptly, by sudden loud noises, by hampering the infant's movements, and by a wet diaper or a cold object applied to the skin. The infant cries in response to these disagreeable stimuli. *Pleasurable responses*, on the other hand, can be elicited by patting, rocking, warmth, snug holding, and sucking. These are not as clear-cut and definite as the unpleasant responses and resemble more a state of quiescence than an emotional state (11,89,175).

The outstanding characteristics of the infant's emotional makeup is the complete absence of gradations of responses showing different degrees of intensity. Whatever the stimulus, the resultant emotion is intense and sudden (11,89).

Observations of prematurely born infants show that emotional reactivity is present several months before birth. It is not known whether the fetus makes any emotional responses. The probability is that they lie dormant until birth as is true of the respiratory mechanism. As Bakwin has stressed, "The ability to respond emotionally is present in the newborn as part of the developmental process and does not have to be learned" (10).

Beginnings of Personality

Children are born without personalities but with characteristic temperamental differences as shown in activity rates and sensitivities. These are the potential qualities from which the personality pattern of each individual will develop. Individual differences in these potential qualities are apparent at birth (3,130,177). These are shown in responses to food, in crying, and in motor activities. From these variations, the personality is built. Observations of babies during the first two years of life have revealed a constancy of traits that indicates that the nucleus of personality was present at birth (177).

The foundations of personality, as of other physical and mental traits, comes from the maturing of hereditary traits. These traits begin to develop on the delivery table and, although they will be influenced by learning, by direct social contacts, and by conditioning, inheritance plays a major role in their development (3,24,177).

FACTORS INFLUENCING PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT As was mentioned earlier, studies of the *prenatal environment* have suggested that a disturbed prenatal environment, resulting from the mother's

emotional or metabolic processes, may cause a modification of the newborn infant's behavior pattern. These disturbances are especially important during the latter part of intrauterine life and may cause a state of hyperactivity and irritability in the newborn infant (143,173).

Excessive fatigue of the mother, exposure to loud and prolonged noise and vibration in the fetal environment, may reduce the adaptability of the infant to his new environment at birth, rendering him less able to utilize food successfully. It may also make him nervous, irritable, and given to crying. As a result, the infant will seem less "desirable" in the eyes of his parents, thus affecting their attitude toward him from the very start of his life (109,146, 164,190).

There is little evidence that the *birth trauma*, or psychological shock to the infant that comes when he is separated from the mother at birth, has any lasting effects

on his personality (26,149,160). There is evidence, however, that infants who are separated from their mothers after birth do not make as good an adjustment to their postnatal life as do infants who are with their mothers (175,204).

There is also evidence that the *mother's attitude* toward the infant, which is reflected in her behavior, influences the personality of the infant. If, for example the mother is not happy about having a baby or if the baby is not of the desired sex, this will be sensed, if not understood, by the infant (109,189). Furthermore, the mother's reaction to her new baby is often confused and unstable, shifting from day to day or even from hour to hour, if she suspects something is wrong with the infant. This is reflected in her behavior and is an important determinant in the developing personality pattern of the infant (26,134).

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Babyhood extends from the end of the period of infancy, two weeks after birth, until the end of the second year of life. By that time, the average baby is relatively independent of adult aid and can do many things for himself which formerly had to be done for him. Although many babies attain relative independence before their second birthdays, the average baby is two years old before he reaches this stage in his development.

Decrease in helplessness and an accompanying increase in independence come from the rapid development of body control which enables the baby to sit, stand, walk, and manipulate objects at will. Independence also increases with the baby's improvement in the ability to communicate his needs and wishes to others in forms which they can understand. Perhaps the most significant thing about increased independence is that it permits the baby to develop along lines suited to his interests and abilities. As a result, the individuality apparent at birth is increased as he grows older.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BABYHOOD

There are certain characteristics of the babyhood years which make this period in the life span distinctive: Babyhood is a critical age, a dangerous age, and an appealing age.

Babyhood Is a Critical Age

The years of babyhood are the true foundation years of life because at this time the foundations of many behavior patterns, many attitudes toward others and toward the self, and many patterns of emotional expression are being established (88). While these foundations are not so firmly established at the end of babyhood that they cannot be changed should they prove to be inefficient or socially unacceptable, they are nevertheless firmly enough established that changing them means relearning, with its accompaniment of emotional tension and confusion.

Babyhood Is a Dangerous Age

While illnesses in babyhood are less often fatal today than they were in the past, because of improved medical care in the prenatal and early postnatal months and the use of the new "wonder drugs" to minimize the severity of diseases, the mortality rate in the babyhood years is still high. Two-thirds of all deaths in the first year of life come in the first month. After that, the mortality rate decreases rapidly. During the first year of life, 33 percent more boy than girl babies die (176,191).

During the second year of life, accidents may prove to be fatal or may produce some injury that will permanently affect the course of the individual's life. The strong desire to explore his environment is not held in check by knowledge of possible harm and, as a result, the baby has many accidents, some of which are minor while others are serious (128).

Babyhood Is an Appealing Age

The helplessness and dependency of the small baby appeals to adults as well as to

older children. Furthermore, the baby is easy to manage when he is helpless, and this likewise adds to his appeal to adults. Gradually, as his helplessness is replaced by ability to do things for himself, the baby is less easily managed and more resistant to adult help. Unfortunately, far too often parents cannot or do not adjust their concept of the baby's abilities quickly enough to keep pace with his development. As a result, the baby is frustrated in his attempts to do the things he can and wants to do. This makes him resistant and negativistic, qualities which make him less appealing than he was when he was helpless.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF BABYHOOD

All babies are expected to learn to walk, to take solid foods, to have their organs of elimination under partial control, to achieve reasonable physiological stability, especially in hunger rhythm and sleep, to learn the foundations of speech, to relate themselves emotionally to their parents and siblings to some extent instead of being completely self-bound as they are immediately after birth (88). Most of these developmental tasks will not, of course, be completely mastered when babyhood draws to a close, but the foundations for them should be laid.

This is important for two reasons. *First*, the sooner the baby gains control over his body, the sooner he can become independent of help from others. The *second* reason that mastering the developmental tasks of babyhood is important is that it cuts down the time and effort needed to master the other developmental tasks that are dependent on these foundation tasks.

Importance of Opportunity for Mastering Tasks

The rapid development of the nervous system, the ossification of the bones, and the strengthening of the muscles make it possible for the baby to master the developmental tasks of babyhood. However, whether this possibility will be realized will depend to a large extent upon the opportunities the baby is given to master them and the help and guidance he has in mastering them (178).

Because the social group expects babies to master the developmental tasks that have been found useful and possible to learn, the baby who fails to learn them is handicapped in his personal and social adjustments and he is judged to be "backward." In some cases, this failure stems from the baby's immaturity, especially neurological, but in most cases the trouble can be traced to lack of learning opportunities.

Babies brought up in institutions, for example, are often retarded in development because of lack of stimulation. When given stimulation, they generally show a rise in their developmental quotients (173). Babies from deprived home environments likewise lag behind the norm for their ages in mastering the important developmental tasks of babyhood (57). Even in economically favored environments, a lag in development can occur if the mothers overprotect their babies (53).

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Babyhood is one of the two periods of rapid growth during the life span; the other comes at puberty. During the first six months of life, growth continues at the rapid rate characteristic of the prenatal

period and then begins to slow down. In the second year, growth is at a rapidly decelerating rate. During the first year of life, the increase in weight is proportionally greater than the increase in height; in the second year, the reverse is true (60,113, 131,154,206).

VARIATIONS IN PATTERN The pattern of physical growth in babyhood is much the same for boys and girls. However, within the sex groups, there are marked variations (18,113). Growth varies according to the season of the year. The period from October to December is one of maximum, and from April to June, one of minimum weight gain. Maximum gain in height comes from April to June and minimum, from October to December (113, 154).

Measurements of height and weight of Negro babies throughout the first year of life have shown that there was no difference in measurements between Negro and white babies when the groups came from comparable economic levels. Differences, however, begin to appear in the second year because, typically, the Negro child is of a more slender build than the white child (206).

Variations in weight are more pronounced than variations in height. There is relatively little difference in birth height even when the differences in weight are pronounced. Variations continue throughout the babyhood years, with variations in weight always greater than variations in height. Variations in weight are partly dependent upon body build and partly on the baby's eating habits (61,154,206).

In spite of variations, it is possible to get a general picture of the pattern of growth for babies. This picture will be presented in the following sections.

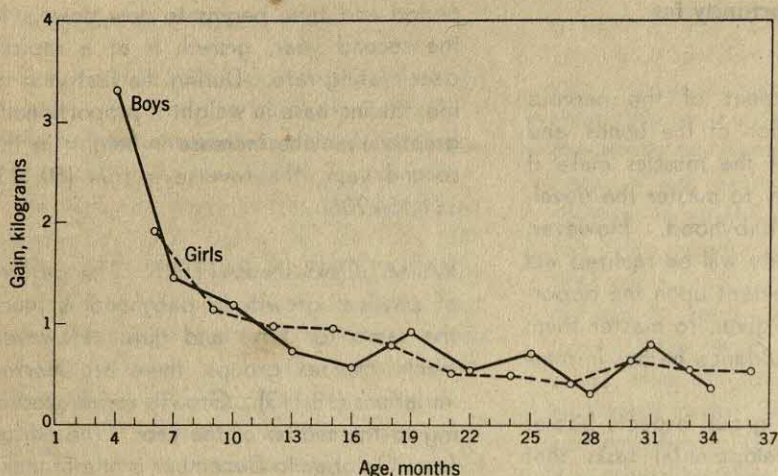


FIGURE 4-1 WEIGHT GAINS SLOW DOWN FROM THE AGE OF 6 MONTHS TO 3 YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM J. P. SCOTT: THE PROCESS OF PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION IN CANINE AND HUMAN INFANTS. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Developm.*, 1963, 28, NO. 1. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Weight

After the initial loss in weight immediately after birth, weight increases begin. By the time the baby is four months old, birth weight is normally doubled. This means that the average baby of that age weighs 14 to 15 pounds.

At eight months, weight varies from 16 to 19 pounds and, at one year, the birth weight should be trebled, or approximately 21 pounds. By his second birthday, the typical American baby weighs 25 pounds. The slowing down of weight gain increases during the final quarter of the first year and throughout the entire second year, owing to the greater expenditure of energy in creeping, sitting, and walking (113,178, 206). Figure 4-1 shows the slowing down of the weight gain from six months of age to three years.

Weight increases in babyhood come mainly from an increase in fat tissue.

Throughout the first six months of life, fat nearly doubles in thickness because of the high fat content of the milk, which plays such an important role in the young baby's diet. Some babies continue to gain weight from fat increases throughout the entire babyhood period, but for most babies, the pace of fat increases slows down (31,126).

Height

Increases in height come at a proportionally slower rate than weight increases during the first year and at a more rapid rate during the second year (113,206). By the time the baby is four months old he measures between 23 and 24 inches in length. At eight months, the average height is 26 to 28 inches; at one year, 28 to 30 inches; and at two years, approximately 32 to 34 inches (18,131).

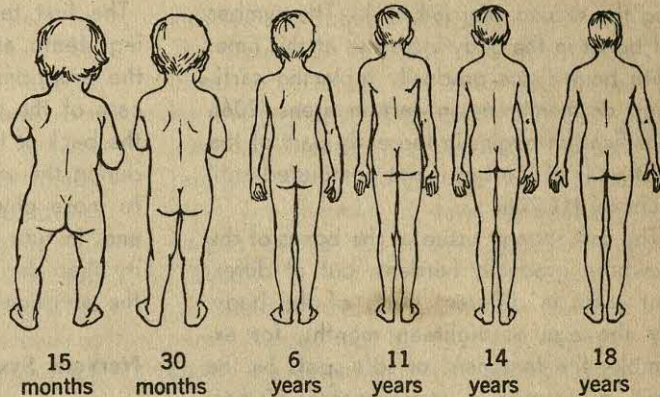


FIGURE 4-2 CHANGES IN BODY PROPORTIONS WITH GROWTH. THE SAME BOY AT SIX DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM N. BAYLEY: INDIVIDUAL PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT. *Child Developm.*, 1956, 27, 45-74. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Physical Proportions

During the first half year of postnatal life, changes in body proportions are slight. From then on, changes begin to appear, with head growth slower than trunk and limb growth (131,206). The rate of increase of head circumference, for example, declines sharply during the first six months, especially during the second month (64).

As the head growth slows down, the marked top-heaviness characteristically present at birth gradually decreases as the trunk and legs lengthen. The baby appears to be more thickset during the first year as a result of the proportionally greater increase in girth and transverse diameters than in length. Before babyhood is over, however, he appears to be more slender and less chunky in build (18, 113,184,185). Girls are less stocky than boys (185).

Gradually, the head appears less enormous than it did at birth, owing to the development of the lower part of the face

—especially the jaw—the appearance of teeth which makes the mouth seem in better proportion to the rest of the face, and the appearance of a short but actually noticeable neck. Even the nose begins to take on some shape as the cartilage framework develops (31).

The arms and hands increase in length between 60 and 75 percent during babyhood, and the legs, approximately 40 percent. The legs are thus growing at a slower rate than the arms. There is rapid growth in both hands and feet during babyhood, not only in size but in muscular development as well (31,131,206). Figure 4-2 shows body proportions at different ages.

Bones

Bone development follows the same general trend as growth in size, which means that development is most rapid during the first year of life and is followed by a period of relatively slow development dur-

ing the second year (84,131). The number of bones in the body increases at this time, with bone tissue gradually replacing cartilage or membrane in certain areas (206). Ossification begins in the early part of the first year of life but is not completed until puberty (18,206).

The soft spongy tissue of the bones of the newborn gradually hardens, but at different rates in different parts of the body. By the age of eighteen months, for example, the *fontanels*, or soft spots on the skull, are closed in approximately 50 percent of all babies and, at two years, in approximately all babies (191,206). Because the bones are soft during babyhood, the body is pliable (156). This explains why a baby can get into strange positions, such as sucking his toes when lying on his back. It is at this time also that bones can readily be misshapen if too much pressure is placed on them for too long a time or if the baby is permitted to sleep on a mattress that sags (59,191).

Teeth

Of the 20 "baby," or temporary, teeth, approximately 16 have erupted before babyhood is over. The first tooth to make its appearance cuts through the gum generally between the ages of six and eight months. The lower central incisors come in first, followed by the upper incisors. By the age of one year, the average baby has four to six teeth, and by the second year, 16 teeth. The time of eruption of the teeth is variable and depends upon such factors as hereditary tendencies, health, nutrition, and sex. The sequence of eruption is more important than the age of eruption, because when there are irregularities in the sequence, the jaws are likely to be thrown out of position and cause poor alignment of the teeth (113,143,206).

The first teeth to cut through, the "biting" teeth, are thin and sharp. As a result, the eruptions are less painful than in the case of the molars, or "chewing" teeth, in the back of the jaw. As these cut through during the second year, teething gives rise to more physical upsets, more discomfort and, in turn, more fretfulness and irritability than during the first year of life when the eruption of teeth is less painful (143).

Nervous System

Rapid growth in the nervous system characterizes the first three to four years of postnatal life. This growth consists primarily of the development of immature cells present at birth rather than of the formation of new cells (178,196). It has been estimated that one-fourth of the adult brain weight is attained at birth, one-half by the age of nine months, and three-fourths by the end of the second year (63,206,211).

This rapid growth in the brain is characteristic of both the *cerebrum* and *cerebellum*. The cerebellum, which plays such an important role in postural control and body balance, gains approximately 300 percent in weight during the first year of life (63, 206,211). Because the brain does so much of its growing during babyhood, it can be impaired by malnutrition. How great the damage is and how persistent has not yet been definitely determined (196).

Sense-organ Development

The sense organs develop rapidly during babyhood and are capable of functioning on a satisfactory level during the early months of life. With the development of coordination of the eye muscles by the third month, the baby is capable of *seeing* things clearly and distinctly. However,

because the eye muscles remain weak for many months, eye incoordination is frequent, especially at times when the baby is fatigued, hungry, or has been crying. It is believed, though not conclusively proved, that at about the same age, three months, the cones of the retina are developed well enough to permit him to see all colors.

Hearing is acute in babies. At two months of age, babies exhibit a greater acuity to the voice than to such sounds as whistling, knocking, handclapping, and the noise of a spoon. Shortly after the baby is two months old, he responds equally well to noises of all kinds (31,206,211).

Smell and *taste*, which are well developed at birth, continue to be acute throughout babyhood. Because of their acuity, foods that appeal to an adult are so strong in taste to a baby that he rejects them. Because of the thin texture of babies' skin and the fact that there are as many sense organs for *touch*, *pressure*, *pain*, and *temperature* in the skin surface of a baby as there will be when he reaches maturity, a baby is highly responsive to all skin stimuli. He feels heat, cold, and pain acutely, and he responds more vigorously to light touch and tickling stimuli than he will when he is older (63,178).

Babyhood Illnesses

For the first two to four months of life, nature provides an immunity to disease. If the mother's diet during the prenatal period is good, the incidence of illness in babies during the first six months of life is less than when the mother's diet is poor, and the number of deaths resulting from illness is greatly reduced (154,156). After the first half year of life, the immunity built up during the prenatal period gradually wears off.

For the remaining months of babyhood,

illnesses are frequent and sometimes fatal. The frequency of deaths resulting from illness increases as the baby approaches his first birthday. Respiratory and gastrointestinal diseases are the most frequent causes of death during the first year of life. The number of fatal illnesses decreases during the second year of life (17,208).

In addition to the more serious diseases, minor illnesses such as colds and digestive upsets are common. With prompt diagnosis of these and proper medical care, they can be checked before any serious harm occurs. When, however, they are neglected, as is frequently true in the case of common colds, they can and often do develop with lightning rapidity into more serious disturbances, especially ear infections (17,52,198). Figure 4-3 shows the common illnesses in babyhood as compared with other ages.

Babyhood Accidents

Although accidents are infrequent during the first year of life, owing to the fact that the baby is carefully protected in his crib and carriage, they are far more frequent during the second year when he begins to move around more freely and cannot be as well protected as he was earlier. Some of these accidents are minor in seriousness, as in the case of bruises and cuts, and they leave no harmful effect. Others are serious and may even prove to be fatal (55,79,97).

Babyhood accidents more often occur in the home than outside. They may occur at any time, but they are most common at the times of day when the mother is busy with household chores. Boys have more accidents than girls. This tendency increases as they grow older (79).

An accident can affect any part of the

baby's body, but the head is the most common and most serious area. In one study it was reported that 6 out of 10 accidents during the first year of life affected the head (97). Head injuries usually result from falls—the most common accidents in babyhood (17,97).

PHYSIOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS

Babyhood is the time when the fundamental physiological patterns of eating, sleeping, and elimination should be established, even though the habit formation may not be completed when babyhood ends.

Sleep Patterns

By the end of infancy, the baby's eyes are open about 10.5 percent of the time; the rest of the time he is asleep or dozing. By the time he is 24 weeks old, the time his eyes are open increases to 47.1 percent. This remains fairly constant until the end of the first year (58). The mean duration of night sleep increases from 8½ hours at 3 weeks to 10 hours at 12 weeks and then remains constant during the rest of the first year (31,191).

During the first three months, the decline in day sleep is balanced by an increase in night sleep. Throughout the first year, wakefulness-sleep cycles of approximately one hour in length occur in both day and night sleep, with deep sleep lasting only about twenty-three minutes (12,31,109,191). As the baby's stomach enlarges by the end of the first year, the sleep periods become longer. During the second year, the baby sleeps generally from 6 P.M. to 5 or 6 A.M., with a morning nap of one hour and an afternoon nap of two hours. By his second birthday, the night sleep and after-

noon nap remain about the same length, but the morning nap is generally discontinued (31,58,191).

Eating Patterns

From birth until four or five months of age, all eating is in the infantile form of sucking and swallowing. Food, as a result, must be in a liquid form. Chewing generally appears in the developmental pattern a month later than biting. But, like biting, it is in an infantile form and requires much practice before it becomes serviceable.

At first, the baby chews in "rabbit style," using only his front teeth. If the portion he has bitten off is too large for him to cope with successfully, he either holds it in his mouth without chewing or he spits it out. Given a reasonable opportunity for practice, however, and food in a semisolid form to encourage biting and chewing, the baby will have mastered the foundational eating skills by his first birthday (31,191).

The use of the bottle and of foods in liquid form during the second half of the first year of life will encourage the continuation of infantile sucking until it becomes a well-established habit. To avoid the prolongation of infantile feeding, a cup should be substituted when the baby is six months old so that he will have to drink instead of sucking (31,191). In early weaning, thumb sucking frequently becomes a substitute for sucking the nipple. When the baby is given long sucking periods, he engages in more nonnutritive sucking, such as thumb sucking, has more crying, more restlessness, and more sleep difficulties than when the sucking periods are shorter. This suggests that the baby becomes tense when a long time is needed to suck his food (159,191).

Food dislikes, which begin to creep into

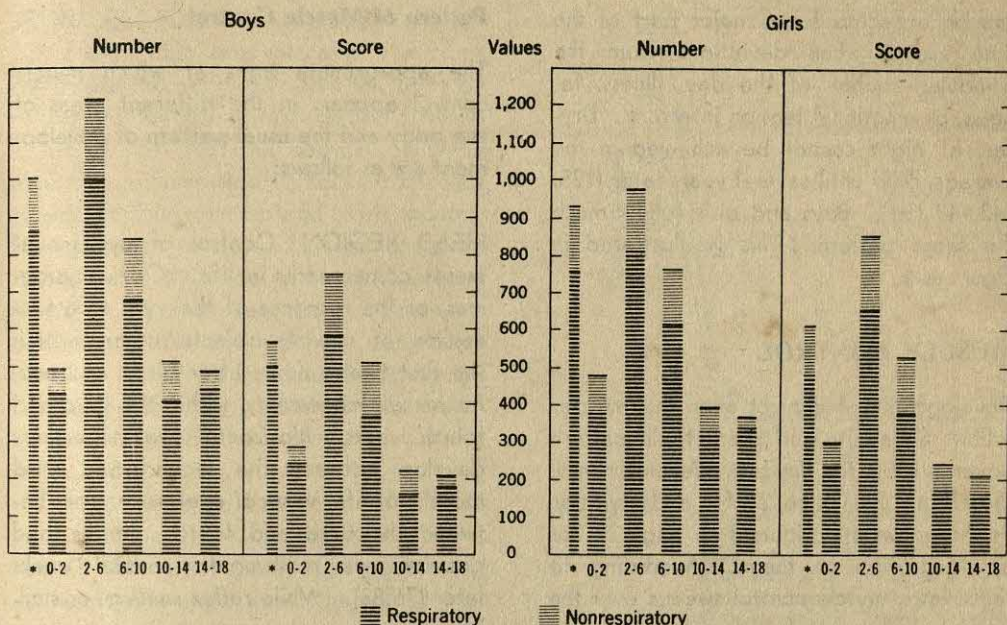


FIGURE 4-3 COMMON ILLNESSES AT DIFFERENT AGES IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE. (ADAPTED FROM I. VALADIAN, H. C. STUART AND R. B. REED: STUDIES OF ILLNESS OF CHILDREN FOLLOWED FROM BIRTH TO EIGHTEEN YEARS. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develop.*, 1961, 26, NO. 3. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the baby's eating during the second year, frequently trace their origin to the prolongation of infantile eating patterns. After becoming accustomed to food in liquid form, it is difficult for the baby to adjust to it in a semisolid form. This adds to the baby's revolt against his food, even though he may like its taste (159,191,202, 211).

Because every baby has his own rhythm of feeding, it is essential to take into consideration the individual baby's hunger rhythm instead of forcing upon him an artificial feeding schedule. When an artificial schedule is forced on the baby, it causes frustration, leads to rejection of the food, and predisposes the baby to other emotional upsets (142,172).

Patterns of Elimination

In establishing habits of bowel and bladder control, timing is far more important than technique (147,191). These habits cannot be established until a state of readiness in the development of muscles and nerves is present. Bowel control begins, on the average, at six months and bladder control, between the ages of fifteen and sixteen months. In the case of the former, habits of control are established by the end of babyhood though temporary lapses may be expected when the baby is tired, ill, or emotionally excited. Bladder control, on the other hand, is in a rudimentary state at the close of babyhood. Dryness during the daytime

can be expected for a major part of the time except when deviations from the scheduled routine of the day, illness, fatigue, or emotional tension interfere. Dryness at night cannot be achieved in the average child until several years later (125, 142, 147, 191). Boys and girls follow much the same pattern. This is illustrated in Figure 4-4.

MUSCLE CONTROL

Development of control over the muscles follows a definite and predictable pattern governed by the *laws of developmental direction*. See page 21 for a description of these laws and Figure 1-9, page 22, for an illustration of them. According to these laws, muscle control sweeps over the body from head to foot and from trunk to extremities. This means that the muscles in the head region come under voluntary control first and those in the leg region last (164, 178).

At first, the baby's body is in more or less constant motion similar to the mass activity of the newborn infant. This is true even during sleep (58, 76). During periods of heat, there is greater bodily motility and greater extension of the limbs than when the temperature is more moderate (109). Gradually this random, meaningless motility becomes more coordinated.

Maturation and learning work together in the development of muscle control. Through maturation of the muscles, bones, and nerve structures, and through a change in body proportions, the baby is ready to use his body in a coordinated manner. He must, however, be given an opportunity to learn how to do this. Until this state of readiness is present, teaching will be of little or no value (74, 76, 88, 217).

Pattern of Muscle Control

The approximate ages at which muscle control appears in the different areas of the body and the usual pattern of development are as follows:

HEAD REGION Control of eye movements comes early in life. *Optic nystagmus*, or the response of the eyes to a succession of moving objects, comes within the first twelve hours after birth, and *ocular pursuit movements*, within the third and fourth weeks. *Horizontal eye movements* develop between the second and third months of life, *vertical eye movements* between the third and fourth months, and *circular eye movements*, several weeks later (76, 88). While *reflex smiling*, or smiling in response to some tactual stimulus, appears as early as the first week of life, "social smiling," or smiling in response to a smile of another person, does not appear until between the third and fourth months (1, 39).

When supported in a prone position at the chest and abdomen, the baby can hold his head erect in a horizontal plane at the age of one month, and at two months he can hold his head above the horizontal plane at an angle of 30°. Because holding up the head when lying on the back is more difficult than when in a prone position, this ability does not develop much before the fifth month.

By the age of four to six months, most babies can hold up their heads when seated on someone's lap. At this age, the baby's head maintains a mid-position when the body is supine, and he actively rotates his head, turning it freely from side to side. At five months, he turns his head freely when sitting in a chair (31, 191, 211, 217).

TRUNK REGION The two important developments that take place in the trunk region are the abilities to turn the body by *rolling* and by *sitting up*. By the time he is two months old, the baby is generally able to turn from side to back; from back to side at four months; and at six months, from stomach to stomach. The complete turn is generally made at first with several partial turns with rest periods between each turn. When he rolls, the baby turns his head first, then his shoulders, then the pelvis, and last, by pushing-kicking movements of the legs, he makes a turn of his entire body.

A sixteen-week-old baby can pull himself to a sitting position; at twenty weeks, he can sit with erect back when supported; and at twenty-eight weeks, he will sit momentarily without support when placed in a sitting position. The average baby will sit, unsupported, for ten or more minutes between the ninth and tenth months.

In early sitting, the baby often bends forward with arms outstretched to maintain his balance. His legs are bowed, with the soles of his feet turned toward each other, thus giving him a wide base for balance. Because early sitting is unstable, the baby frequently topples over when he tries to move (31,76,211).

ARM AND HAND REGION The first coordinated hand movement is a *defense reaction* when some stimulus is approaching the face. *Thumb opposition*, or the working of the thumb in opposition to the fingers, normally appears in grasping between the third and fourth months, and in picking up objects, between the eighth and tenth months (31,76). *Eye-hand coordination*, or the direction of the movements of the hands by the eyes, is devel-

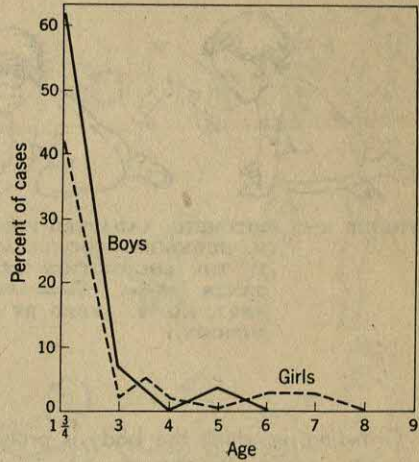


FIGURE 4-4 PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE "DRY HABIT." (ADAPTED FROM J. MACFARLANE, L. ALLEN AND M. P. HONZIK: *A developmental study of the behavior problems of normal children between twenty-one months and fourteen years*. BERKELEY, CALIF.: UNIV. CALIFORNIA PRESS, 1954. USED BY PERMISSION.)

oped well enough by the sixth or seventh month of life that random reaching no longer exists and the baby can pick up even little objects when he reaches for them. Most babies, by the time they are a year old, have acquired a fairly mature pattern of reaching (31,76,83,211,217).

LEG REGION The earliest form of locomotion comes in the slight shifting of the body as a result of vigorous *kicking* of the legs. This occurs by the end of the second week of life. Then comes *rolling* followed by *hitching*, or locomotion in a sitting position in which the body is pushed backward through the combined pushing of the legs and arms. (See Figure 4-5.) Rolling and hitching characteristically appear by the sixth month (76,88).



FIGURE 4-5 HITCHING. (ADAPTED FROM L. H. BURNSIDE: COORDINATION IN THE LOCOMOTION OF INFANTS. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1927, NO. 2. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Crawling, in which the body is prone on the floor with the head and shoulders raised by supporting the weight of that area on the elbows, reaches its peak between the seventh and ninth months. In crawling, most of the body movement comes from pulling with the arms and swimminglike movements of the legs (76, 83, 131).

As greater body strength develops, the baby *creeps* by raising his body from the floor and pushing himself forward on his hands and knees. This generally occurs between the tenth and eleventh months. Sometimes the baby raises his knees from the floor, stiffens his legs, and walks on "all fours."

As a general rule, *standing with support* overlaps creeping in the developmental sequence. Gradually the baby will let go, first with one hand and then with the other. The average age for *standing alone* is one year. The average age for pulling himself to a standing position is 10 to 10½ months with girls slightly ahead of boys in this. The typical standing position is with the feet far apart, the toes turned outward, and the head and shoulders held forward to give the body better balance (38, 131, 138, 211, 217). Figure 4-6 shows the developmental phases in assuming an erect

posture for four babies. Note the characteristic positions of the arms and feet in early standing without support.

With practice in standing, the baby acquires enough self-confidence to take a step. Gradually, with practice and increased self-confidence he takes more and more steps—*walking with support*. This usually occurs while the baby is acquiring the ability to stand alone. Several weeks may be required between standing alone and *walking without support*.

In the study of one baby's pattern of walking, it was reported that a period of twenty-five days elapsed between standing alone and walking without support. At first, the baby walked cautiously, taking one or two steps alone. Each day, for a week, a few more steps were added. From then on, the increase in number of steps taken alone was rapid (183). This is illustrated in Figure 4-7.

At first, the baby walks in a stiff-legged manner, with legs far apart, toes turned outward, and arms held outright like a tightrope walker, or close to the body. The head is held erect and slightly forward to maintain balance. Because he cannot watch the floor without throwing his body off balance, and because he raises his feet far from the floor and takes uneven steps, the baby has many falls when he is first learning to walk.

By fourteen months, two-thirds of the babies walk without support, and by the age of eighteen months, the average baby walks like an adult, no longer using the stiff-legged position to maintain his balance. After that time, improved coordination in the arms and legs results in a smoother gait and less falling (38, 76, 138, 178).

There is evidence that the age at which the baby starts to walk is compatible with

the rate of his total development. Babies who sit early, for example, walk earlier than babies who start to sit later. It is possible to predict with a fair degree of accuracy when a baby will start to walk if one knows what the rate of his development in other motor coordinations is. A fairly accurate rule is to multiply the age of his creeping by one and a half or the age of sitting alone by two to predict when he will start to walk alone (31).

Babyhood Skills

After body control has been obtained, the baby can use his muscular coordinations for new activities. On the foundations laid by maturation, he can build *skills*—fine coordinations in which the smaller muscles play a major role (51,92). Given an opportunity for practice, an incentive to learn, and a good model to copy, the baby will acquire many skills that will be useful to him in his daily activities. None of these skills will, of course, be perfected in the relatively short span of babyhood years (31,88).

Because babyhood is the time when the foundations of many skills are being laid, the matter of learning should not be left to chance, nor should the baby learn by trial and error. This is likely to lead to the establishment of behavior patterns which will prove to be so inefficient that they will have to be replaced by other and more efficient patterns later on.

The baby who, for example, is permitted to hold his spoon by placing his hand over the handle of the spoon will, in time, discover that this is not the "correct" way to hold his spoon and, furthermore, that it is difficult to avoid spilling food with such a grasp. Time and energy will then have to be spent in learning the "correct"

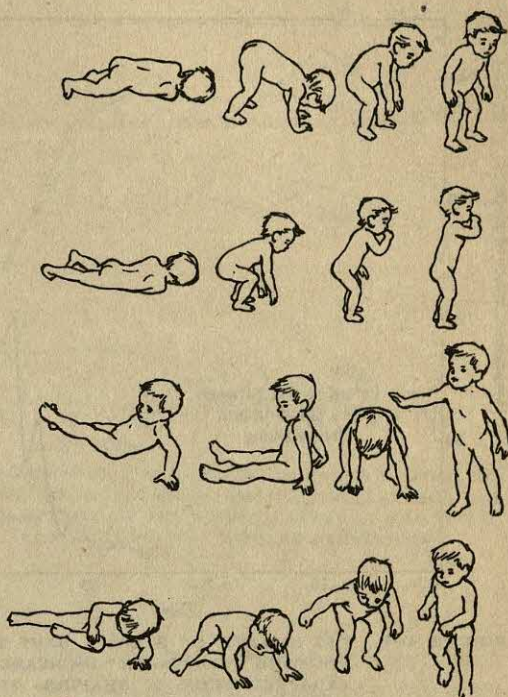


FIGURE 4-6 DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES IN THE ASSUMPTION OF AN ERECT POSTURE FOR FOUR BABIES. (ADAPTED FROM M. B. MCGRAW: *Growth: a study of Johnny and Jimmy*. NEW YORK: APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS, 1935. USED BY PERMISSION.)

method instead of advancing to more complicated skills in self-feeding (51,70,92, 148).

The skills the baby can be expected to learn can be divided into two major categories—hand skills and leg skills. In the hand skills, learning to use one hand in preference to the other—*handedness*—is an important aspect of learning during the babyhood years.

HAND SKILLS During the early weeks of babyhood, there is a rapid increase in the use of the hands. This is shown in Figure

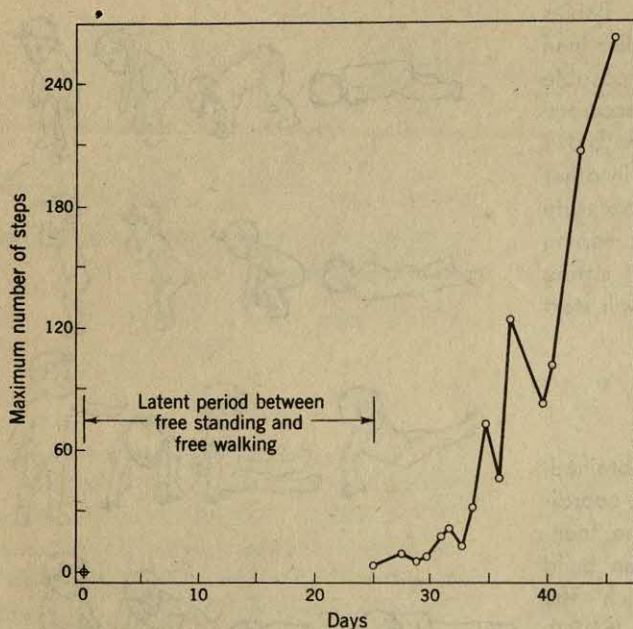


FIGURE 4-7 THE NUMBER OF STEPS A BABY TAKES AFTER STARTING TO WALK INCREASES RAPIDLY. (ADAPTED FROM H. SHAPIRO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF WALKING IN A CHILD. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1962, 100, 221-226. USED BY PERMISSION.)

4-8. As a result of this usage, hand coordinations develop rapidly. As each new hand skill develops, it absorbs the baby's interest and activity. He devotes much of his waking time to the use of his hands, and this further increases his control over them (21,58).

The hand skills center mainly around self-feeding, self-dressing, and play. In the latter part of the first year, the baby shows an interest in *self-feeding*. By the time he is eight months old, the baby can hold his bottle after it has been placed in his mouth, and a month later, he can take it out and put it in without help. Around his first birthday, he can use a cup when held with both hands, and later, with practice, he can hold it with one hand.

At fifteen months, the baby can grasp a

spoon and insert it in a dish. When he carries it to his mouth, he is apt to turn it upside down before it reaches his mouth. By the end of the second year, the baby no longer turns the spoon in his mouth and there is only a moderate amount of spilling. Some babies start to use the fork in addition to the spoon at this age. However, the baby generally spears the food with the prongs of the fork and spills a major part of the food as he carries it to his mouth. Even though the baby can feed himself fairly well with his spoon during the second year, he often prefers finger feeding to spoon feeding (31,76,191).

Hand skills in *dressing* develop first in the ability to remove clothing. At the end of the first year, most babies can pull off their socks, shoes, caps, and mittens. By the

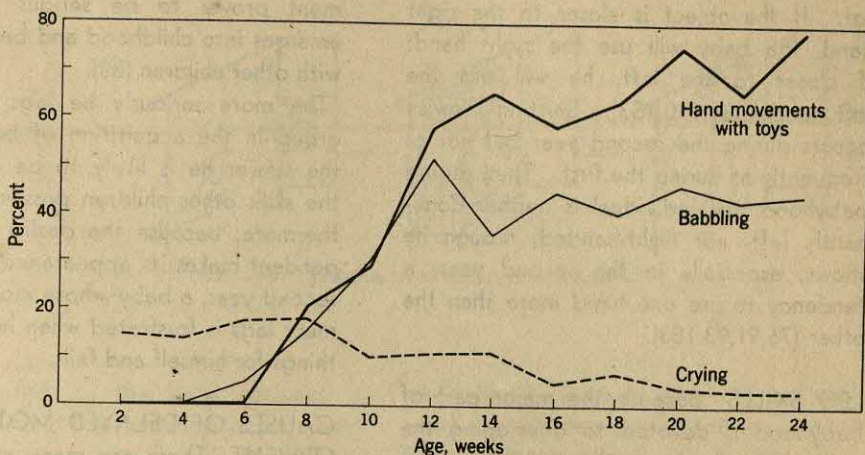


FIGURE 4-8 THERE IS A RAPID INCREASE IN THE USE OF THE HANDS DURING THE EARLY WEEKS OF BABYHOOD. (ADAPTED FROM J. DITTRICHOVÁ AND V. LÁPAČKOVÁ: DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAKING STATE IN THE YOUNG CHILD. *Child Develop.*, 1964, 35, 365-370. USED BY PERMISSION.)

end of babyhood, they can generally remove all garments unless they are buttoned in the back (171). From the age of a year and a half, there is an attempt on the baby's part to put on his clothes. Caps and mittens are usually put on first. Putting on clothes is easier than fastening them, and few babies can pull zippers, snap snaps, or put buttons in and out of holes. The period of most rapid improvement in dressing comes after babyhood, between 1½ and 3½ years (107,171,191, 212).

In addition to trying to dress themselves, most babies want to *bathe* themselves. This is limited mainly to running the cloth over the face and down the center of the body. They hold a brush and try to *brush their hair*, and they try to *scrub their teeth* with a toothbrush (31,94,171,191).

Play skills, needed to manipulate toys and play with them, do not develop until late in the first year, but mainly in the second year (58). At twelve months, a

baby can hold a pencil or crayon and scribble with them. Before he is two years old, he can open boxes, unscrew lids from bottles or jars, turn the leaves of a book, build a tower with four or five blocks, insert pegs in a peg board, string beads, and cut a gash in paper with scissors (9,31, 76,131,199). Some babies attempt to roll and even throw balls, but none are able to do so well before they are two years old (31,82).

HANDEDNESS During the early months of life, a baby is ambidextrous, with no preference for either hand. By the time they are eight months old, babies who are above average in mental and motor development show a greater degree of hand preference than do those who are less well advanced, and this preference is for the right hand (45). However, most babies shift from the use of one to the other hand, depending largely on the position of the person or the object the baby reaches

for. If the object is closer to the right hand, the baby will use the right hand; if closer to the left, he will use the left hand (9,34,130,153). Shifting likewise occurs during the second year but not as frequently as during the first. Thus, during babyhood, the individual is neither dominantly left- nor right-handed, though he shows, especially in the second year, a tendency to use one hand more than the other (76,91,93,153).

LEG SKILLS Because the major part of babyhood is devoted to developing the ability to walk, these related skills are only in a rudimentary state of development by the close of the period. Running, for example, is little more than fast walking with uneven steps. General clumsiness and many falls are characteristic of the baby's first running.

Early jumping is an exaggerated stepping with one foot and then the other. Climbing up and down steps is achieved first by crawling and creeping. Later, when the baby can walk alone, he goes up and down stairs in an upright position, holding on to the railing of the stairs, placing one foot on the step, and then drawing the other foot up to it. (See Figure 4-9.)

By the end of babyhood, a few babies can ride a tricycle, but most of them cannot. By the end of the second year, there are deliberate swimming movements, especially in the lower extremities, and a tendency to remain in a prone position in the water (76,82).

Delayed Motor Development

Many babies fall below the norms given above in developing control over their bodies. Because later skills depend upon the development of control of different areas of the body, delayed motor develop-

ment proves to be serious as a baby emerges into childhood and begins to play with other children (88).

The more seriously he lags behind the group in the acquisition of body control, the slower he is likely to be in acquiring the skills other children possess (88). Furthermore, because the desire to be independent makes its appearance early in the second year, a baby whose motor development lags is frustrated when he tries to do things for himself and fails.

CAUSES OF DELAYED MOTOR DEVELOPMENT There are many causes of delayed motor development in babyhood, most of which are controllable. The most important of these causes are: lack of opportunity to develop muscle control because of a restrictive environment which discourages practice; parental fears of the baby's being harmed by using his muscles too soon; restrictive clothing; lack of incentive to develop muscle control because he is pampered and things are done for him; prematurity; body size and proportions which make movements of the body difficult; low-grade intelligence which delays motor development in proportion to its deviation from the average; fear engendered by previous accidents or constant parental warnings; and poor health caused by disease and malnutrition (69,108,131,188).

Firstborn babies are more advanced in motor development than are later-borns, owing to more encouragement and stimulation. Prematures tend to be retarded in their motor development (188). The motor development of babies from the lower socioeconomic groups is generally superior to that of babies from the higher groups. This may be explained by the more permissive child-training methods

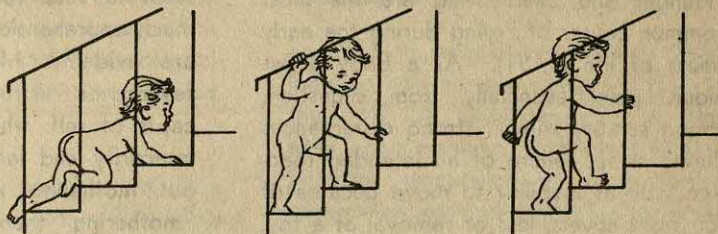


FIGURE 4-9 STAGES IN LEARNING TO CLIMB.

used by parents of the lower socioeconomic groups and the tendency for parents of the upper groups to "push" the baby (19,218).

Institutionalized babies, deprived of opportunities for developing skills through practice, have been found to be retarded in their motor development as compared with babies from environments that offer opportunities for practice. Even though the baby remains in a relatively restricted environment until he is $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 years old, there is little evidence of retardation in his motor development at that age, suggesting that the effects of lack of opportunity for practice are temporary rather than permanent (19,56,57,74,115,127).

SPEECH DEVELOPMENT

Because learning to talk is a long and laborious task and because the baby is not maturationally ready for such complicated learning during the first year of life, nature provides substitute forms of communication to be used until the baby is ready to learn to speak. Many babies try to make known their wants and needs by these substitutes.

If these prespeech forms of communication prove to be too satisfactory and effective substitutes for speech, the baby's

motivation to learn to speak will be weakened. He will then continue to use infantile forms of communication even after he is capable of learning to speak.

Prespeech Forms

There are three prespeech forms which normally appear in the developmental pattern. They are crying, babbling, and gestures. *Crying* is the most frequently used of the three during the early months of life though, from the long-range point of view, babbling is the most important because, from it, real speech eventually develops (119).

CRYING The cries of the newborn baby gradually become differentiated so that, by the third or fourth week of life, it is possible to tell from the tone and intensity of the cry and from the bodily movements accompanying it, what it signifies (134, 178). Pain, for example, is expressed in shrill loud cries, interrupted by groaning and whimpering. Hunger cries are loud and interrupted by sucking movements. Cries from colic are accompanied by a peculiar, high-pitched scream, with alternate and forceful flexion and extension of the legs (195). The cries of a young baby are differentiated more by intensity than by meaning (65,124,134).

Hunger and overheating are the most common causes of crying during the early weeks of life (3,191). As a baby grows older, pain, especially from digestion, strong sensory stimuli, strong disturbances during sleep, failure of an intended reaction such as inability to move because of too tight covers, loss or removal of a toy, removal of contact with others, and fear of strange places are also common causes of crying.

Before he is three months old, the baby has learned that crying is a sure method of gaining attention. At four months, he will cry when an adult stops playing with him and, at five months, he will increase his crying if an adult enters the room and pays no attention to him (124,134). Refer to Figure 4-8, page 147, for a graphic presentation of crying in the early months of life.

Almost all crying is accompanied by vigorous limb activity, strong flexor tendencies, and disorganization of postures prevailing when crying started (9,195). By the end of babyhood, no more activity occurs with crying than with other emotional outbursts. Throughout babyhood, however, crying is accompanied by reddening of the skin and irregular breathing. After the first month of life, crying is accompanied by the shedding of tears (195).

Young babies who have high IQs cry more than those who are less bright (102). Babies whose needs have been met promptly cry little as compared with babies whose needs have not been met promptly or have been met inconsistently (58,65, 195). The baby whose parents do not respond promptly to his cries is *conditioned* to cry, and this soon develops into a generalized response which the baby uses even in mild states of want (119,168).

Babies who cry excessively without a physical cause have been found to come

from nervous family backgrounds where much apprehension and neurotic instability are evident. Mothers who suffer from feelings of frustration, who have poor concepts of self, who experience feelings of insecurity and lack of facility in carrying out mothering activities, who are less "mothering" than mothers of babies who cry less, and who have less adequate marital relationships have been found to have babies who cry more than the average baby (114,191,215).

Excessive crying is harmful not only to the baby but also to the home atmosphere. It leads to gastrointestinal disturbances, regurgitation of food, night waking, and general nervous tension. Furthermore, excessive crying leads to feelings of insecurity. This affects the developing personality of the baby. In addition, it affects his relationships with his parents and other family members unfavorably. This, in turn, indirectly affects his personality development (168,195,215).

BABBLING As the baby's vocal mechanism develops, he is capable of producing a larger number of explosive sounds than was possible at birth. Some of these sounds will be retained and will develop into *babbling* or *lalling*. In time, some will form the basis of real speech. The number of sounds produced in babbling gradually increases. The baby can, by the time he is six months old, combine certain vowel and consonant sounds such as "ma-ma," "da-da," or "na-na" (124,134).

Babbling begins during the second or third month of life, reaches its peak by the eighth month, and then gradually gives way to real speech. (See Figure 4-8, page 147.) Because it is not used as a form of communication but as a type of playful activity, its real value from the point of

view of speech development is the exercise it gives the vocal mechanism as a preliminary control which will make possible imitation of words spoken by others (41,58, 65, 119, 134, 168).

GESTURES The baby uses gestures as a substitute for speech. Even after he is able to say a few words, the baby will continue to use gestures, combining them with the words he knows, to make his first sentence. Outstretched arms and smiling, for example, readily communicate the idea that the baby wants to be picked up, while pushing away his plate, especially when accompanied by the word "no," quickly tells you that the baby does not want to eat the food placed before him (115,124,134, 168).

Comprehension

At every age, a child comprehends the meanings of what others say more readily than he can put into words his own thoughts and feelings. This is true of babyhood also. The facial expression, tone of voice, and gestures of the speaker help him to understand the meaning of what is being said. Pleasure, anger, and fear can be comprehended as early as the third month of life (26,36,65,134).

Until the baby is eighteen months old, words must be reinforced with gestures, such as pointing to an object, if he is to understand the meaning (31,65,124,134). By the age of two years, according to the Terman-Merrill Scale of Intelligence Tests, the average baby should comprehend well enough to respond correctly to two out of six simple commands, as, "Give me the kitty" or "Put the spoon in the cup," when the objects are placed on the table before him (204).

Learning to Speak

Learning to speak involves the tasks of learning how to pronounce words so that they will be understandable to others, associating meanings with words and, thus, building a vocabulary of usable words for communication, and combining these words into sentences. These tasks involve not only control over the vocal mechanism but also the ability to comprehend meanings and to associate them with words which act as symbols for meanings (105,178,195).

PRONUNCIATION Learning to pronounce words comes partly from a trial-and-error process but mainly from imitation of a model. Having a good model alone is not enough. The model must be presented slowly and distinctly so the baby can hear every sound (65,105,134). In most cases, mispronunciation of words is the result of crude perceptions rather than of inability to pronounce the elemental sounds. Between the ages of twelve and eighteen months, much of the baby's speech is incomprehensive because his pronunciation is so poor. After eighteen months, there are gradual but marked improvements in pronunciation (134,136,168).

Mispronunciations are generally called "baby talk." Baby talk takes different forms, the most common of which are: the omission of one or more syllables, usually in the middle of a word, as "buttfly" for "butterfly"; substitution of letters, syllables, or even words for the word heard, as "tolly" for "dolly" or "choo-choo" for "train"; and interchanges of letters or syllables in the longer and less frequently used words, as "tautmobile" for "automobile."

Consonants and consonant blends are more difficult for babies to pronounce than

vowels and diphthongs. The most difficult consonants are *z*, *w*, *s*, *d*, and *g*, and the difficult blends are *st*, *str*, *sk*, *dr*, and *fl*. *O* is the most difficult vowel for babies to pronounce correctly. The baby more often omits the final consonant than the initial consonant in his pronunciation of a word (88,192).

Because parents and relatives frequently regard baby talk as "cute," they permit it to continue or even encourage its use by talking baby talk themselves when they speak to the baby. As a result, an incorrect auditory image is developed. Continued mispronunciation of a word results in the formation of a word habit which may be difficult to replace with a habit of correct pronunciation when the baby emerges into childhood and discovers that his playmates cannot understand him or ridicule him because he "talks like a baby" (105,134,178).

VOCABULARY BUILDING To speak, the baby must learn words associated with objects, people, and activities. Unless he knows what the word means—that it is a label for some person, object, or activity—he will not be able to use it to communicate with others. Instead, he will use it in "parrot fashion," often giving the impression that he actually knows the meaning of the word he is saying.

Learning to associate meanings with words follows the process of *conditioning and reinforcements* (31,65,105,135). Figure 4-10 shows how a baby discovers components which come to mean the object and how a word is a symbol or label for the object. Insight, resulting from reasoning, likewise plays an important role in learning to associate meanings with words (134). Each new word the baby learns as a symbol becomes part of his vocabulary.

The baby's early vocabulary consists primarily of nouns related to persons and objects in his environment and of verbs which designate action, such as "give" and "hold." Shortly before babyhood is over, a few adjectives and adverbs creep into his vocabulary. Adjectives describing his reactions to people and things, such as "nice" and "naughty," appear first. Prepositions, conjunctions, and pronouns generally are not used until early in childhood. Not only does the baby learn new words as he grows older, but he learns new meanings for old words (65,105,134).

The size of a baby's vocabulary at different ages can be judged by considering only those words whose meaning the baby knows. It has been estimated, from studies of large numbers of babies, that at eighteen months of age, the mean numbers of different words used by babies is 10, and at twenty-four months, 29.1. At this age, girls definitely surpass boys in the size of vocabulary used. However, because the size of the baby's vocabulary depends upon so many factors, especially intelligence, incentive, and opportunity to learn new words, there are marked individual differences. It has been reported that the vocabulary range for two-year-olds is from 6 to 126 words (37,134,170,205).

USE OF SENTENCES The first sentences used by a baby are generally one-word sentences consisting of a noun or verb accompanied by a gesture. "Doll," accompanied by pointing to a doll, expresses the meaning "Give me the doll." One-word sentences appear in a baby's speech between the ages of twelve and eighteen months. Gradually, more words creep into the sentences, but the use of gestures is not abandoned until well into childhood (29,31,65,134,203,205).

Delayed Speech

Delayed speech, like delayed motor control, is serious in babyhood because, at this age, the foundations are being laid for the tools of communication which will be needed as the baby's social horizons broaden. In early childhood, with the awakening of interest in people outside the home, the child whose speech lags markedly behind that of other children finds himself in the role of an outsider (88,105, 164,178).

There are many causes of delayed speech in babyhood, the most important of which are low-grade intelligence, poor social environment, lack of incentive to talk, an inadequate or defective model, prolonged illness, deafness, and multiple births (23, 26,35,134). Any one or several of these causes can readily delay the baby's speech by several months.

In an experiment in which babies between the ages of thirteen and thirty months were read to in a systematic way, it was reported that this had little effect on their speech up to the age of seventeen months as compared with a control group who did not have an opportunity to hear new words through being read to. However, after that age, the babies who had been given the opportunity to hear new words through being read to showed consistently higher scores in phoneme frequency (96). Babies who are talked to have been found to verbalize more and to make more rapid progress in their speech development than babies who receive little encouragement to verbalize (162,216).

EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR IN BABYHOOD

From the simple, almost completely undifferentiated forms in which they appear at birth, emotions develop into different emo-

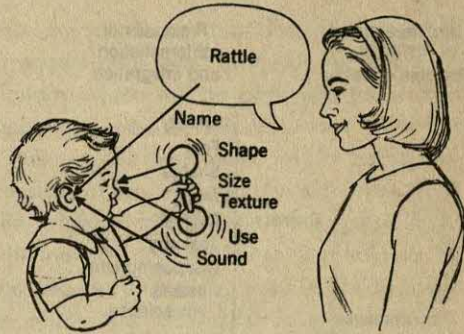


FIGURE 4-10 HOW A BABY DISCOVERS THE COMPONENTS WHICH COME TO MEAN THE OBJECT AND HOW A WORD BECOMES A SYMBOL OR LABEL FOR THE OBJECT. (ADAPTED FROM M. E. BRECKENRIDGE AND E. L. VINCENT: *Child development*, 5TH ED. PHILADELPHIA: SAUNDERS, 1965. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tional states which can be aroused by a wide variety of stimuli. With age, emotional responses become less diffuse, less random, and more differentiated. From the general emotional excitement which appears at birth, fear, anger, disgust, distress, delight, elation, and affection gradually develop (15,189). This is illustrated in Figure 4-11.

There is a change in the form the emotional response takes (27,98). Crying and screaming, for example, appear in the first few minutes after birth. By the age of four to eight months, calling is added to crying; between sixteen and twenty months, saying "no" is added, and between twenty and twenty-four months, asking accompanies "no." Similarly, running away when frightened does not appear until the twelve- to sixteen-month period, and hiding the face does not appear until the age of sixteen to twenty months.

Emotions in babyhood are characterized

Undifferentiated response
Random behavior

Processes of differentiation and integration

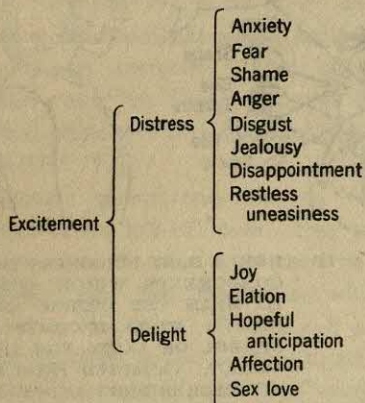


FIGURE 4-11 SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF A GENETIC THEORY OF EMOTIONAL CHANGES. (ADAPTED FROM K. M. BANHAM: *SENESCENCE AND THE EMOTIONS: A GENETIC THEORY. J. genet. Psychol.*, 1951, 78, 175-183. USED BY PERMISSION.)

by behavior responses proportionately great for the stimuli that gave rise to them, especially in the case of anger and fear. They are brief in duration, though intense while they last. They appear frequently but are transitory and give way to other emotions when the baby's attention is distracted (26,98,114).

Because of the limited intellectual development of the baby, emotions are easily conditioned at this time (18,98,205). A baby who has been frightened by the pain of an inoculation, for example, is likely to be conditioned to fear the doctor. Because he wears a white coat, the baby's fear may spread to anyone wearing a white coat, such as a barber and, in turn, he will fear having his hair cut (122).

Common Emotional Patterns

The common emotional patterns which develop in babyhood include anger, fear, curiosity, joy, and affection. Discussion of each of these patterns, with the stimuli which normally give rise to them and the characteristic responses a baby makes when these emotions are aroused, follows:

ANGER Anger is the most common emotion in babyhood. It is often aroused in response to interference with the movements the baby wishes to make, such as putting on his clothes when he wants to play with a toy; thwarting of some wish, such as not being picked up when he cries for attention; and not being able to do what he sets out to do, such as getting a box from a shelf that is too high for him to reach (95,98). The baby's inability to make himself understood through his early attempts at speech is also a constant source of irritation to him (134).

Anger responses in babies show fewer variations than they do in older children. Typically, in an angry outburst the energy is not directed toward any serviceable end. It is expended in screaming, kicking the legs, and waving the arms in a random fashion. To add to this repertoire of actions, many babies hold their breath, jump up and down, throw themselves on the floor, and hit or kick anything within reach (98,117,120,125,150,182).

FEAR Fear-provoking stimuli are relatively infrequent in the environment of a baby. Babies are protected as much as possible from the common dangers of life. They do, however, learn to fear certain things in spite of their restricted environment. Through association with the native

fear of loud noises or of falling, through imitation of those who are afraid, or through memories of an unpleasant experience, they build up fears of people and things in their environment (98,122,205).

In general, the things most feared at this age are animals; dark rooms; high places; strange persons, objects, and situations; and loud noises. They also fear persons or things associated with loud noises, pain, and tactual-sensory shock, falling, and sudden displacements. Toward the end of babyhood, fears of animals, of dark places, and of being alone begin to appear (98, 115,125).

There are two characteristics that are common to all fear stimuli. The first is that the stimulus occurs suddenly and unexpectedly, thus giving the baby little opportunity to adjust himself to it. Fear of strangers, for example, comes principally from the fact that a stranger approaches the baby suddenly in place of the familiar person he was prepared to see. The second characteristic of fear stimuli is that they embody novelty or strangeness. Even a familiar person dressed in an unfamiliar manner, as when the mother wears a hat and coat in place of her usual housedress, may frighten a young baby. As soon as the novelty disappears, so does the fear (27,98).

Around the age of six months, it is not at all uncommon for a baby to be frightened by a stranger. This is the beginning of the "shy age." Closeness to a stranger or a stranger coming up to the baby suddenly and unexpectedly will give rise to fear. This is especially true when he is separated from his parents or other familiar people. This "shy age" or period of "infantile fearfulness" does not last long but, while it does, it is important because

too frequent or too intense fears of strangers may result in the development of timidity which will be persistent long after babyhood is over (179).

The typical fear response in babyhood consists of an attempt to withdraw from the frightening stimulus accompanied by whimpering, crying, temporary holding of the breath, and a checking of the activity in which the individual is engaged. A frightened baby will turn his head and hide his face before he is capable of running away and hiding. His response is thus one of helplessness and his cry is for help.

After he has learned to walk and run, he will hide behind a person or a piece of furniture, often peeking out to see if it is safe to emerge. If his curiosity is aroused, together with his fear, he will vacillate between his desire to see what is going on and his fear of the person or object that aroused his fear (98,115,205).

CURIOSITY For the first two or three months of life, until eye coordination is well developed, only strong stimuli directed toward the baby will attract his attention. When, however, the ability to see clearly and distinctly has developed, anything *new* or *unusual* will motivate the baby to explore, unless the newness is so pronounced that it gives rise to fear. As fear wanes, curiosity will replace it (133,139).

Typically, curiosity in young babies is expressed by tensing the facial muscles, opening the mouth and stretching out the tongue, and wrinkling the forehead. By the middle of the first year, the baby leans toward the object that aroused his curiosity and grasps for it. When he reaches it, he handles, pulls, sucks, shakes, and rattles it. This sensorimotor exploration frequently results in damage to the object and harm

to the baby (98,187). However, it is valuable as a means of learning.

JOY Joy, which in its milder forms is known as pleasure or happiness, is bound up at first with physical well-being. By the second or third month of life, social situations will likewise give rise to smiling and laughing and, several months later, the baby will respond joyfully to tickling. The most common situations causing laughter in the second year of life are being played with, playing with toys, watching other children at play, and making sounds which are more or less musical. The baby's joy is greatly increased when an activity is difficult for him or when there is some obstacle he must overcome to carry out the activity successfully (7,31,98).

Joy expresses itself in smiling and laughing. Movements of the arms and legs and slight respiratory changes, as may be seen in the pulsations of the abdomen, accompany laughter at this age. When joy is intense, the baby coos, gurgles, or even shouts with glee, and all the bodily movements are intensified.

There are definite age trends in the amount and also in the stimuli that elicit smiling and laughing. At eighteen months, the baby smiles mostly at his own activities. The type that amuses him most is his own gross motor activity or his own social approach to a person. At two years, smiles in relation to another person occur less frequently, but now these smiles are accompanied by verbalizations. Smiles in relation to his own activity come next in frequency (7,98,142).

AFFECTION Affectionate responses to people develop in a patterned fashion. The baby fixes his gaze on a person's face, kicks, holds out and waves his arms, smiles,

and tries to raise his body. Because these movements are so uncoordinated at first, he cannot reach the loved one. He can, however, usually reach the loved one by the age of six months (15,98). Affection is conditioned or built up as a result of pleasant experiences with a particular person, especially one who takes care of his bodily needs, plays with him, or is responsible for giving him pleasure (213). The baby's affections develop primarily in relation to people and only secondarily in relation to things (26).

During the second year, the baby includes himself and his toys in his affection. These are the "love objects" which substitute for human objects of affection (14). It is unusual for a baby to respond in an affectionate manner to other babies, though he may show the same affection for an older child or an adolescent who acts as a babysitter as he does for an adult. When there is a family pet that the baby can play with without fear, he develops an affection for that pet (98,142).

Babies normally express their affection for others in outgoing, expansive ways (15,98). Most babies want close, physical contacts with those for whom they have an affectionate feeling. However, some babies resist such contacts and are "non-cuddlers." This, however, does not mean that they lack affection for others. It means, rather, that they have their own individual way of expressing their affection (175).

Preoccupation with self and withdrawn and withholding behavior are secondary reactions, coming when a baby is rebuffed, smothered with unwanted ministrations, ignored, or neglected. When parents are oversolicitous and overdemonstrative, they do not encourage the baby to express his affection. Instead, they encourage him to focus his affection on himself (14,73,98).

The typical expression of affection in babyhood consists of hugging, patting, or kissing the loved object or person. Kissing is a less frequent response than hugging, patting, or even stroking. How demonstrative the baby is will depend largely upon the amount of affection he has received from others (2,4,26,89,213).

Emotional Deprivation

Being deprived of opportunities to experience in a normal way the emotions that develop during babyhood has been found to play havoc with the baby's physical and psychological well-being. Fortunately, most babies are not subjected to emotional deprivation. Only those who are rejected by their parents and who remain in institutions rather than being placed in foster homes where substitute parents replace their real parents are likely to experience deprivation of adequate emotional experiences (43,57,158,222).

When this happens, they do not thrive physically, they are backward in their motor and speech development, and they do not learn how to establish social contacts or how to show affection for those with whom they are associated. Because the foundations for these patterns of development are laid in babyhood, being deprived of opportunities to express affection for others is especially serious and may never, in future years, be compensated for (28,80,85,160).

If, on the other hand, a satisfactory, stable substitute for the missing parent or parents is provided and if the baby is given a reasonable amount of affection as well as reasonable stimulation of the other emotions which are developing at this time, there is no evidence that deprivation of the parent will warp his development.

Only when the baby's environment is emotionally "sterile" is "emotional starvation" likely to occur (62,72,152,160,162).

BEGINNINGS OF SOCIALIZATION

Early social experiences play a dominant role in determining the child's attitudes toward social relationships and the pattern of his behavior in his relationships with others. And, because the baby's life is centered around the home, the foundations for later social behavior and attitudes are "home-grown." Studies of social adjustments of older children have revealed that their social behavior remains consistent as they grow older, thus emphasizing the importance of good foundations (174).

Being a social person is thus not innate; it must be learned. Babies brought up in institutions, where opportunities for social contacts are limited, are less mature socially than babies who are brought up in a normal home environment. This immaturity is shown in a quiet, retiring, disinterested attitude toward people and social activities (43,149,200,214). Being deprived of opportunities for social contacts is detrimental at any age, but it is especially so from the ages of six weeks to six months—the "critical time" in the development of attitudes which affect the pattern of socialization (28,43).

The type of opportunity the baby has for social contacts is as important as the number of contacts. Babies from middle and upper socioeconomic families generally have more favorable opportunities for contacts with the members of their families than do those from the lower groups where the mother can give little time to the baby and where his needs must often be met by older siblings or not met at all. Only children often get more attention

than is good for them with the result that, as babies, they learn to expect people outside the home to give them as much attention as they received at home (26,98,111).

Pattern of Early Socialization

At birth, the infant is nongregarious. So long as his physical needs are attended to, it makes no difference to him who ministers to his needs. At this time, he can be soothed as well by caresses from a hot-water bottle or from a soft pillow as by caresses from his mother. He will, however, turn when he hears a human voice at the age of two months (1,31).

A true social smile usually appears around the age of six weeks. This is accompanied by an expenditure of energy in other overt activities such as vocalization and a "striving toward" (1). Between the second and third months of life, the baby's ability to see has improved to the point where he can distinguish people from inanimate objects (100).

He then discovers that it is people rather than things that supply his needs. At this age, he shows contentment when with people and is discontented and fussy when left alone. However, he does not care who the person is: all he wants is attention from someone. This is the stage of "undiscriminating responsiveness to people" (1). It marks the beginning of true "social behavior" (98,125).

The pattern of social behavior in relation to adults differs from that of social behavior in relation to other babies. For that reason, the two patterns will be described separately.

SOCIAL RESPONSES TO ADULTS As we have seen, the first social responses are, typically, to adults. The baby, between

the second and third month, shows the beginning of interest in people. This interest is seen in the baby's crying when a person leaves him, in showing displeasure when a person is not looking at him or is talking to someone else, and in watching people's facial expressions (115,175). At this time, there is differential responsiveness to the mother with continuing responsiveness to others (1).

By the fourth or fifth month, the baby makes anticipatory adjustments to being picked up, he smiles in response to the person who speaks to him, and, a month later, he reacts differently to scolding and smiling, and to angry and unfriendly voices. Between the sixth and seventh months, the baby differentiates between "friends" and "strangers" by smiling to the former and by sobering or showing fear to the latter (76,175,191,221).

At this time, a sharply defined attachment to the mother appears. This is accompanied by a waning of the indiscriminating friendliness he showed earlier. "Attachment behavior" is expressed by smiling and vocalizing more to the mother than to any other person, by crying when picked up or held by others, and by crying when the mother leaves (1).

When the baby is eight or nine months old, he attempts to imitate the speech, simple activities, and gestures of others. At the age of one year, he can refrain from doing things in response to the warning, "No, no" (115,125,191). In the middle of the second year, *negativism*, in the form of stubborn resistance to requests and demands of adults, normally appears. Negativism at this age shows itself in physical resistance, in silence, in physical withdrawal, or "tenseness" which is the opposite of "cuddliness" (16). By the end of babyhood, however, the young child can and

does cooperate with adults in a number of simple routine activities. He is, thus, in a state of "equilibrium" which makes him more social in his behavior (73,76,98).

SOCIAL RESPONSES TO OTHER BABIES

The first indication that a baby perceives another child comes between the fourth and fifth months of life. At this time, to attract the attention of another baby or of a child, the baby bounces up and down, kicks, and laughs or blows bubbles. A month or two later, the baby smiles at other babies and shows an interest in their crying. Between the ninth and thirteenth months, interest in other babies increases and is shown in attempts to explore their clothes and hair, to imitate their behavior and vocalization, to cooperate in the use of toys, and in fighting when a toy is taken away by another baby (31,221).

From the thirteenth to eighteenth month, the baby's interest shifts from play materials to his playmate, resulting in a decrease in fighting for toys and an increase in a cooperative use of them. During the last six months of babyhood, the baby is definitely interested in play with others and uses play materials to establish social relationships with them (31,115,197).

BEGINNINGS OF INTEREST IN PLAY

The free, spontaneous play of babies is characterized by lack of rules and regulations and is more often solitary than social. At first, the baby derives enjoyment from stimulating his sense organs and from playing with his limbs. By the time he is three months old, control of his hands is developed well enough to enable him to play with toys. At this age, he also derives enjoyment from turning from back to side,

kicking, bouncing, wiggling, reaching for his toes, and watching his fingers move (31,87,191).

Between the fifth and eighth months, play is less random and consists of play with the toes, bouncing, squirming, head shaking, pulling himself to a standing position, and cooperative motor games, such as pat-a-cake. In the last quarter of the first year of life, the baby's play consists mainly of kicking, bouncing, leaning over the arm of a chair, rolling, playing with his toes, crawling for a toy, pulling himself to a sitting position, standing, climbing, moving furniture, and babbling (87,98,115,197).

During the baby's second year, play becomes more organized and toys are used for many of the different playful activities. Characteristically, the fifteen-month-old baby's play consists of endless exercise of walking activities, throwing and picking up objects and then throwing them again, and of putting them in and taking them out of receptacles.

Owing to his poor muscle coordinations, the baby is often destructive in play with his toys or in his exploratory manipulation of objects in his environment. He does not, for example, mean to break a necklace he grabs for, nor does he mean to pull the tail off of a favorite stuffed animal. At eighteen months, the baby pulls toys, carries or hugs a doll or stuffed animal, imitates many adult activities, such as reading a newspaper or sweeping, and actively gets into everything. At this age, his play is solitary and his role when other children are present is that of an onlooker (129,191).

In the last half of the second year, the baby feels, pats, and pounds his toys, he is interested in dolls and stuffed animals, he strings wooden beads, he puts them in and takes them out of holes in the top of boxes, transports blocks in wagons rather

than building with them, scribbles with crayons, and imitates activities of persons in his environment. When he is with other children, he does not play with them, but his play is parallel with theirs (87,146). There is little social give-and-take but much grabbing and snatching of another child's toys (98,129).

Games and Amusements

Before a baby is a year old, he plays simple little "mother games" with adults or older children. Finger play, peek-a-boo, pat-a-cake, pigs to market, mirror play, and hide-and-seek behind a handkerchief, a piece of cloth, or furniture are the traditional "mother games" that almost every American baby learns.

A baby likes to be amused by being sung to, by listening to music, or by having someone tell him a story. He enjoys having someone point out pictures in a book or even looking at the pictures himself. While he understands little of what he hears he enjoys the rhythmic sounds of nursery rhymes and lullabies. He also is fascinated by hearing stories about himself, familiar persons, animals, or household objects (87,98,191).

Most babies are fascinated by comics, radio, and television. They like to look at the pictures in comic books and, because these books are easily handled, they can cope with them alone better than they can other books. The sounds of people talking and of music literally coming out of the air never fails to fascinate a baby. Even though they do not understand what they hear and even though much of the music on radio is too sophisticated for them, the fascination of the unseen sounds holds the attention of most babies longer than seen sounds (219).

For many American babies of today, television is a "built-in baby-sitter" (177). They can be quieted by the sounds of television just as they can by being talked to or sung to, and they are fascinated by the constant change in lights and pictures they see on the screen.

How much time the baby will be allowed to watch television will be determined, to a marked extent, by how much time the mother has to be with him, to play with him, to talk to him, and to watch him as he explores his environment. A busy mother will usually permit longer viewing time than a mother who can spend more time with her baby (177,219). Unlike the child, the baby has no program preferences: *anything* appeals to him.

BEGINNINGS OF UNDERSTANDING

Because a baby begins life with no understanding of what he observes in his environment, he must acquire, through maturation and learning, a meaning of what he observes. What meanings he acquires will depend partly on the level of his intelligence and partly on his previous experiences (157). And, as meanings are acquired, he will interpret new experiences in terms of memories of previous experiences. The association of ideas with objects and situations results in the development of concepts (210,220).

The baby's behavior shows that, at an early age, concepts develop rapidly. For example, his recognition of familiar persons and objects in his environment is shown through his pleasurable responses just as recognition of strange persons and objects is accompanied by fear (27). At first, he responds to the total situation rather to any one part of it. As a result, when objects and situations have elements

in common, they are responded to as if they were the same (135,169).

How Understanding Develops

The baby's earliest perceptions come through the use of sensory exploration. He looks at, listens to, touches, smells, and tastes anything he can get into his hands. Later, as muscle coordination develops, he is able to acquire more meanings through handling whatever is within his reach (209). Then, as he reaches the end of babyhood, he begins to put together words into sentences. These are generally in the form of questions, beginning with "who," "what," or "why" (134,169,220).

As early as the first year of life, the baby's behavior indicates that he is interpreting new experiences in terms of old. By the time he is two years old, he is capable of making simple generalizations based on similar experiences in which he has observed relationships (169). The baby's limited knowledge and experience, however, result in his inability to distinguish between living and inanimate objects. As a result, he believes that all objects are animate and have the same qualities as human beings (31,66,110,152).

Types of Concepts Developed in Babyhood

Many of the important concepts needed for adjustment to life are learned in their rudimentary forms in the babyhood years. To the foundations laid at this time will be added new meanings later as the social horizons of the baby broaden during the childhood and adolescent years. The emotional weighting, characteristic of all concepts, begins to become an important element of the developing concepts during the babyhood years (169,210,220).

Of the many categories of concepts that begin to develop during babyhood, the following are the most important: concepts of space, weight, time, concepts of self, social concepts, and concepts of beauty and of the comic.

CONCEPTS OF SPACE Space concepts are poor at first. When the baby reaches for an object, he more often reaches in the wrong direction than in the right. Finally, by trial and error, he reaches the object. He rarely reaches for an object more than 20 inches away when he is a year old. This would indicate that he has some estimate of distance (31,38,169).

CONCEPTS OF WEIGHT Concepts of weight are likewise very inaccurate at first. A baby perceives a small object as light in weight and a large object as heavy. As a result of this error in perception, he frequently drops the things he is examining because he has not made the necessary muscular adjustment to hold the object that proves to be heavier than he had anticipated (31,38,169).

CONCEPTS OF TIME Concepts of time are also very inaccurate. A baby has no idea of the length of time needed for a specific job, such as feeding himself or putting on his clothes. Furthermore, he has no concept of time duration and, if it were not for a fairly rigid daily schedule, he would not know morning from afternoon. By the time he is two years old, the average baby knows and uses time words, such as "today" (46,51,129,220).

CONCEPTS OF SELF Concepts of self appear earlier than concepts of other people. Through watching and handling the different parts of his body and by look-

ing into a mirror, the baby discovers meanings about his body. The ability to distinguish between himself and other people, as shown in shyness in the presence of others, comes in the later part of the first year. The genitals become a focal point of interest early in life because of their association with the excretory functions. Also, they can be stimulated by patting and touching (8,169).

Psychological self-concepts develop later than physical self-concepts. The baby is aware of his abilities and weaknesses later than he is of his physical appearance. Furthermore, his psychological self-concept is a "mirror image" of what significant people in his life, mainly his parents, think of him or of what he *thinks* they think of him. If they show affection and approval, he will think more favorably of himself and his abilities than if they are cross and punitive in their treatment of him (30,42). Before babyhood is over, most babies know that they are called "boys" or "girls." However, they do not know what this means in terms of the approved sex role for members of their sex (10,48,99).

SOCIAL CONCEPTS During the first half year of life, the baby can distinguish persons by the tone of their voices and by their facial expressions. He can distinguish angry, frightened, and friendly voices. He can distinguish between familiar and unfamiliar persons at five months of age, and he responds to an angry face with crying, though it is not until he is eight months old that he responds to the emotional behavior of others in such a way as to indicate an understanding of their facial expressions (31,142,149). There is little evidence, even by the end of babyhood, that the baby under-

stands the underlying meaning of what he observes in others (73,210,220).

CONCEPTS OF BEAUTY The earliest indication of aesthetic perception is to be found in color preferences. From the ages of six to twenty-four months, babies respond differently to different colors, with the order of preference as follows: red, yellow, blue, and green (31,71,169,190).

Music appreciation is shown in the baby's liking for music, especially that with a tune such as one finds in lullabies. Many an emotional outburst can be quieted by singing to the baby, by turning on the radio, or by permitting him to watch television (31,106,177,191,219).

CONCEPTS OF THE COMIC A baby perceives vocal play or babbling as comic at four months of age, and he enjoys tormenting the people who dress him or feed him. He also likes to blow bubbles in water given him to drink, and at six months old, he derives enjoyment from dropping things that have been handed to him. At nine months, watching things fall, such as a splash made by milk falling from his mouth onto the floor, is perceived as comic.

When he is a year old, he likes to make funny faces and, several months later, hiding from people and laughing when they cannot find him is a source of much amusement. The two-year-old is amused by trying to squeeze through a narrow place or by carrying out different kinds of stunts (8,31,142,165,191).

MORAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

The baby has no conscience and no scale of values. He is, therefore, neither moral

nor immoral but *nonmoral* in the sense that his behavior is not guided by moral standards. Eventually he will learn, from his parents and later from his teachers and playmates, the moral codes of the group and the necessity for conforming to these codes (88,115,149).

Learning to behave in a socially approved manner is a long, slow process. However, the foundations are laid in babyhood, and on these foundations, the child builds a moral code which guides his behavior as he grows older (44,88,211).

The baby judges right and wrong in relation to the pleasure or pain of the act rather than in terms of the good or harm to the group. Because of his limited intelligence, he cannot judge behavior in terms of how it affects others but only in terms of its effect on him. An act, therefore, is perceived by him as wrong only when it has some ill effect on him. He has no sense of guilt because he lacks definite standards of right and wrong (5,25,67). He does not, for example, feel guilty when he takes things belonging to others because he has no standards of property rights (13,141).

Discipline

The whole purpose of discipline is to teach the individual what is right and what is wrong and to see that he acts in accordance with this knowledge (67,181,211). As Geisel (75) has stressed:

The infant comes among us as a little savage, and the first fifteen years of his life are in a very real sense the disciplinary years, for his growing up is really a process of learning to do right things at the right time, in the right place, and meaningfully.

Throughout the babyhood years, the baby must learn to make correct specific responses to specific situations in the home and in the neighborhood. Acts that are wrong should be wrong at all times, regardless of who is in charge. Otherwise, the baby will be confused and he will not know what is expected of him (169,180, 201,210,220).

With strict discipline, involving emphasis on punishment for wrongdoing, even a young baby can be forced into a pattern of behavior that makes him less troublesome to his parents during the second year of life when his exploratory behavior and his refusal to comply with parental wishes make him less easy to handle than he was during the first year (44,211).

But before the baby is punished for wrongdoing, he must *learn* what is wrong. This he cannot do overnight. Therefore, during babyhood, the emphasis should be on the educational aspect of discipline—teaching the baby what is right and what is wrong—and on rewarding him with approval and affection when he does what is right, rather than on punishing him. Punishment should be reserved for *intentional wrongdoing* and for emergencies when the baby's persistence in doing something he has been told not to do might lead to physical or psychological harm (33,191, 211).

Because it is assumed that a baby cannot understand the words used in praise for an act that is right, far too many parents refrain from praising him. Although few babies have enough comprehension of words to understand what is said in praise, they can understand the facial expressions that accompany praise. And, because the facial expressions that accompany praise are pleasanter than those accompanying

scolding or other forms of punishment, they provide a source of motivation to the baby to repeat the act that will bring such favorable reactions (44,67,211).

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Because the baby's early environment is primarily limited to the home, family relationships play a dominant role in determining what sort of individual he will grow up to be. His parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, and other relatives who come in more or less constant contact with him during these early formative years of life set the pattern for his attitudes toward people, things, and life in general (26,111, 112). Although this pattern will unquestionably be changed and modified as he grows older and as his environment broadens, the core of the pattern is likely to remain with little or no modification (18, 32,121,164,174).

Evidence of Importance of Family Relationships

Studies of family relationships have shown that all family relationships are important factors in the individual's development. However, during the babyhood years, parent-child relationships are more important than any other. How important they are can best be illustrated by cases where babies have been separated from their mothers and are institutionalized. When deprived of an opportunity to love and be loved, the pattern of their personality is often seriously affected. The baby deprived of normal opportunities to express love becomes quiet, listless, and unresponsive to the smiles of others; he shows extreme forms of temper as if seeking attention; and he gives the general appearance of unhappiness (28,72,163).

If the separation from the mother lasts no longer than three months, the reestablishment of emotional interchange with the mother will rapidly restore the developmental level of the baby. When, on the other hand, emotional interchange with the mother is lacking for five or more months, the baby's development has been found to continue to decline in comparison with the development of other babies of the same age (43,163,222).

When a baby is deprived of close contact with the mother, the substitution of one person to care for the baby in place of several brings about changes in the baby's behavior. Not only does the baby with a "mother substitute" learn to discriminate and show recognition of this mother substitute, but he also shows an improvement in the pattern of his development as compared with babies deprived of this type of social contact. Figure 4-12 shows the comparison of vocalization for an experimental group of babies who had mother substitutes and for a control group which did not have the care of one person. Not only did the provision for a mother substitute make the babies more responsive to the person who acted in this role but they also became socially more responsive to strangers instead of showing fear as the babies of the control group did (162). This shows the importance of close personal contact with one person during the early months of life (47).

Satisfying experiences in babyhood will not necessarily be adequate to compensate for unfavorable factors in the parent-child relationship or for economic deprivation as the child grows older. Although it is true that the foundations of attitudes, behavior patterns, and the personality structure are laid in babyhood, events of childhood and the later years are of great im-

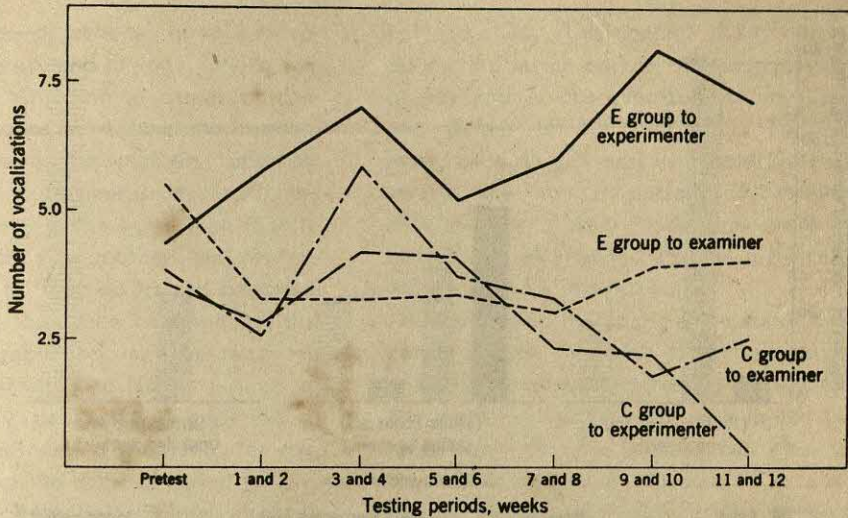


FIGURE 4-12 EFFECT OF "MOTHERING" ON VOCALIZATION DURING BABYHOOD. (ADAPTED FROM H. L. RHEINGOLD: THE MODIFICATION OF SOCIAL RESPONSIVENESS IN INSTITUTIONAL BABIES. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Developm.*, 1956, 21, NO. 2. USED BY PERMISSION.)

portance in reinforcing or even changing the character structure tentatively formed in the early years of life (163).

Child-training Methods

No one practice or method in doing things makes for good or bad adjustment on the child's part. It is the *attitude* of the parent toward the child that determines how well or how poorly he will adjust at home and outside the home. There are marked variations in the child-training methods used by different social classes and by different parents within the same social classes (32,108). This is illustrated in Figure 4-13.

Parents generally use child-training methods similar to those used by their parents. When, however, parents have been brought up in homes where different methods were used, there is likely to be a conflict about which is the better method to use, or par-

ents will make certain modifications in their methods. The mother's perception of her role as mother and the type of personality she has will markedly influence her interpretation of the methods she uses (47,50,179).

During babyhood, most of the emphasis in child training is on eating, sleeping, and toileting. The methods used may be authoritarian, democratic, or permissive. In *authoritarian* discipline, the parent is strict and uses punishment—usually corporal punishment—to enforce compliance; in *democratic* discipline, the parent is more permissive, more understanding of the baby's needs and capacities, more lenient, and less punitive; in *permissive* discipline, the parent allows the baby to do much as he pleases, on the assumption that he will learn from the consequences of his acts what is right and what is wrong (11,22,90).

Parents who are better educated tend to

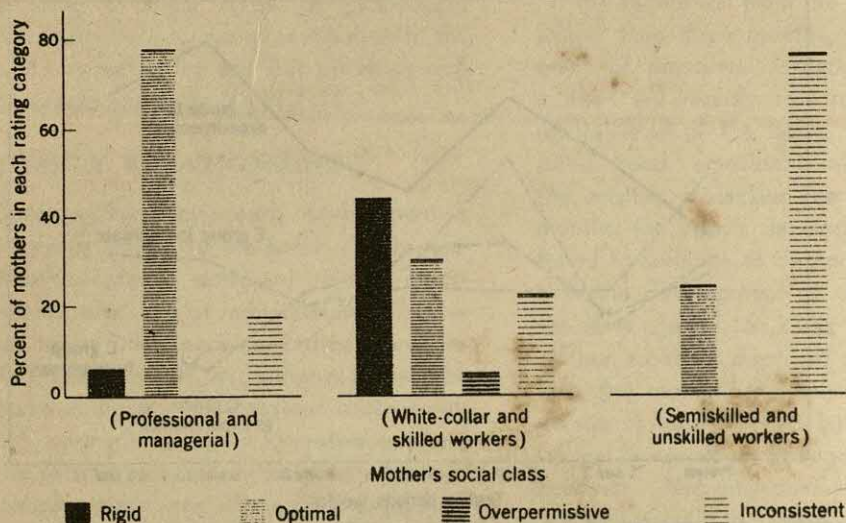


FIGURE 4-13 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MOTHER'S SOCIAL CLASS MEMBERSHIP AND HER PREDOMINANT TYPE OF CHILD-CARE PRACTICE. (ADAPTED FROM E. H. KLATSKIN, E. B. JACKSON AND L. C. WILKIN: THE INFLUENCE OF DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN MATERNAL CHILD CARE PRACTICES ON EARLY CHILD BEHAVIOR. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1956, 26, 79-93. USED BY PERMISSION.)

be more permissive in child-training than are those whose education has been limited (90). Such parents often feel insecure because they "suffer from popular psychology." Parents from the middle socioeconomic group are more exacting in their training; they begin training earlier; and they expect greater compliance on the baby's part than do parents from the upper and lower classes (108).

Changes in Parent-Child Relationships

The relationship between the baby and his parents changes as the baby changes from a helpless, dependent individual to a relatively independent one (18,174). Whether the parental attitude will be one of acceptance or rejection will depend to a large extent upon the changing characteristics

of the baby and upon how closely he conforms to their concept of the "dream child" they established before he was born.

Many mothers, especially those who are assuming the maternal role for the first time, feel inadequate for this role. This builds up tensions which are reflected in the mother's relationship with her baby. Anxieties about whether she is performing her role correctly and about whether her baby is developing normally cause her to be tense and nervous and to shift from one pattern of care of the baby to another. This makes her baby tense and nervous, with the result that he cries more than he normally would and has difficulties with eating and sleeping.

In a study of concerns mothers had about their young babies, it was reported that most of them were about the baby's physi-

cal condition—digestion, bowel movements, rash, sleep, and crying. Crying was one of the most common causes of concern (166). Figure 4-14 shows the frequencies of concerns the mothers reported. Because much more time is devoted to the care of the baby in the home than in institutions, and because mothers feel less secure in their role than do trained personnel in institutions, this cause of emotional disturbance in babyhood may be regarded as a "home-grown" one (161).

Because early babyhood is a period of extreme helplessness, it is common for parents to develop the habit of caring for and protecting the baby so completely that the baby's motivation to learn to do things for himself tends to be stifled (11,44,180). The firstborn child of the family is more likely to be the victim of parental overprotectiveness and to develop habits of dependency than is the later-born child, except when the later-born child is physically or mentally weak (68,77,111,179).

In babyhood, there are two critical periods when overdependency may begin. The first comes at the end of the first year of life when the baby tests the mother to see if he can depend on her. At this age, the baby is still very helpless and his needs must be met since lack of attention to these needs will be harmful to his developing personality. But many mothers go beyond the baby's needs and do not encourage independence when it is possible. The second critical period comes at the end of the second year when there are social demands on the individual to change his old ways of doing things. This causes the baby to cling, if possible, to his status of infantile dependency (77,111,193).

When the baby's motivation to be independent of parental help is very strong, it expresses itself in a conflict between par-

ent and child. This conflict usually begins during the latter part of the second year of life and is characterized by frequent and violent temper outbursts. Furthermore, because parental overprotectiveness retards the normal pattern of learning skills, a baby is likely to become angry at himself and at anyone near him if he cannot do what he sets out to do.

A baby needs the continuous care of one person for the first nine to twelve months of his life to give him a feeling of security. The mother is the only person who can be relied upon for this. Being deprived of the mother's care, or the care of a satisfactory mother substitute, at this time is one of the most serious factors in his physical, intellectual, and emotional development (140). Professional nurses, relatives, or friends of the family will not give the baby the continuous care he needs. When babies are deprived of this, they are found to have, as they grow older, "diffusely impulsive patterned behavior that is unorganized and remains unorganized. . . . The behavior remains infantile" (163).

A comparison of *monomatric* families—families in which the mother is the exclusive caretaker of the child—and *polymatric* families—families in which the caretaker role is shared with another female—has revealed what effects these differing types of care will have on both the baby and the mother during the first year of the baby's life. At the age of six months, babies in monomatric families are less irritable and easier to handle than are babies in polymatric families. When they are a year old, they are more active, more emotionally dependent on their mothers, and more emotionally responsive in their interactions with their mothers than are babies whose care has been shared with another person. Equally as important,

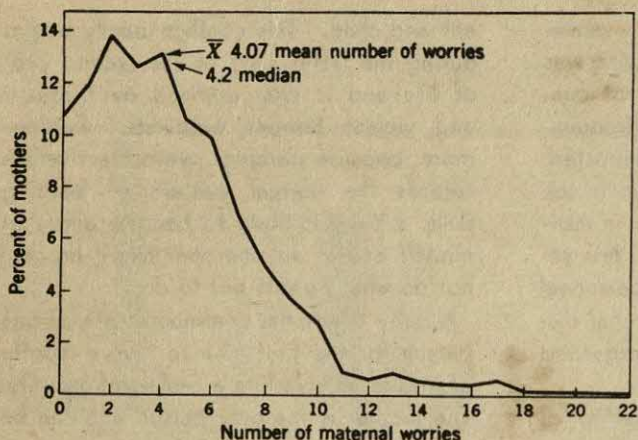


FIGURE 4-14 FREQUENCY OF MATERNAL WORRIES ABOUT THEIR BABIES. (ADAPTED FROM W. O. ROBERTSON: AN INVESTIGATION OF MATERNAL CONCERNS BY MAIL SURVEY. *Child Developm.*, 1961, 32, 423-436. USED BY PERMISSION.)

they make social contacts with others more easily.

The mother who has assumed almost complete care of her baby during the first six months of the baby's life is more confident of mothering skills, more affectionate toward her baby, and more anxious about the baby's well-being. Full care of the baby during the first year of life has been reported to make the mother more emotionally dependent on her baby, more tolerant of the baby's irritating behavior, and more solicitous of the baby's welfare (39,40).

Parental Preferences

Because the mother is the baby's most frequent companion in his play activities and because the mother takes care of his bodily needs, the beginning of a preference for the mother is generally apparent toward the close of babyhood. A father who spends a reasonable amount of time

with his baby, who shares with the mother some of the routine duties connected with baby care, and who gives his undivided attention to playing with the baby when he is with him will win as much of the baby's affection as does the mother (26, 50,86,161).

Attitudes toward Siblings

For the baby, the birth of another child in the family is not as disturbing as it would be later on. While it is true that he will miss the constant attention that he has been accustomed to receive from his parents, his social development has not yet reached the point where he wants constant attention from others. His limited intelligence does not enable him to associate the change in his relationship with his parents with the newcomer in the home and, consequently, he is not jealous (20,116,167, 174).

How the baby will feel about older sib-

lings will depend to a large extent upon how they treat him. If they play with him, do things for him, and show their affection for him, he will be conditioned to like them. If, on the other hand, they regard him as a "pest" or a "nuisance" and if they do things for him reluctantly, he will be conditioned to dislike or even fear them (26,198).

Because interest in and caring for babies is considered more sex-appropriate for girls than for boys, the baby's pleasant associations with his siblings are more likely to be with his sisters than with his brothers. As a result, any preference he has is generally for an older sister rather than for an older brother (111,223).

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN BABYHOOD

As we have seen, at birth, the potential qualities for personality development are present, and from these the pattern of personality will develop. There are three factors inherent in the individual's personality development—*heredity*, *early experiences* within the family, and *events of later life*—which influence the form of the pattern already set in the early years of life (78,182). Because no two individuals have the same physical or mental endowments or the same environmental experiences, no two personality patterns will develop along the same lines or become identical.

Critical Period

Babyhood is a "critical period" in the development of personality because at this time the foundations are laid, and upon these foundations will be built the adult personality structure. Although adults may remember little of what happened in

the early years of their lives, these experiences have been of vital importance in the shaping of their personalities and have left lasting impressions upon them (112,194).

Because the baby's environment is limited almost exclusively to the home and because his parents, especially his mother, are his most constant companions, there is no question about the fact that the individual's personality is markedly influenced by the parent-child relationship in babyhood. As new channels of self-expression open up with the development of motor control, the baby will become rebellious and antagonistic if the parents oppose him (88,191).

How greatly environmental obstructions affect the personality development of the baby has been suggested by studies of institutionalized babies, reported in the section titled "Family Relationships." While it is not certain whether the damage is permanent or temporary if the baby remains in an institution for only the first three or four years of life, there is evidence that if he remains longer, the personality distortion will be severe and long-lasting (28,43,222). Almost as serious as emotional deprivation is the baby's constant contact with a mother who shows periodic mood swings. Follow-up studies of such babies at later stages of development have suggested that such contacts in babyhood may be the forerunner of psychopathy in older children (28). There is evidence that functions which are most actively developing at the time when some unfavorable environmental condition occurs are most subject to damage. For example, when the baby is developing independence, being overprotected is especially harmful. Thus, "mothering" per se is not harmful, but the wrong type of mother-child relationship at the wrong time in the baby's

learning pattern is at the basis of personality distortions (197).

Personality Foundations

Genetic studies of the persistence of personality traits over a period of years have revealed that patterns established early in life remain almost unchanged as the child grows older. Although it is true that certain traits of the personality pattern change, the "core" consisting of the self-concept remains fundamentally the same. This emphasizes the importance of early experiences in the shaping of the personality pattern (6,31,98).

Because change in personality is largely dependent upon changes in environment and because the home environment of the individual is least likely to change during the early years of life, the foundations of personality laid in early life are likely to persist in a relatively unchanged form as the baby grows older (18,174). When changes do occur, they may be *quantitative*, in that there is a strengthening or weakening of a trait already present, or they may be *qualitative*, in that a socially undesirable trait is replaced by a socially more desirable one. For the most part, personality changes consist mainly of building up traits already present instead of establishing new and different ones (6,31, 186).

While the core of personality is in the process of becoming established, as is true of babyhood and early childhood, undesirable personality traits can be changed without disturbing the whole personality balance. As Davis and Havighurst (54) have pointed out:

We do not believe, in short, that the early personality is as irrevocable as the

crack of doom. There certainly is no reason for a fatalistic view concerning man's ability to break the mold of his childhood learning. Admittedly, this learning often sets the pattern for many later responses toward people; even for one's lifelong estimate of oneself. But new situations and new stimuli will change not only a man's behavior—they will change his belief in himself.

As time goes on, the core of habits and attitudes, especially those that are closely related to the individual's concept of self, becomes less and less flexible. Then a change in personality traits may upset the personality balance (132,194). For that reason, it is vitally important that the attitudes and habits that compose the core of personality be of the sort that will be just as serviceable in adulthood as they will be while the child is young.

A child who is aggressive at two is likely to be consistently aggressive as he grows older. Similarly, a child who is shy is likely to seek the type of environment that will encourage the development of this trait, avoiding the types of environment that would make him feel ill at ease or self-conscious. As a result, his shyness will likely become stronger rather than weaker with age (101,145).

A number of studies of the same groups of children from babyhood into late childhood or adolescence have revealed the "prophetic character" of the first year's behavior traits. Not only have these studies revealed persistence in the dominant pattern of personality as it is established in the first years of life, but they have also suggested that it is possible to formulate a prognosis of the baby's future personality early in the first year of life.

Marked consistency in the personality

traits of "Shirley's Babies," for example, was noted during the first years of their lives. Fifteen and a half years later, there was definite evidence that personality similarities had persisted, and some of the individuals could readily be identified because of the uniqueness of their personality patterns (151).

A study of six individuals fifty years after their mother had recorded judgments about them in her diary shows a persistence in 70 percent of those traits. In general, the favorable traits became more favorable and the less favorable improved through the influence of social pressures as the individuals grew older (186). Because all experimental evidence to date indicates that personality traits established in babyhood are likely to remain relatively unchanged throughout life, unless remedial measures are used to bring about changes, it is apparent that babyhood is justly called a "critical age" in the development of personality.

HAPPINESS IN BABYHOOD

Normally, the first year of life is one of the happiest of the life span. As was pointed out earlier in the chapter, the helplessness of the young baby makes him appealing to children as well as to adults. Most children regard him as an "adorable doll" and want to play with him. Adults not only want to cuddle and love him, but they also are tolerant in their attitudes toward his crying and the disruption his care brings into their lives.

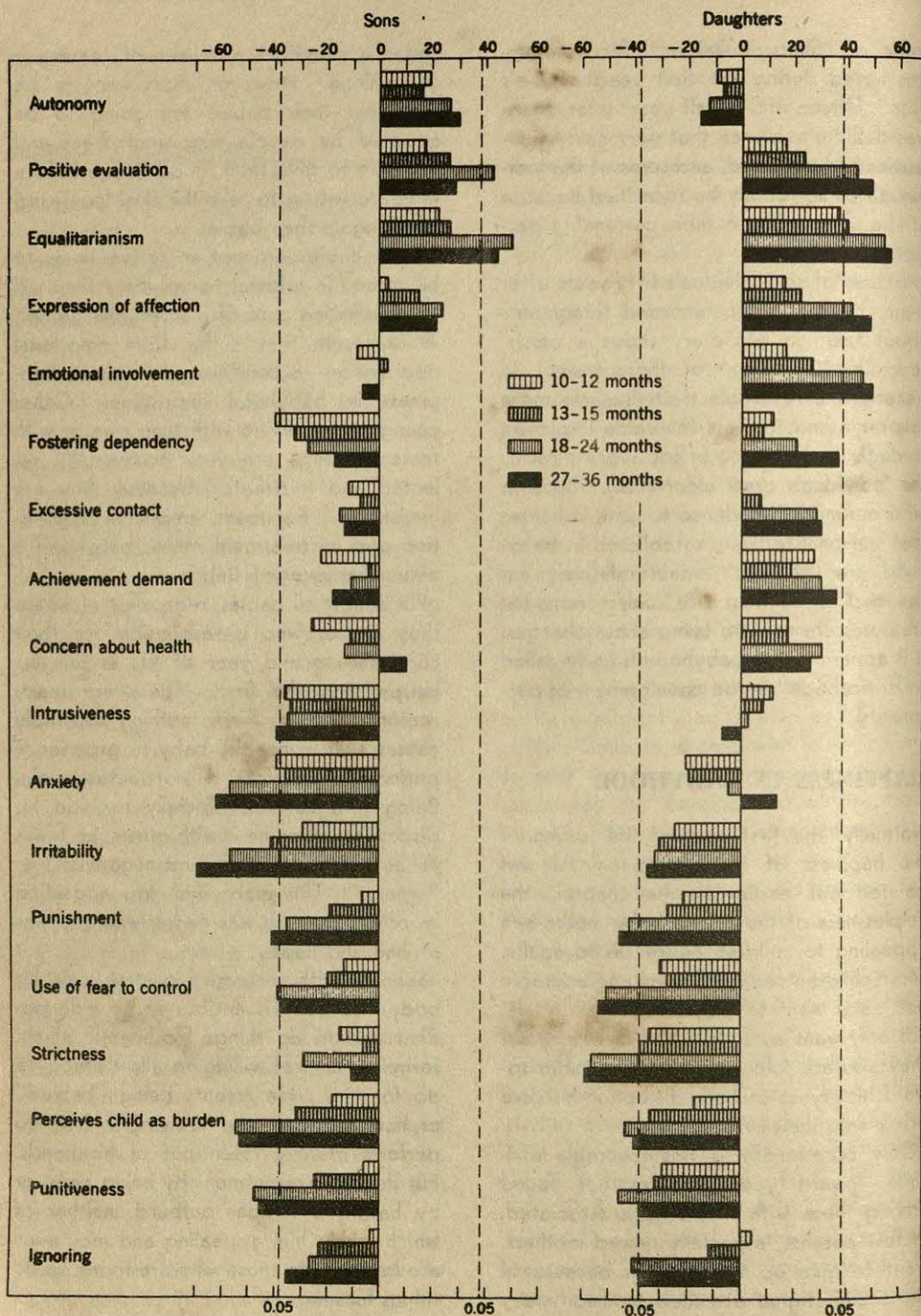
Only occasionally is this favorable attitude toward young babies not found among those with whom he is associated. A few parents, especially unwed mothers, want to give up their babies because of the social stigma attached to illegitimacy

and the practical problems of rearing a child alone. However, most want to be sure that their babies are going to be adopted by people who want them and are able to give them good homes before they are willing to take the final legal step of giving up their babies.

Some babies are not so fortunate as to be placed in a foster home where they will get the loving care of a surrogate mother. As a result, they suffer from emotional deprivation—a condition that makes happiness in babyhood impossible. Other young babies, living with their own or with foster parents, are very occasionally rejected and mistreated because they are "nuisances." For them, emotional deprivation *plus* mistreatment makes babyhood a very unhappy age (104).

For almost all babies, regardless of where they live or who is responsible for their care, the second year of life is far less happy than the first. There are many reasons for this. *First*, teething inevitably causes even a healthy baby to experience periodic discomfort if not actual pain. Being too immature socially to hide his discomfort when he is with others, he tends to be fretful, irritable, and negativistic or "ornery." This makes him less appealing to others than he was earlier when he was smiling and happy.

Second, with increased control over his body, the baby is anxious to be independent and to do things for himself which, formerly, he was willing to allow others to do for him. He resents being "babied" or having the task he is trying so hard to perform literally taken out of his hands. He shows his resentment by being balky or by having a temper outburst, neither of which makes him appealing and may even arouse anger in those who are trying to do things for him.



The *third* situation that causes the *second* year of babyhood to be less happy than the first is the beginning of discipline in the home. On the assumption that babies cannot understand words, many parents use slaps, spankings, harsh words, and angry expressions to convey to the baby the idea that what he is doing is wrong and will not be tolerated. Interpreting this to mean that his parents are angry *at him*, not because of what he has done, makes the baby feel unloved and unwanted.

The *fourth* common cause of unhappiness in the second year of life comes from the feeling that he is no longer loved by his mother because she spends less time with him, because she plays less with him, and because she does less for him than she previously did. As was pointed out earlier, when there is a new baby in the house, few babies are mentally mature enough to realize that this decrease in attention comes because the mother must spend more time with and do more things for the new baby. Not associating the changed behavior of the mother with the new baby, he is not jealous of the baby nor does he try to retaliate and harm the new baby as older children often do. Instead, he is depressed and anxious because he feels

deprived of the love he formerly enjoyed, and this makes him unhappy.

Not all babies have reason to be unhappy as babyhood draws to a close, nor is the baby who has one or more of the reasons for unhappiness described above *always* unhappy. There are times when he is happy just as there are times when he is unhappy. Which will dominate will depend on how many reasons he has to be unhappy and how frequently the causes of unhappiness occur. In general, however, most babies have more reasons to be unhappy during the second year of babyhood than during the first.

Because the baby's most constant associations are with the mother or with a mother substitute, his happiness will depend largely on how she treats him. If she is anxious, overprotective, punitive, or perceives her baby as a "burden," unhappiness will result. Should she, on the other hand, encourage autonomy in her baby, show affection, evaluate the baby and his behavior in a positive way, and treat him as she treats the other children instead of showing favoritism, the individual will have a happier babyhood (18). The relationship between the mother's behavior and the baby's happiness is shown in Figure 4-15.

FIGURE 4-15 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MOTHER'S BEHAVIOR AND THE BABY'S HAPPINESS. (ADAPTED FROM N. BAYLEY: RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT: A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1965, 11, 183-208. USED BY PERMISSION.)

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Childhood begins when the helplessness of babyhood is over, at approximately the age of two years, and extends to the time when the child becomes sexually mature, at approximately thirteen years for the average girl and at fourteen years for the average boy. After the child has become sexually mature, he is known as an "adolescent."

During this long period of time—roughly eleven years for girls and twelve years for boys—there are marked changes taking place in the child both physically and psychologically. Some of these changes come from maturation but most come from learning. Because cultural pressures and expectations to learn certain things at one age are different from the pressures and expectations at another age, a child in the early part of childhood is quite different from a child in the latter part of the period.

Today, it is widely recognized that childhood should be subdivided into two periods—early and late childhood. Early childhood extends from two to six years and late childhood, from six to the time when the child becomes sexually mature. At the one end, early childhood is marked off by the conclusion of babyhood, the age when helplessness is practically a thing of the past and is being replaced by growing independence, and at the other, by entrance into school (120,261).

Because six years of age marks the beginning of the compulsory school period in our culture, it serves as a convenient dividing line between early and late childhood. This dividing line is significant because, as the child leaves the home environment and enters school, new pressures and new

expectations result in marked changes in patterns of behavior, in attitudes, in interests, and in values on the part of the child. He becomes, as a result, a "different" person.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD

Just as there are certain characteristics of babyhood which make it a distinctive period in the life span, so there are certain characteristics of early childhood which make it distinctive. Early childhood is the preschool age, the "pregang age," the age of exploration; it is also a "problem age," and a less appealing age.

Early Childhood Is the Preschool Age

Educators refer to early childhood as the "preschool age"—the period preceding the entrance into school. A growing number of young children, it is true, are going to nursery schools and kindergartens, but these are very different from school proper. Whether the young child remains at home or goes to a preschool, the pressures and expectations to learn certain things will be very different from those after he enters school.

Early Childhood Is the "Pregang Age"

To the psychologist, early childhood is the "pregang age," the time when the child is learning the foundations of social behavior which will prepare him for the more highly organized social life he will be required to adjust to when he enters first grade in school (261).

Early Childhood Is the Age of Exploration

Early childhood is the period in the life span when the major development is that

of control over the environment. Having acquired a workable control of his own body during the first two years of life, the child is now ready to explore his environment. He wants to know what his environment is, how it works, how it feels, and how he can be a part of it. This includes people as well as inanimate objects (179).

Early Childhood Is a "Problem Age"

Most of the problems that parents face with babies center around their physical care. With the dawn of childhood, the child presents many *behavior* problems for his parents to cope with. He is developing a distinctive personality and is demanding an independence which, in most cases, he is incapable of handling successfully. A young child is often an obstinate, stubborn, disobedient, negativistic, antagonistic individual. He has frequent temper tantrums, he is bothered by nightmares at night and irrational fears during the day, and he suffers from jealousies.

All in all, life for the parents and the young child is frequently far from happy. And yet, a "good" child who conforms so completely to adult standards and expectations that he gives his parents little concern is headed for trouble (22,262).

Early Childhood Is a Less Appealing Age

Although parents are interested in and love their children at every age, the home interest in the young child is less sentimental and more practical than it was during babyhood. The helplessness of the baby, so appealing to parents as well as to older siblings, is now replaced by a resistance on the child's part to their help and a tendency to reject demonstrations of their affection. Furthermore, few young

children are as "adorable" looking as babies—another condition which makes them less appealing.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD

Although the foundations of some of the developmental tasks the child is expected to master before he enters school are laid in babyhood, much remains to be learned in the relatively short span of four years of early childhood (120). See page 14 for a complete list of the developmental tasks of infancy and early childhood.

When babyhood ends, all normal babies have learned to walk, though with varying degrees of proficiency, have learned to take solid foods, and have achieved a reasonable degree of physiological stability. The major task of learning to control the elimination of body wastes has been completed, and, within another year or two, this task will be completely mastered.

While most babies have built up a useful vocabulary of words, have reasonably correct pronunciation of the words they use, can comprehend the meaning of simple statements and commands, and can put together several words into meaningful sentences, their ability to communicate with others and to comprehend what others say to them is still on a low level. Much remains to be mastered before they enter school.

Similarly, they have some simple concepts of social and physical realities but far too few to meet their needs as their social horizons broaden and as their physical environment expands. Few babies know more than the most elementary facts about sex differences and even fewer understand the meaning of sexual modesty. It is questionable if any babies, as they enter early

childhood, actually know what sex-appropriate appearance means, and they have only the most rudimentary understanding of sex-appropriate behavior.

This is equally true of concepts of right and wrong. What knowledge they have is limited to home situations and must be broadened to include concepts of right and wrong in their relationships with people outside the home, especially in the neighborhood, the school, and the playground.

Even more important, the young child must lay the foundations for a conscience as a guide to right and wrong behavior. The conscience serves as a source of motivation to do what he knows is right and to avoid doing what he knows is wrong when he is too old to have the watchful eye of a parent or a parent substitute constantly focused on him.

One of the most important and, for most young children, the most difficult of the developmental tasks of early childhood is to learn to relate themselves emotionally to parents, siblings, and other people. The emotional relationship with others of babyhood days must be replaced by a more mature form. This relationship is one of dependency on others to meet his emotional needs, especially his need for affection. Now he must learn to give as well as to receive affection. In short, he must learn to be outer-bound instead of self-bound.

Opportunities to Learn Developmental Tasks

It is the responsibility of the parents to provide the young child with the opportunities necessary to master the developmental tasks society expects him to master and to guide his learning so that he will be

able to take full advantage of the opportunities they supply. No child knows what society expects of him, nor does he know how to go about learning patterns of approved behavior without guidance from others more experienced than he.

He cannot, for example, be expected to know that taking a toy belonging to another child when he is a guest in the other child's home is "wrong" if he has been permitted to play with his siblings' toys without asking their permission. It is the responsibility of his parents to teach him the fundamental principles of property rights and to make sure that he understands how these principles apply to any situation he is likely to encounter in his limited social environment.

Opportunities alone are not enough; the young child must have guidance in using these opportunities. Although he will learn something from imitating his parents, peers, and playmates and from a trial-and-error approach, guidance will enable him to learn more rapidly, with less lost effort, and with better end results.

Studies of children from culturally deprived homes have revealed that they do not master many of the important developmental tasks of early childhood. As a result, they come to school without the necessary skills to cope with the first-grade curriculum. This is especially true in the case of language development, both spoken and written. Such children have been found to come from homes where parents have little communication with their children and give little guidance in learning language skills. What guidance they have is usually negative in form; they are ridiculed or scolded for using wrong words or for mispronunciations but are not guided in using the right words or the right pronunciations (194).

Some parents are unable to provide opportunities for the child to master the developmental tasks for his age level. Other parents who are able to provide opportunities are unable to guide the child in making use of these opportunities. Parents, for example, who are socially isolated, either because they are geographically isolated or because they have never learned how to make social contacts with other people successfully, can do little to help the young child master the important developmental task of relating himself to other people in a way that will make others want to accept him as a playmate.

When the child is the victim of parental inability to provide him with the learning opportunities and guidance, he becomes restless and unhappy because of the constant thwarting of drives ready to be directed into behavior, or he becomes troublesome because he expresses these drives in a socially unacceptable way. Some parents meet this problem by sending the child to a nursery school or kindergarten where he is given opportunities, under the guidance of trained teachers, to master the developmental tasks the social group expects him to master (47,71).

Handicaps of "Unfinished Business"

Many young children who have not had the necessary opportunities to master the developmental tasks of their age level or the guidance necessary to take advantage of the opportunities they have had, enter late childhood with much "unfinished business" in the form of only partially mastered developmental tasks. As a result, they seem "immature" to adults and "kiddish" to their peers.

This is a serious social as well as personal handicap to the child. When he wants to

play with other children, he finds that he is incapable of establishing relationships with them that will make them accept him as a playmate. As Marshall (185) has pointed out:

When children have too few experiences at home that provide the techniques and interests required for participation in play with peers, they will often fail in their attempts to play and, as a consequence, will show excessive dependence on teachers.

When a young child is incapable of doing the things the children he is associated with can do or when they can do them much better than he can, he develops a feeling of personal inadequacy. If, for example, he must have help in dressing or feeding himself or if he talks in such a way that other children laugh at him for "talking like a baby," it is inevitable that he would feel inferior to them.

An equally serious aspect of unfinished business is that the child will, when he enters school at the end of early childhood, be forced to master the developmental tasks he was expected to master earlier while, at the same time, attempting to learn the new tasks that society expects him to learn when he is old enough to go to school (41,71). Because many of these new tasks are based on the tasks that were supposed to have been mastered earlier, the older child feels even more "backward" than he did earlier, and he is constantly trying to catch up to his age-mates (120).

Feeling inadequate to meet the new challenges and new expectations causes many children to regress to the dependency on adults that characterized the earlier years of their lives when helplessness made de-

pendency essential. As a result, they become *overdependent*—a pattern of behavior which creates the impression that they are immature for their ages (180,185). Although this tendency to be overdependent is found among young children of both sexes, it is more characteristic of girls than of boys and of firstborn than of later-born children (180).

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Growth during early childhood proceeds at a slow rate as compared with the rapid rate of growth in babyhood. Early childhood is a time of relatively even growth, though there are seasonal variations, with July to mid-December the most favorable season for increases in weight and April to mid-August the most favorable for height increases (270). Girls follow much the same pattern of growth at this age as boys, though there is some evidence that girls are slightly larger than boys between the ages of five and six years (24).

Height

During early childhood, the average increase in height is 3 inches annually. By the age of six years, the average child measures 46.5 inches, with a range from 44.5 to 48.5 inches. Although marked individual differences occur, there are no real sex differences in height during this period (24,162). Children of superior intelligence tend to be taller during the preschool period than those of average intelligence (153,270). Growth curves for height for the gifted and the mentally retarded are shown in Figure 5-1.

It is now possible to predict with a fair degree of accuracy the adult height of a young child by X rays of the bones and wrists (24). The adult height is influenced,

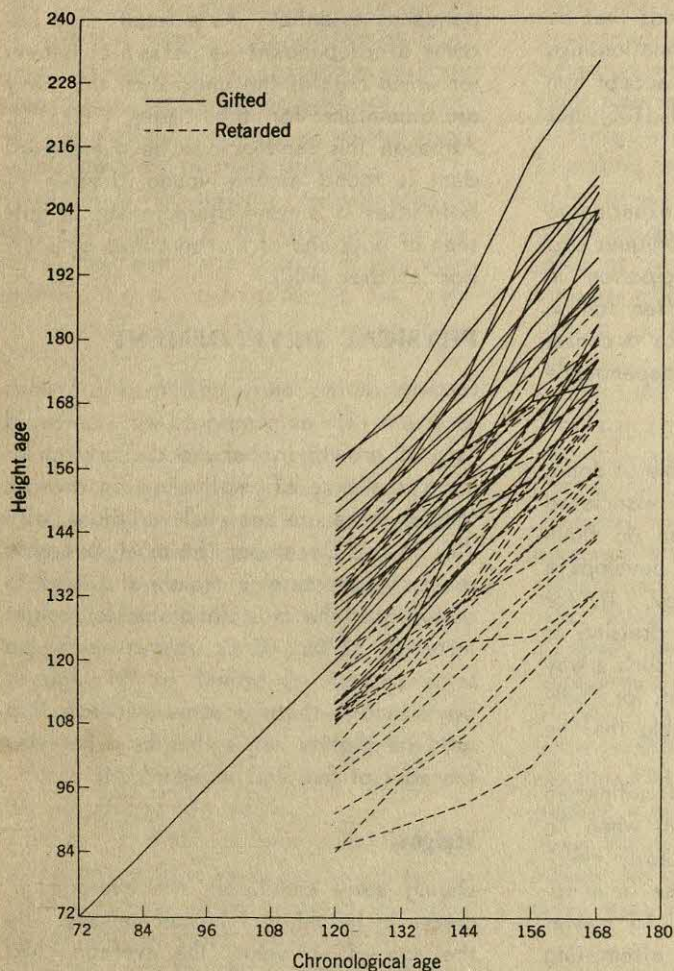


FIGURE 5-1 GROWTH PATTERNS FOR GIFTED AND RETARDED CHILDREN. (ADAPTED FROM W. A. KETCHAM: RELATIONSHIP OF PHYSICAL TRAITS AND MENTAL TRAITS IN INTELLECTUALLY GIFTED AND MENTALLY RETARDED BOYS. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1960, 6, 171-177. USED BY PERMISSION.)

to some extent, by the age at which the child becomes sexually mature, and it is never possible to predict exactly when this will occur. However, as there has been found to be a close relationship between

the age at which the child matures sexually and the age at which a parent of the same sex matured, this knowledge adds to the accuracy of the prediction (24). Because a young child's height is influenced by

hereditary tendencies as well as by environmental factors, his parents' height must also be taken into consideration in predicting this adult height (24).

It is also possible to predict roughly, from the young child's height in relation to the norms for his age, what his intelligence and school-achievement potentials will be. Since physical and mental traits show a strong common origin—heredity—and since there is a marked relationship between physical and mental traits, it is fairly safe to predict that a child who is tall for his age will also be above average in his intellectual potentials (153).

Weight

Like height, the child's weight develops at a slow rate during this period, with an average increase of 3 to 5 pounds annually. At the age of six years, the child should be approximately seven times his birth weight. The average girl weighs 48.5 pounds, with a range from 40.5 to 56.5 pounds, and the average boy, 49 pounds, with a range from 43 to 55 pounds. Variations in weight during this period, as the ranges suggest, are greater than variations in height (162).

Early childhood is the age when bad family eating habits and parental insistence that the child eat more than he may want or need are likely to result in a tendency to overeat. This, in time, leads to obesity (52).

Body Proportions

During early childhood, body proportions change and the "baby look" disappears. Changes in proportions follow the *law of developmental direction* (see Figure 1-9, page 22). At 5½ years, for example, the proportions have changed to such a point

that, from then until maturity, there will be an increase of over 50 percent in the arm span as compared with only a 7 percent increase in head circumference (187,270). The cranial region in relation to the face has a ratio of 1 to 5 at five years as compared with a ratio of 1 to 8 at birth. There is an appreciable increase in both the length and width of the head between the second and fifth years, after which the increase tapers off. The young child's head is broader in relation to length than is the adult's head (42,187,270).

Throughout early childhood, the *facial features* remain small. The nose is particularly small and rather flat on the surface of the face. The mouth is likewise proportionately too small because of the small baby teeth. However, there is a more pronounced chin, owing to the development of the lower jaw, and the neck elongates. The soft downy hair of the baby is gradually replaced by hair of a coarser texture. The hair of the young child begins to show some of the characteristics of "terminal hair," and its pigmentation becomes slightly darker (187,270).

The *trunk* changes in both size and shape during early childhood. The thickset body of the baby gradually becomes sacklike with no apparent waistline, with rounded chest, sloping shoulders, and protruding abdomen. Then, between the ages of four and five years, there is a gradual decrease in the stockiness of the trunk and a tendency toward a cone-shaped body with a flattened abdomen, broader and flatter chest, a clearly indicated waistline, and shoulders that are broader and more square (24,187,246,249). Figure 5-2 shows the characteristic shape of the trunk when childhood begins (early-childhood figure), between the ages of three and five years (intermediate-childhood figure), and when

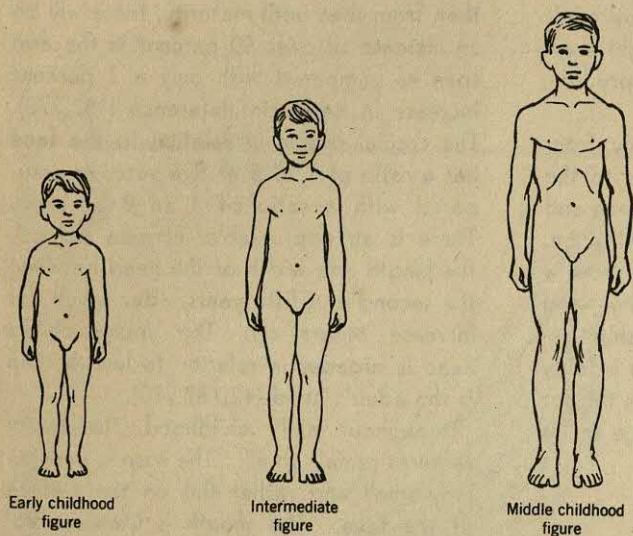


FIGURE 5-2 CHANGES IN BODY CONFIGURATIONS DURING THE CHILDHOOD YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM M. D. SIMON: BODY CONFIGURATION AND SCHOOL READINESS. *Child Developm.*, 1959, 30, 493-512. USED BY PERMISSION.)

early childhood draws to a close (middle-childhood figure).

The arms and legs likewise lengthen, and the hands and feet grow bigger. There are marked variations in the size and shape of feet during early childhood, though boys, at every age, have slightly larger feet than girls. The arches of the feet are well developed by the time the child is five years old (24,187,270).

Body Build

Most babies have similar body builds, though some are fatter than others. However, as body proportions begin to change in early childhood, differences in body build become apparent. Some children show a tendency toward *endomorph*y—excessively fat bodies—some toward *meso-*

*morph*y—hard, heavy, and rectangularly outlined bodies—and some toward *ectomorph*y—long, slender bodies (94).

These differences in body build do not become so readily apparent early in childhood as they do later. It is possible, however, as early childhood draws to a close, to predict what type of body build the child is going to have as he grows older (187,278,279). This matter will be discussed later.

Bones and Muscles

The bones gradually harden throughout early childhood so that the chances of their becoming misshapen from pressure or poor posture grow less and less each year. Ossification proceeds at different rates for different parts of the body, following the

laws of developmental direction. At every age, ossification is more advanced in girls than in boys (24,270).

Throughout early childhood, the *muscles* grow larger and stronger. With this growth comes an increase in weight. That is why, as early childhood draws to a close, children look thinner than they did before even though they weigh more. The relative amounts of muscle and adipose tissue vary according to the body build of the child. Children who tend toward endomorphy have more adipose than muscular tissue; those who tend toward mesomorphy have more muscular than adipose tissue; those who have ectomorphic builds have both small muscles and little adipose tissue (162,278).

As the muscles grow larger, they also become stronger. This makes it easier for the young child to do more and to fatigue less quickly than he did when he was a baby. However, this will vary with his health. After an illness, for example, the child's muscle tone is lowered and he fatigues more quickly than he did before the illness (42,187,270). At every age, boys have slightly larger and stronger muscles than girls, though girls are superior to boys in the flexibility and use of their muscles (187).

Teeth

During the first four to six months of early childhood, the young child generally cuts the last four of his baby teeth. These are the back molars. Because they are large and flat, their eruption is often accompanied by discomfort if not actual pain. Because baby teeth are softer in texture than permanent teeth, many young children suffer from dental caries due, pri-

marily, to poor nutritional habits, especially eating too many sweets (218).

During the last half year of early childhood, the child begins to lose his baby teeth, and these are replaced with permanent teeth. By the time he is ready to go to school, the child generally has one or two of his permanent teeth and a gap or two where baby teeth have come out but the permanent teeth have not yet replaced them.

Shedding of teeth follows the order of appearance of the first teeth; the first teeth to come out are the front central incisors. This means that, during the latter part of early childhood, most children have some permanent teeth in front and some gaps where permanent teeth will eventually replace the baby teeth.

Girls usually shed their temporary teeth earlier than boys do, and they get their permanent teeth sooner than boys. The higher the intelligence of the child, the earlier he is likely to shed his temporary teeth and get his permanent teeth. Children who are healthy and have good nutrition not only suffer less from dental caries, but they also get their permanent teeth earlier than children who are less healthy or whose diet is less well balanced.

Shedding baby teeth and getting permanent teeth to replace them is not the painful experience that cutting baby teeth is. The reason for this is that the gum has already been pierced and stretched by the baby tooth and has not yet grown together when the permanent tooth erupts.

However, permanent teeth have an important psychological significance for the young child; they mean that he is leaving babyhood behind and growing up. Many children, in their desire to appear grown up, pull out their baby teeth as soon as

they start to get loose hoping, in that way, to accelerate the growing-up process.

The shedding of baby teeth changes the child's appearance as well as his feelings about himself. As Church and Stone have pointed out, "As the child loses his baby teeth, his physical appearance alters in ways that quite accurately mirror the inner changes taking place" (56). In addition, the shedding of baby teeth, especially the front teeth, may and often does affect the child's speech (23,253). This will be discussed in more detail in the section of this chapter dealing with speech development.

Physical Attractiveness

Young children are, as a rule, less attractive looking than babies. As early childhood progresses, they usually become progressively less attractive and reach a low point in attractiveness as they emerge into late childhood.

There are many reasons for the deterioration in attractiveness of the young child's appearance:

1. As his body changes shape, he begins to look skinny and gawky, as compared with the soft, cuddliness of the baby. Many mothers, in the hope of improving their children's appearance, try to "fatten them up" by giving them sweets and by urging them to eat more than they want or need.
2. The young child's hair is coarser and less manageable than the fine, silky hair of the baby. It is hard to keep it neat and well groomed, and this gives him an unkempt appearance.
3. When the baby teeth begin to come out, the child's mouth is distorted by gaps where a tooth is missing and

where a new tooth has just started to appear. When there are any permanent teeth, they are proportionally too big for his baby teeth and for his small facial features.

4. The final reason for the deterioration in physical attractiveness comes from the child's disinterest in clothes and grooming. While he likes attractive clothes and is proud of any new garments, he is more concerned about having fun in play than about keeping his clothes neat and his appearance well groomed (131,232).

Illnesses of Early Childhood

Young children are highly susceptible to illness, though illness in early childhood is far less likely to be fatal than in babyhood. Boys are subject to more illness and more serious illnesses during early childhood than are girls, and they are more likely to be afflicted with permanent ill health or to die from illness than are girls (235). Children from the poorer socioeconomic groups suffer more from illness than do those from the more favored socioeconomic groups (187,218).

Although young children may suffer from any kind of illness, the most common forms are respiratory disorders, stomach and digestive disturbances, earaches and, in families where there are older children, measles, mumps, chicken pox, and other children's diseases (273). In Figure 4-3, page 141 are shown the common illnesses of the two- to six-year period. Note how respiratory illnesses dominate and how much more illness boys suffer from than girls.

Most illnesses in early childhood are physiological in origin. Some, however, are psychosomatic and result from tensions between parents and children. When author-

itarian methods of child training are used, the child tends to become nervous, and this predisposes him to illness (154).

On the other hand, if parents are lax and permit the child to eat whatever he wishes, whenever he wishes to do so, or to go to bed when it suits their convenience, the child's health cannot be expected to be such as to resist illness. Since parents tend to be more cautious with firstborn children than with later-born children, firstborns are less subject to illness (37,187).

When parents react to a child's illness as a family calamity, show feelings of guilt, or blame the child for the inconvenience his illness causes, the child's attitude will be poor, and this will create nervous tension that intensifies and prolongs his illness. If, on the other hand, parental attitudes are more wholesome and family life is carried on in a normal fashion, the child's attitude will be more favorable. He will then not be motivated to use it as an escape from reality. The common psychosomatic disorders that have been found to stem from parent-child tensions in early childhood are: anorexia nervosa, ulcerative colitis, enuresis, allergic reactions, asthma, and diabetes (98).

Common Accidents

Most young children experience cuts, bruises, infections, burns, broken bones, strained muscles, or similar minor disturbances resulting from accidents. Others have more serious accidents that disable them temporarily or permanently (68,100, 138). Figure 6-3, page 271, shows the parts of the child's body most often injured in accidents.

Boys have more accidents than girls. The ages of two and three years have been found to be the most vulnerable, and five to six the next most vulnerable (68,138). In

a report of accidents among young children issued by the Associated Hospital Service of New York, it was stressed that the "high-hazard" time of day for young children is from 3 to 6 P.M. The reasons given for this are, *first*, mothers are usually busy at that time preparing dinner, and, *second*, children are tired, fretful, and hungry. The "high-hazard" time of the week for accidents is from Thursday through Saturday, while the safest day is Sunday, the day when adults have more leisure time to supervise them (214).

In rainy weather, or during the cold of winter when streets are often covered with snow or ice, the accident rate for young children tends to rise (214). However, unlike the older child who has more accidents on the street or in the playground than in the home, the young child's accidents occur mainly within the home (68,138).

Some children are *accident-prone* in the sense that they have more accidents than other children of the same age. This may be a result of lax supervision on the part of parents. Some parents fail to realize how adventuresome young children are and how lacking they are in caution. When a child is bored, he tends to become adventuresome, and this often leads to accidents (214). Some accident-prone children are rebelling against strict parental discipline: they *intentionally* do what they have been told not to do as a form of revolt (182).

Although most accidents in early childhood are not fatal, many of them leave permanent scars of a physical or psychological sort. Many disabilities of childhood are the result of accidents. A disability can cause the child to develop feelings of inferiority and martyrdom that permanently distort his personality pattern (209). If the accidents leave no permanent scar physically, they may make the young

child timid and fearful to the point where it will become his habitual form of adjustment to life. Or, they may only help him to develop a sense of caution which will prevent future accidents of a more serious nature (180,208).

PHYSIOLOGICAL HABITS

During early childhood, the physiological habits whose foundations were laid in babyhood become well established. This is the time, also, when many patterns of behavior, normal for this age, become troublesome to parents. The important areas of physiological habits are those of eating, sleeping, and elimination. A discussion of these areas and the problems associated with them during early childhood follows:

Eating Habits

No longer is it necessary to provide specially prepared food for the child as it was during babyhood. At this time, his appetite is no longer as ravenous as it was in the early part of babyhood, partly because his growth rate has slowed down and partly because he has now developed marked food likes and dislikes. These likes and dislikes frequently develop because the foods prepared to suit adult tastes are too highly seasoned for the young child whose sense of taste is keener than that of adults. This is the age when "eating problems" reach their peak because of family pressures on the child to eat and the child's stubborn resistance to these adult prodings (218).

Sleep Habits

Sleep patterns, well established in babyhood, are often disrupted by the young child's revolt against daytime naps and

against going to bed on time at night. In his attempt to stall off the inevitable, the young child is likely to work himself up into a state of emotional tension. This militates against relaxation, which is essential to falling asleep.

In spite of daily variations in the amount of sleep, depending on such factors as amount of exercise during the day and type of activity, three-year-olds sleep approximately twelve out of the twenty-four hours. Each successive year during childhood, the average daily amount of sleep is approximately one-half hour less than in the previous year (69).

In many homes, young children are sometimes permitted to stay up beyond their usual bedtime to see a television program or to be with family guests. However, going to bed late does not guarantee that the child will sleep late the next morning to compensate for the loss of sleep on the preceding day. More likely, the child will be tired and fretful, and this will militate against his going to sleep.

Most of the sleep problems of young children can be traced to unfavorable parental attitudes. Parents who are overanxious about their children and afraid they will not get enough sleep become punitive in their attitudes, and this arouses resentments in the child. Other parents are too unconcerned and, as a result, become lax in fostering good sleep habits (69,180).

Habits of Elimination

As was pointed out in the preceding chapter, *bowel control* is generally well established when babyhood ends. By the time the child is three or four years old, *bladder control* at night should be achieved. Many young children, however, have occasional night accidents after that age, especially if they are tired or excited during the day.

This is true also of daytime accidents. By the time the child is ready to enter school, bladder control should be so complete that even fatigue and emotional tension will not interfere with it (180,207). See Figure 4-4, page 143, for the ages at which boys and girls usually acquire the "dry habit."

SKILLS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD

Early childhood is the ideal age to learn skills. The young child enjoys repetition and is, therefore, willing to repeat an activity until he has acquired the ability to do it well. He is adventuresome and, hence, is not held back by fear of hurting himself or of the ridicule of his associates as so often happens when a child is older. And, because his body is still very pliable, with few conflicting skills to interfere with the acquisition of new ones, he learns quickly and easily.

Essentials in Learning Skills

In the acquisition of skills, *practice* must be directed if it is to be effective. If it is left to chance and the child learns by trial and error, he will expend too much time and effort, and the end results will be disappointing, thus lessening his motivation to practice further. With *directed practice*, by contrast, learning takes place more rapidly, and the end results are more satisfying to the child (77,223).

In the early stages of skill development, the child's movements are clumsy, awkward, and uncoordinated. Gradually, waste motion is eliminated, and the movements become graceful, coordinated, and rhythmic. Furthermore, there is an increase in speed and accuracy with the result that the child can perform an act in a shorter time, with less effort, and with less concentrated attention on what he is doing (63,77,135,238).

Importance of Skills to Child

The acquisition of skills is of great personal advantage to a child. The more he can do for himself, the less he will have to depend upon others. Furthermore, skills are an asset to the young child in his early attempts to make social contacts with other children. Because his early social contacts will develop largely through play, the more play skills he has, the more successfully he can make contacts with his contemporaries (142,187,205).

Because much of a young child's free time must, of necessity, be spent at home, skills enable him to amuse himself. The child who has the necessary skills to manipulate his toys does not have to depend upon television or upon someone in the home to amuse him. This eliminates the boredom that makes young children unhappy or motivates them to get into mischief which often leads to accidents (133,140).

Unquestionably the most important value of skills to a young child is the effect they have on his concept of himself. It is ego-satisfying to a child to be independent and to know that he can now do many of the things he formerly had to rely on others to do for him (42,140). As Havighurst (120) has explained:

To an increasing extent, a child's conception of himself is tied up with the skills he has. It is as though his acceptance of himself comes in part from his ability to master different forms of the world outside himself.

Typical Skills of Early Childhood

What skills the young child will learn will depend partly upon his maturational readiness to learn but mainly upon the opportunities he has to learn them and the guid-

ance he receives in mastering them quickly and efficiently. As was touched upon earlier, children from the *poorer environments*, it has been reported, generally master skills earlier and in larger numbers than children from the more favored environments. This is not because of precocious maturational readiness but because their parents are too busy to wait on them when it is no longer necessary (37,142,223).

There are sex differences in the types of skills children learn. Early in childhood, pressures are put on boys to learn play skills that are culturally approved for members of their own sex and to avoid mastering skills that may lead to the reputation of being "sissies." They are, for example, encouraged to learn skills involved in ball play just as girls are encouraged to learn skills related to homemaking play (102,115,145).

In spite of variations, all young children learn certain common skills, though the time of learning them may vary somewhat and the proficiency with which they learn them may be different. These common skills can be divided into two major categories: hand skills and leg skills.

HAND SKILLS *Self-feeding and dressing* skills, begun in babyhood, are perfected in early childhood. By the time he is three years old, the child can feed himself with a fork and can spread butter or jam with a knife. Using the knife for cutting is too difficult until the child is a year or two older. Because eating skills at this age are still in the formative stage, the child must concentrate on what he is doing.

Dawdling usually reaches a peak between the third and fourth years, the time when the young child's ability to feed himself has not yet developed to the point

where he can eat and listen to others or watch what they are doing. As his feeding skills improve, the child can eat while listening or watching and, as a result, he will dawdle less (42,180,263).

Because the greatest improvement in dressing skills generally comes between the ages of $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, it is important that the young child be given ample opportunity and time to develop the skills necessary for him to assume the responsibility for dressing himself with minimum help from others. Beginning at the age of two years, most children enjoy manipulating buttons. By the time children are three or four years old, they can unfasten and fasten garments, and, by looking in a mirror, can even fasten buttons that are in such difficult positions as on the shoulders or at the neck. When they are six years old, they can handle all fasteners in any position (232,263,276).

Brushing the hair and bathing are skills which can be acquired easily in early childhood. At first, the child will need help in getting a straight part in his hair and in reaching the different areas of his body in bathing. But, with practice, he will gradually take over more and more responsibility for these tasks. By the time he reaches the kindergarten age, he should be able to bathe, to dress, to tie his shoes, and to comb his hair with no assistance (42,131,133).

Because ball games are one of the favorite play activities of children's groups, the sooner a child learns to *throw and catch a ball*, the better will be his chances of becoming a member of the neighborhood group. Between the ages of five and six years, most children can become proficient in throwing and catching balls (109,263).

A three-year-old can drive nails into

wood with a hammer, and a six-year-old can use his carpentry skill to make simple objects like boats and wagons. Nursery school and kindergarten children can use scissors in following the outlines of pictures, and they can mold with clay, make cookies, or sew. By using *crayons, pencils, and paints*, young children are able to color outlined pictures, draw or paint pictures of their own, and make a recognizable man. Between the ages of five and six years, children can make recognizable letters, though their writing is slow, laborious, and poor at this age (12,104,268).

While preference for one hand appears in babyhood, a definite *hand preference* is not established at that age. Between the ages of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, there is a marked shift to bilaterality. Then, from the ages of four to six years, unilateral preference predominates (12,27,50,216).

Since hand skills are being established at this age, it will be easier for the child to acquire these skills with his right hand at the very start, if he is eventually to become right-handed. As Hildreth has pointed out: "Handedness should be trained, not left to chance, since manual dexterity can affect an individual's educational and vocational success" (128). Ames and Ilg have sounded a word of caution about putting too much pressure on the young child to learn to use his right hand in preference to his left. According to them (12):

If nature is working out something so complex, it seems obvious that, in all probability, best results will be obtained if parents do not interfere with the child's natural expression of handedness other than, perhaps to present objects nearest to his right hand.

LEG SKILLS Once the skill of walking has been established, the young child turns his attention to learning other skilled movements requiring the use of his legs. He learns to *hop, skip, gallop, and jump* by the age of five or six years. At this time, not only can he run with very few falls, but he can also play games at the same time. *Climbing* skills are likewise well established in early childhood. At three years, a child can *ascend and descend ladders* (107,109,115,263).

Few children acquire the ability to *swim* before they are four years old, primarily because they lack the opportunity to learn. Between the ages of three and four years, *tricycling* can be learned. "Stunting," such as riding backward or turning the corner sharply, then enters into the skill. Other skills acquired by young children include *jumping rope, balancing on rails or on the top of a wall, roller skating, ice skating*, if the skates have double runners, and *dancing* (107,109,115,133).

Awkwardness

The child who is hampered by overprotective parents, by fear engendered by accidents or warnings to "be careful," by environmental obstacles, or by lack of opportunity to practice becomes awkward as compared with other children of his age. When he tries to do what other children do, he cannot keep up with them. As a result, he is left out of their play. This limits further his opportunity for learning and makes him increasingly more backward in his social contacts.

Because young children have no way to assess their abilities other than by comparison with their age-mates, the young child whose skills are inferior to those of his age-

mates and who, as a result, cannot keep up with them in play, soon comes to think of himself as "inferior"—a feeling which, in time, may become generalized and develop into an inferiority complex (42,133).

Even if awkwardness does not lead to the development of an inferiority complex, it almost always leads to physical timidity. This further increases his awkwardness by depriving him of opportunities for the practice skills require. Boys learn to hide their timidity as they grow older to avoid being called "sissies" by their peers (180).

General Restlessness

In spite of the growing repertoire of skills every young child develops, there is still a great deal of energy expended in random, meaningless activities which make him seem restless and nervous. The healthier the child, the more energy he has and the more restless he is apt to be (42,80,180, 187,269). Figure 5-3 shows the activity of young children in comparison with that of young adults.

Unless the child has something to occupy his attention, he is likely to become bored (179,214). The brighter the child, and the healthier he is, the more exploratory he is likely to be (179,180,187). While this has its advantages, in the sense that it encourages the child to learn about his environment, its disadvantage comes from the greater supervision he must be given to avoid injury.

One of the "problems" adults complain about in young children is that they are "never quiet" and, as a result, have to be carefully supervised every minute of the day and even after they are put to bed at night. The brighter and healthier the child is, the more "problems" he creates for those whose responsibility it is to take care of him (80).

IMPROVEMENTS IN SPEECH DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD

The foundations of speech are laid in babyhood. On these foundations will be built the speech skills which, by the time early childhood is over, will be so well established that the child's future speech will be greatly influenced by them. For this reason, early childhood is a critical period in the developmental pattern of the speech of the individual (26,83,148).

In the early years of life, speech development has been found to parallel motor development. As the neuromuscular systems mature and thus lay the foundations for motor skills, they lay the foundations for speech skills. Furthermore, for most young children environmental opportunities to acquire speech parallel opportunities to acquire motor skills (55,83,215).

Learning to speak in early childhood is important because speech is an essential tool in socialization. The child who can communicate with his peers in words they can understand makes better social contacts and is more readily accepted as a member of the play group than the child whose ability to communicate is limited. Unless he speaks as well as his classmates in school, the child will be handicapped both educationally and socially.

Tasks in Learning Speech Skills

The major tasks in learning to speak—increasing comprehension, building up a vocabulary, mastering pronunciation, and combining words into sentences—should make rapid strides during early childhood. If deprived of opportunities and guidance, the child's speech will be at a lower level than his potentials and than the speech of his age-mates.

COMPREHENSION To be able to communicate with others, the child must understand what they say to him. Otherwise, his speech will be unrelated to what they say, and his social contacts will be jeopardized. This is well illustrated in the case of children who are deaf. Because they cannot hear what others say to them, they become socially isolated (83). It is equally true of children whose speech is bilingual with the dominant language different from that of their playmates. They fail to understand what their playmates say and as a result, they too become socially isolated (83,163).

The young child can understand most of what others say to him either through comprehension of the words used or of the gestures and facial expressions that accompany these words. By the time he enters school, the child should have a large enough comprehension vocabulary to understand instructions given to him by unfamiliar people and to understand the meaning of stories read to him (42,194,268).

Comprehension is greatly influenced by how attentively the child *listens* to what is said to him. Children who are only children or who have older siblings have been found to be more attentive listeners than children from larger families or those whose ordinal position is that of the first-born. The more intelligent the child, the better listener he is (48). Listening to the radio and watching television are proving to be helpful in the development of the comprehension vocabularies of today's children, because they encourage attentive listening (42,194).

VOCABULARY BUILDING Throughout the preschool years, the child's vocabulary increases rapidly owing partly to direct teaching of words and partly to his curi-

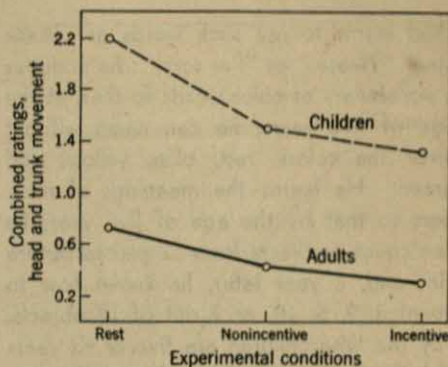


FIGURE 5-3 "RESTLESS" BODY MOVEMENTS OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG ADULTS. (ADAPTED FROM R. ELLIOTT: PHYSIOLOGICAL ACTIVITY AND PERFORMANCE: A COMPARISON OF KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN WITH YOUNG ADULTS. *Psychol. Monogr.*, 1964, 78, NO. 10. USED BY PERMISSION.)

osity about word meanings, which leads him to ask people what these words mean (194,269). Not only does the young child learn many new words, but he also learns new meanings for old words (194). While differences in spelling may make this distinction easy for an older child, a young child does not easily understand that words that sound alike often have different meanings.

He learns, for example, that "rain" means not only a weather condition but also the ruling of a monarch (reign) or a leather strap to hold a horse (rein). Also the meanings he associates with words are often different from those adults associate with the same words. For example, "table" to a child suggests "eat" and to an adult, "chair" (51).

In addition to building up a vocabulary that will be of general use, young children learn many words of a specific kind. The

child learns to use such words as "Thank you," "Please," or "I'm sorry"; he acquires a vocabulary of color words so that, at the age of five years, he can name without error the colors, red, blue, yellow, and green. He learns the meanings of numbers so that by the age of five years he can count 3 objects from 12 placed before him and, a year later, he knows how to count 3, 9, 5, 10, or 7 out of 12 objects.

By the time children are five or six years old, they can distinguish and name pennies, nickels, dimes, and even quarters. The preschool child knows and uses such time words as "morning," "afternoon," "night," "winter," and "summer" (42,194,268). Many young children pick up *slang* or even swear words from their older brothers and sisters, their parents, or their playmates. They use these words in a parrotlike fashion without any comprehension of their true meaning (42,60,83).

The size of the young child's vocabulary at different ages will depend not upon intelligence alone but also upon opportunities and motivation to learn (55). Many children have larger vocabularies than they seem to have because they have a number of different meanings associated with the same word. Girls, at every age, have been reported to have larger vocabularies than boys (42,120,151,163,174,194,231). Figure 5-4 shows the increase in vocabulary with age.

PRONUNCIATION Normally, a young child's pronunciation should improve rapidly. Whether this will happen or not will depend to a large extent upon the correctness of the models he imitates and the guidance he has in correcting mispronunciations. Young children of today have, on the whole, better pronunciation than young children in the past because many

of them hear better pronunciation over the radio and television than they hear at home (151,163,194).

Although learning to pronounce all words correctly is difficult for a child, certain sounds and sound combination have been reported to be especially difficult. As we have seen, consonants and consonant blends are more difficult for the young child than vowels and diphthongs. Among the consonants difficult to pronounce are *z*, *w*, *d*, *s*, *g*; difficult consonant blends are *st*, *str*, *dr*, and *fl*. Some of the easiest consonants for the young child to pronounce are *t*, *b*, *p*, *m*, and *n*; easy vowels are *i*, *a*, *e*, and *u* (83,194,215).

FORMING SENTENCES The formation of sentences follows a fairly definite and predictable pattern in early childhood. Short sentences of three or four words are used as early as two years of age and commonly at three years. These sentences have an excess of nouns but lack verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. Many of the child's early sentences are incomplete (119).

From the age of three years on, however, complete sentences of six to eight words frequently appear in a young child's speech. All parts of speech are then used. By the time he is six years old, the child should have command of practically every form of sentence structure (40,42,194).

Young children tend to increase the length of their sentences by combining two or more simple sentences with the conjunction "and." Bright children and those from the higher socioeconomic groups usually use longer, more complex, and better-constructed sentences than children of the same age who come from less favorable environments or who are not so bright (42,194,269). Young children of today, it has

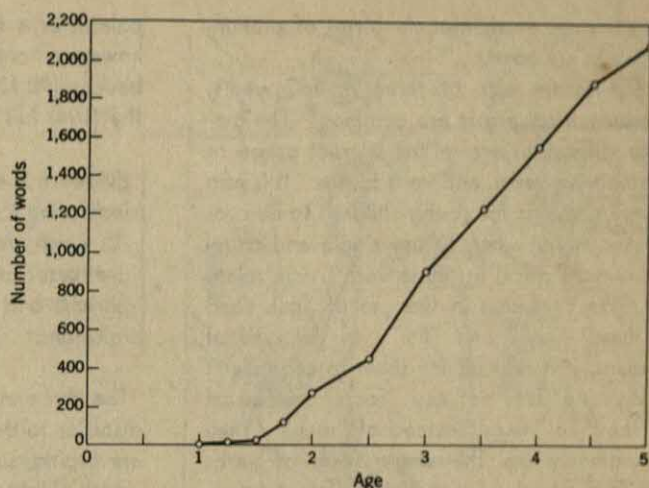


FIGURE 5-4 INCREASE IN VOCABULARY WITH AGE. (ADAPTED FROM L. P. LIPSITT: LEARNING PROCESSES OF HUMAN NEWBORNS. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1966, 12, 45-71. USED BY PERMISSION.)

been reported, speak in longer sentences, and their sentences are more correct in structure than was true of young children of past generations (267). McCarthy (194) has explained this improvement in this way:

Several possibilities account for this. Among those I would list are the advent of radio and television, fewer foreign-born and bilingual children, the rise of nursery schools affording more opportunities for language stimulation outside the home for formerly underprivileged groups of children, more leisure time for parents to spend with their children, reduced amount of time that children are cared for by nursemaids of limited verbal ability, better economic conditions allowing parents even in lower income brackets to provide more stimulating environments for their children, and finally the somewhat greater tendency for children to be

treated more permissively and to find greater acceptance in the modern home.

Speech Errors

Because learning to speak is such a difficult task, it would be surprising if young children did not make many errors. Because many words sound alike—as in the case of rain, reign, and rein, referred to above—it is logical that the child will associate some wrong meanings. Words that are composed of words the child already knows, such as "butterfly," are likely to have wrong meanings associated with them: the young child, logically, thinks that a butterfly is a fly made out of butter.

Some young children pronounce their words clearly and distinctly; some do not. It is not unusual for infantile pronunciations to persist until the child is three or even four years old (26,42,194). By the fifth or

sixth year, most infantile forms of pronunciation are gone.

Up to the age of three or four years, *grammatical errors* are common. The major difficulties are in the correct usage of pronouns, verbs, and verb tenses. It is also very common for young children to be confused about when to use single and plural nouns. Typical errors in verb usage relate to the confusion in the use of "can" and "may," "lay," and "lie." In the case of nouns, it is difficult for them to understand why one does not say "foots" instead of "feet" or "mans" instead of "men." They commonly use the single form of verbs with a plural subject. While most young children make fewer grammatical mistakes from three years of age on, they do so at a slower rate than they increase their vocabularies (120,151,194,267).

High correlations between the grammatical mistakes made by the young child and those made by his parents have been reported (55). See Figure 5-5. Many children who persist in making grammatical mistakes long after their age-mates are speaking more correctly come from the lower socioeconomic groups where the pattern of speech they hear in the home is faulty (194,267). Boys at every age, regardless of the socioeconomic status of their families, make more grammatical mistakes than girls (42,120,180,194).

Speech Disorders

In addition to making many errors in speech, some young children develop speech disorders. The term, "speech disorder," is used to refer to a serious form of erroneous pronunciation. Some disorders of pronunciation come from organic causes, especially nasal obstructions, malformations of the teeth, jaws, lips, and

palate, or a tongue-tied condition. Most, however, come from emotional disturbances (90,120,170,180,194). As McCarthy (194) has pointed out:

Evidence is accumulating in the literature indicating that most articulatory disorders ... which do not have an organic basis are associated with neuroticism in the parents and poor quality of parent-child relations.

The three most common forms of speech disorder to develop during early childhood are lisping, slurring, and stuttering. Some young children start to clutter, but this is a more common speech disorder of late childhood than of early.

LISPING Lispings or letter-sound substitution, as *th* for *s* or *z* and *w* or *l* for *r*, is one of the most common speech disorders of early childhood. During the transitional stage from first to second teeth, there is likely to be a gap in the front of the jaws where the second teeth will eventually cut through. At this time, there is often a slight lisp which, unless corrected as the new teeth develop, may become established into a habit (23,42,194,253).

SLURRING Slurring is an indistinctness of speech caused by inactivity of the lips, tongue, or jaw. This inactivity may come from timidity on the young child's part, but it more often comes from excitement—a desire to tell things quickly because they are important to him and he is excited about them.

Because speech in the preschool years has not yet become habitual, the child must give conscious attention to what he is saying, to what words he will use, and to how he will combine them into sentences.

If he tries to speed up, he runs his words together. Later, when he has mastered the tasks of speech more successfully, he can talk quickly and distinctly (42,180,194).

STUTTERING Stuttering is a repetition of sounds, syllables, or even words. It is often accompanied by a deadlocking of speech—usually referred to as "stammering"—in which the individual is unable to produce any sound and then, suddenly, sounds come out in a torrent.

Like slurring, stuttering is caused mainly by nervous and emotional tension. Between the ages of two and four years, hesitating, repetitious speech is more or less characteristic of all children. Stuttering also occurs frequently between the fifth and sixth years.

Both of these periods represent important breaks in the child's life. During the years from two to four, the child is breaking away from babyhood, and from five to six, he is breaking away from the home environment and establishing himself in the broader social environment of the school and neighborhood. Stuttering in a minor form is part of the early speech pattern of all children (32,33,194).

Content of Speech

At first, speech generally accompanies motor activity and takes the form of thinking out loud. When a little boy is playing with his train, for example, he will say, "Now I'll put the train on the tracks." Early speech is a monologue in the form of a running commentary on the child's activity rather than a conversation (28).

As children grow older, they talk more, though boys, as a rule, talk less than girls (28). There is also an increase in remarks about people and objects. In their play



"Dad, you're always correcting my grammar. But when we met them, you said 'Hi, folks—long time no see!'"

FIGURE 5-5 BECAUSE CHILDREN LEARN CORRECT SPEECH FROM IMITATION OF GOOD MODELS, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT PARENTS SPEAK CORRECTLY. (ADAPTED FROM "THE NEIGHBORS" BY GEORGE CLARK. *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, MAY 6, 1967. USED BY PERMISSION.)

with other children, children show more tendency to evoke a response from their hearers than to verbalize for the sake of doing so. There is a clear tendency for children to talk more to other people and less to themselves as they grow older (10).

Although only about 2 percent of the statements of young children are critical, most of them are unfavorable. The purpose of these unfavorable criticisms is to gain the assistance of someone in a situation beyond the child's control. Thus the criticism takes the form of *tattling*, or it is directed at interference with themselves or their possessions and takes the form of a *complaint*. In addition to criticisms and

tattling, most young children make unkind, *derogatory comments* about other people, their actions, and their possessions. They also engage in *name calling*, especially when they are angry (37,42,120,140).

Early childhood is often referred to as the "questioning age." Although it is true that some young children use questioning as a means of attracting adult attention and of holding it, many use questioning as a means of gaining information they cannot gain through their own efforts (10, 140). At first, most of the child's questions begin with "Why?" Gradually, as he approaches the school age, he adds more and more questions that begin with "What?" and "How?" (290). Refer to Figure 6-4, page 277, for a graphic illustration of age changes in children's questions.

As the size of the group becomes larger, the language of the child becomes more sociable and less egocentric. He is also slightly less critical, asks fewer questions, and gives more commands. Small social groupings are most favorable for the speech of young children. At the kindergarten age, children talk mostly to other children of their own sex (10,185).

The most frequent *topic of conversation* among young children relates to themselves and their activities. When a second person is the subject of a remark, the remark is generally a command for that person to do something (42). Topics such as likes and dislikes among people, clothes, where one lives, and matters of everyday routine predominate in the young child's conversation. Boasting is common at all ages. The young child boasts about material possessions such as his toys, his clothes, or the family car (10,72,155).

NEED FOR GUIDANCE If speech is to fulfill its major function—an aid to sociali-

zation—the child must learn to speak in a way that will win the acceptance not only of his age-mates but also of adults. Just as speaking incorrectly can develop into a habit unless steps are taken to correct the errors, so tattling, name calling, boasting, criticizing others, or talking about oneself almost exclusively can also become habitual.

Nothing will make a child unpopular more quickly than tattling. Although people may claim that "Sticks and stones will hurt my bones, but words will never harm me," they are *psychologically* hurt enough by criticisms, derogatory comments, and name calling that they prefer to find playmates and friends among those whose speech is more ego-bolstering.

Marshall, after extensive observations of the activities of preschool children with members of the peer group, has suggested a possible way for parents to help their child in social adjustments to peers at the preschool level.¹ According to her (185):

If parents and adults talk with the preschool child about more of the topics the child can use in play with other children, the child talks about and plays these topics more frequently with preschool peers, and has a better chance of social acceptance in the preschool group.

Variations in Speech

There are marked variations in how well young children speak. These variations depend not so much upon intelligence as upon *opportunities for learning*. In large families, for example, the firstborn child has more opportunities to learn to speak and more encouragement to do so than have later-born children (8,37,42,194).

Children who are brought up in institutions or who are hospitalized for a long

time have been found to be backward in their speech development: institutional life does not offer opportunities for speech development (110). The better the *socio-economic status* of the child's family, the better will be the models of speech he has to imitate and the more encouragement he will receive to learn words and to combine them into correct sentences (70,120,194,267).

The child whose parents use a foreign language in the home is confronted with the problem of *bilingualism* and must use a different language when he tries to communicate with outsiders. This adds confusion to his learning and is likely to retard his speech development in both languages (163,254). As Thompson has stressed, "There can be no doubt that the child reared in a bilingual environment is handicapped in his language growth" (269).

There are marked variations not only in how young children talk but also in how much they talk, in what they talk about, and to whom they talk. The brighter and more mature the child, the more he is likely to talk (28). Children who grow up in homes where permissive discipline is used talk more than children from homes where authoritarian discipline emphasizes that "children should be seen but not heard" (37,124,185). Firstborn and only children are encouraged to talk more than are later-born children or children from large families, where the discipline is likely to be authoritarian (8,37).

In lower-class families, family activities are less organized than in middle- and upper-class families, and there is less conversation among the members and less encouragement for the child to talk (70). Overprotective and anxious mothers encourage their children to talk less than mothers who are more relaxed in their atti-

tudes toward their maternal roles (194). While children from bilingual homes may talk as much at home as children from monolingual homes, their speech is very limited when they are with members of the peer group (163).

To whom young children talk varies markedly. The younger they are, the more their talking is directed toward adults. As they approach the end of early childhood, they talk more and more to their playmates (10,185). Children with siblings close to them in age learn to talk to other children earlier, and they talk to them more than do only children or children with siblings much older than they (37,155).

And, there are marked variations in *what* young children talk about. If they have been permitted or even encouraged to talk about themselves, their possessions, and their achievements, their speech will be egocentric long after other children of the same age have started to engage in socialized speech.

By contrast, children who are encouraged to talk about play activities at home, Marshall reported, talk about these activities when with members of the peer group (185). If the child is permitted to make derogatory comments, to name-call, and to criticize, much of his speech will concentrate on these areas (37,72,155). When the child, for example, is encouraged by the mother to tattle as a means of checking up on the activities of the other children, tattling will be one of the common topics of the young child's conversation.

EMOTIONS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD

Early childhood is a time when emotions are more common and more intense than usual. It is a time of disequilibrium when

the child is "out of focus" in the sense that he is easily aroused to emotional outbursts and, as a result, is difficult to live with and guide. This is true of the major part of early childhood; it is especially true of the ages $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ years (12). See Figure 1-14, page 29, for a graphic illustration of periods of disequilibrium. See also Figure 7-10, page 364, which shows the rise in irritability at this time.

Although any emotion may be "heightened" in the sense that it occurs more frequently and more intensely than is normal for that particular individual, heightened emotionality in early childhood is characterized by temper tantrums, intense fears, and unreasonable outbursts of jealousy. Part of the intense emotionality of children at this age may be traced to fatigue from strenuous and prolonged play, from their rebellion against taking naps, and from eating too little for their needs—the result of their rebellion against eating at meals.

Much of the heightened emotionality characteristic of this age is psychological rather than physiological in origin. Most young children feel that they are capable of doing more than their parents will permit them to do and revolt against the restrictions placed upon them. In addition, they become angry when they find they are incapable of doing what they think they can do easily and successfully.

As the child's social environment broadens and he enters Sunday school, nursery school, or kindergarten and plays with children in the neighborhood, there is the nervous tension that accompanies any adjustment. The younger and less experienced the child, the greater the tension is likely to be.

One of the reasons for the fact that young children are less appealing to and

more of a problem for their parents or those who must assume responsibility for their care is what, to adults, is their unreasonable emotionality and their constant emotional outbursts. To most parents, these outbursts are a source of annoyance, and to other family members and outsiders they are so unpleasant that every possible attempt is made to avoid the child.

Variations in Emotionality

Variations come partly from differences in the *health condition* of the child and partly from differences in the *environment*. They are also influenced by the *patterns of emotional behavior* established during the babyhood years. The child who, as a baby, was kept in a quiet environment, and whose needs were met promptly and consistently, is less likely to suffer from intense emotional outbursts as he grows older than is the child who, as a baby, lived in an environment filled with noise and excitement or learned that he had to become very angry before anyone would bother to come to him.

The young child who has been accustomed to having the undivided attention of the mother may bitterly resent her preoccupation with a new baby and show it by frequent and intense outbursts of anger and jealousy. His change from a happy, calm child to a tense and irascible one comes mainly from the change in his environment (12,140).

The sex and *ordinal position* of the child within the family has been found to have a marked influence on his emotionality. The firstborn child has more status to defend than has the second-born, and he is handicapped in his struggle with his sibling by parental restrictions. Second-born children, encouraged by their parents to de-

fend themselves, are less hesitant to express their anger and attack directly.

There is more emotional stress for the child if his sibling is of the other sex or if there is a large age difference so that he and the sibling cannot receive similar attention from the parent at the same time (37,155). The child whose parents expect him to measure up to standards they set will experience more emotional tension than will the child whose parents are more permissive (63,92,140).

Emotional Balance

During babyhood, it is possible to control the environment so that the baby will experience a minimum of the unpleasant emotions and a maximum of the pleasant. During early childhood, this is no longer true. The more independent the child becomes, the more there will be to frighten, anger, annoy, and frustrate him.

If he experiences too many of the unpleasant emotions and too few of the pleasant, it will distort his outlook on life and encourage the development of an "unpleasant disposition." In addition, he soon acquires a facial expression that makes him look surly, sullen, or generally disagreeable—an expression that contributes to the decline in his appealingness. Since unpleasant emotions can become habitual, steps should be taken to reduce the unpleasant emotions to a minimum—by preventing fears, angers, jealousies, and anxieties whenever possible and by trying to counterbalance the unpleasant emotions with stimuli that will give rise to the pleasant emotions of happiness, joy, and affection.

This does not mean that a young child should be protected from *all* situations that might give rise to unpleasant emo-

tions. It does mean, on the other hand, that reasonable prevention of unreasonable fears, jealousies, and angers should be taken and that, when this is not possible, attempts should be made to explain to the child why he cannot do certain things and why he cannot have as much attention as he may want. If he learns to *tolerate frustrations* when he is young, he will avoid developing the habit of aggressive attacks on *all* frustrations (30,255,259).

Common Emotional Patterns

Young children experience most of the emotions normally experienced by adults. However, the stimuli that give rise to them and the ways in which children express these emotions are markedly different. A hasty survey of common emotions in childhood will serve to show this and, at the same time, will emphasize the dominance of the unpleasant emotions.

ANGER Anger is the most common emotion in early childhood, partly because there are so many anger-provoking situations in a young child's life and partly because a young child soon discovers that the use of anger is a quick and easy way to get what he wants. The situations that most frequently give rise to anger in young children consist of conflicts over playthings, conflicts over toilet and dressing, interruptions of interesting activities, thwarting of wishes, vigorous attacks from another child, another child's taking a desired object, or another child's calling names (88, 140).

The social environment of the home plays an important role in the frequency and intensity of the young child's anger. More frequent temper tantrums among young children, for example, have been found to

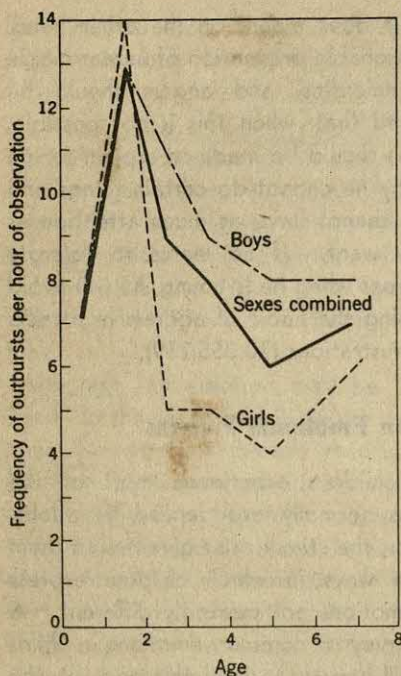


FIGURE 5-6 DECREASE IN FREQUENCY OF TEMPER OUTBURSTS WITH AGE. (ADAPTED FROM K. C. GARRISON: *Growth and development*, 2D ED. LONGMANS, 1959. USED BY PERMISSION.)

occur in homes where there are many guests and where there are more than two adults. Similarly, the child with siblings has more temper outbursts than the only child (42,155,180).

The type of discipline and the child-training methods used by parents influence the frequency and intensity of the child's angry outbursts. When parents, for example, try to transform and pattern the child's natural responses into socially acceptable forms, as in the case of eating behavior, he is likely to respond with anger (58,92,213,238).

When a young child becomes angry, he

expresses his anger in intense outbursts, or "temper tantrums." Tantrums are characterized by crying, screaming, stamping, kicking, jumping up and down, striking, throwing oneself on the floor, holding the breath, stiffening the body, or making it limp. By the age of four years, anger responses are directed more toward a given end than they are when the child is younger. Temper tantrums reach their peak of severity between the ages of three and four years.

As early childhood draws to a close, temper tantrums become shorter in duration and give way to sulking, brooding, and whining. Most tantrums last from one to three minutes (30,281). Up to the age of three years, there are no apparent sex differences in the number and severity of temper tantrums. After that age, boys have more frequent and more intense tantrums than do girls (95,180,238). See Figure 5-6.

FEAR The young child is afraid of more things than is the baby or the older child. The development of his intelligence makes it possible for him to recognize potential dangers in situations which formerly were not recognized as such. In a physical-threat situation, such as walking a plank, young children are frightened first by the novelty of the situation. Their fear decreases as the novelty wears off (122,167,190).

At first, fear is more like a state of panic than fear proper. As children become older, fear responses become increasingly more specific. The typical *fear responses* of young children include running away and hiding, avoiding situations that frighten them, and making such verbal responses as, "Take it away," "I don't want to go," or "I can't do it." Crying and whimpering

usually accompany these responses (135, 167).

Conditioning, imitation, and memories of unpleasant experiences, play important roles in the development of fear among young children. Fear of certain specific events, such as fright at the sound of applause on the radio, may lead to fears of similar or associated events, such as fear of all radios. Stories and pictures with frightening elements, radio and television programs, or movies may be the basis of many fears of young children (3,140). See Figure 5-7.

Many fears develop from imitating a person who is frightened. It is quite common for preschool children to show fears similar to those of their mothers. And, finally, many fears develop as an aftermath of some unpleasant experience, such as fear of doctors or of dentists (140,180).

The number and severity of fears decrease as children grow older. This is the result partly of the child's realization that there is nothing to be afraid of in the situation he formerly feared, partly of social pressures which have made him conceal his fear to avoid being ridiculed, partly of social imitation, and partly of adult guidance in acquiring a liking for or a negative attitude toward things he formerly feared (140,167).

As fears decrease, "anxiety"—a "painful uneasiness of mind concerning impending or anticipated ill"—often develops (140). Children who feel insecure in their homes feel uneasy if not actually afraid (156). In the case of death of a parent, for example, they feel as if they have been abandoned, but they are unable to understand why (18). This uneasy mental state may, in time, become generalized and take the form of "free-floating" anxiety in which the child will react with a mild fear to any



"But being in the woods SCARES us! Goldilocks met the bears there, Red Riding Hood met the wolf, Snow White met the witch..."

FIGURE 5-7 MANY FEARS OF YOUNG CHILDREN COME FROM MASS MEDIA. (ADAPTED FROM "THE FAMILY CIRCUS." *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, AUG. 5, 1965. USED BY PERMISSION OF THE REGISTER AND TRIBUNE SYNDICATE.)

situation which he perceives as a potential threat (255). To eliminate the unpleasant feelings anxiety brings, the child may become timid and withdrawing, thus freeing himself from the threats to his security that accompany anxiety (180).

JEALOUSY Jealousy is an angry resentment directed toward people. It is always called forth by social situations, especially those involving individuals whom the child loves. Among young children, jealousy is invariably aroused when parents or those who have taken care of the child seemingly shift their interest and attention to someone else, especially a new arrival in the family. Most often jealousy begins between the ages of two and five years, with

the birth of a younger sibling. Telling the child ahead of time of the anticipated arrival of the sibling does not necessarily avoid jealousy (140,224).

The young child may also be jealous of an older sibling who is granted more privileges than he, a situation which he frequently interprets as parental favoritism. Or he may be jealous of a sibling who, because of poor health, must be given more attention than he. The child is far less likely to be jealous of children outside the home than of his siblings, because his contacts with outsiders are limited and occur at times when the mother or some loved adult is not likely to be present.

Young children are, however, often jealous of their fathers. They develop a proprietary attitude toward the mother because of her constant association with them, and they resent her affection for their father (37,155,238).

In early childhood, jealousy expresses itself in much the same way as anger does except that it is usually directed against another person, the individual who the child believes has usurped his place in the affections of the loved one. Sometimes jealousy causes the child to revert to such infantile forms of behavior as thumb-sucking, bed-wetting, general naughtiness, or bidding for attention by refusing to eat or by pretending to be ill or afraid. Jealousy is more common among girls than among boys (37,95,180).

Firstborn children display jealousy more often and more violently than do their later-born siblings. It is more common in small families of two or three children than in larger ones. Jealousy is more frequent among children whose age difference falls between eighteen and forty-two months than when the difference is less or more (37,155,238).

CURIOSITY Young children are into everything. Nothing in the house, in a store, or in the homes of others escapes their interest if the object is different from what they have seen before. They are intensely curious about their own bodies, the bodies of other children and of adults. They want to know why bodies differ and how they work. Maw and Maw (191) have described the behavior of a curious child in this way:

He reacts positively to new, strange, incongruous, or mysterious elements in his environment by moving toward them, by exploring them or by manipulating them. He exhibits a need or a desire to know more about himself and/or his environment, he scans his surroundings seeking new experiences, and he persists in examining and exploring stimuli in order to know more about them.

Since social pressures in the form of warnings and punishment put an end to some of the sensorimotor exploration the child has previously engaged in, he begins, as soon as he can put words together into meaningful sentences, to ask endless questions, such as, "How does it work?" "Where did it come from?" and "How did it get there?" (191,194).

The "questioning age" begins between the second and third years and reaches its peak at the sixth year of the child's life. When his questions are answered, the child's curiosity is satisfied. When, however, he does not receive satisfactory answers or if his questions are unanswered, his curiosity is likely to be dampened (29, 140,191).

Young children vary greatly in the amount of curiosity they experience and in the way they express it. *Bright* children are more active in exploring their environment,

and they ask more questions than do those of lower intellectual levels (179). Many children are held back in their desire to explore by *fear*. The more secure the child is, the more he will express his curiosity (199,251). *Girls* tend to be less curious than boys because parental restrictions on their explorations are greater (251).

JOY When a young child is happy, he is literally "happy all over." Happiness in early childhood, may better be described as "joy" than "pleasure" or "delight," both of which suggest milder forms of emotion than "joy." To young children, there are many sources of joy and many things to laugh about. Physical well-being, incongruous situations, sudden or unexpected noises, slight calamities, or a play on words never fail to bring forth a laugh (37,140). Teasing others, playing pranks on children or adults, and putting animals or other children in a predicament lead to feelings of superiority which make him happy. The young child can understand incongruities and slapstick comedy better than other forms of humor and thus finds them amusing in real-life situations, in the comics, in the movies, or on the television screen (10, 15,42,140).

One of the most common forms of joy in early childhood is achievement, especially when it comes as a climax of much effort on his part. However, whether this achievement will lead to joy will depend, to a large extent, upon how other people react to his achievement. Should the mother, for example, expect more than the child is capable of, her reaction to his achievement may be such that it will take away the joy he otherwise would have experienced (63).

The joy response consists of smiling, laughing—often uproariously—clapping the

hands, jumping up and down, or hugging the object or person who elicited his emotion. The manner in which the child will express his joy will depend not only on the intensity of the emotion but also on the social pressures on him to control it (10, 95).

AFFECTION The young child learns to love those who give him pleasure and satisfaction. Not only human beings but also animals and inanimate objects call forth expressions of affection on the part of the young child (37). At this age, the "empathic complex"—the particular emotional linkage between a child and the significant people in his environment—is first established. Whether the child will learn to form such attachments to people in the home or outside the home will depend largely on how they treat him (37).

The child who does not receive affection from others, whether it be from family members or from outsiders, is likely to become "self-bound," and this interferes with his emotional exchange with others (4). Equally serious is the development of too strong an affection for one person—especially for one parent. As Garrison (95) has explained:

Love seems to be a two-way affair and grows best when it is both given and received. A constant rejection in the home may leave the child's capacity for giving forth affection undeveloped, or may cause him to seek affection from individuals outside the home. Overaffection and indulgence may have as undesirable effects as lack of affection or rejection. ...There is, therefore, the danger that overaffection for one or both parents will tend to exclude affection for children of the child's own age level.

Another serious consequence of a too strong emotional tie between parent and child is that it predisposes the child to feel insecure and anxious whenever the parent's behavior suggests a threat to the child, such as when he is reproved for misbehavior or when the parent pays attention to another sibling (255). The child who continues to be emotionally dependent on his parents or on one parent will find it difficult to establish friendly relationships with other children (122,185,281).

Young children express their affection in much the same uncontrolled manner as they express other emotions. The expressions may be physical or verbal, though verbal expressions are more frequent than physical, especially as children grow older (4,37,140). They hug, kiss, and pat the loved person or object. They want to be with the loved one constantly, they cry or whimper when the loved one leaves them, and they want to do what the loved one is doing. The child feels much the same way about favorite pets and toys as he does about beloved persons. He wants to have the pet or toy with him constantly, even when he goes to bed, and he is frequently merciless in his fondling of it (37, 140,209).

As the young child's need for affection shifts from family members to outsiders, there are changes in the expression of affection from seeking reassurance and affection from others to seeking attention and approval (42,122,140). The most spontaneous expressions of affection generally occur among children of the lower socioeconomic groups (140). Girls tend to be more affectionate than boys, and both choose children and adults of their own sex for their affectionate responses more than they do members of the opposite sex (185,281).

PATTERN OF EARLY SOCIALIZATION

As we have seen, early childhood is the "pregang" stage of social development. At this time the child should acquire the preliminary training and experience needed to become a member of a "gang" in late childhood. Normally, the number of contacts young children have with their peers increases with each passing year. Not only do they play more with other children, but they also talk more with them (185). This is illustrated in Figure 5-8.

However, the *kind* of social contacts the young child has is more important than the number. If he enjoys his contacts with others, even if they are only occasional, his attitude toward future social contacts will be more favorable than if he has many social contacts of a less favorable kind. Furthermore, the advantage he takes of the opportunities offered him for social contacts will be greatly influenced by how pleasurable his past social contacts have been (42,140,185).

Importance of Early Social Experiences

As the social world of the young child expands, early parental attachments are gradually outgrown and are replaced by relationships with individuals outside the family circle. Early social experiences outside the home are often emotionally disturbing to the child, especially if he is younger than the other children with whom he associates and, as a result, is teased and bullied by them (57,122).

The young child's success in adjusting to outside social contacts will be greatly influenced by the type of social experiences he has had at home. Children brought up democratically, it has been found, make better social adjustments outside the home

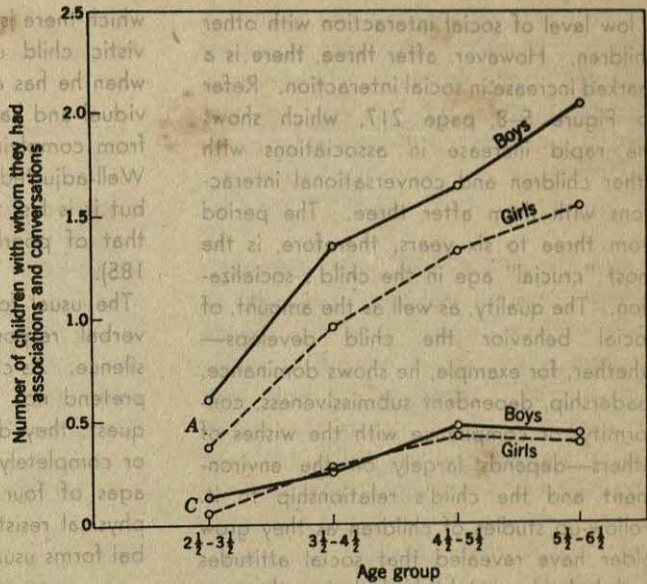


FIGURE 5-8 CHILDREN PLAY MORE WITH AND TALK MORE TO OTHER CHILDREN AS THEY GROW OLDER. (ADAPTED FROM H. R. MARSHALL: RELATIONS BETWEEN HOME EXPERIENCES AND CHILDREN'S USE OF LANGUAGE IN PLAY INTERACTIONS WITH PEERS. *Psychol. Monogr.*, 1961, 75, NO. 5. USED BY PERMISSION.)

than do those from authoritarian home environments (37,58,238). The child's position in the family—whether firstborn, last-born or only child—and the type of relationship he has with his siblings will affect his social adjustments outside the home (31,140,155). Young children who are emotionally dependent on their parents give the impression that they are "tied to their mothers' apron strings." This affects their relationships with their peers, making them unpopular and causing them to be rejected as playmates (193,200). Children who receive guidance in their early social experiences find them more pleasurable. This increases their desire to repeat them and their motivation to try to learn to be-

have in a socially approved manner so as to increase their acceptance by their peers (47).

FORMS OF EARLY SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

The most important forms of social behavior necessary for successful social adjustment appear and begin to develop at this time. In the early years of childhood, they are not developed well enough to enable the child to get along successfully with others at all times. However, this is a crucial stage in their development because, at this time, the basic social attitudes and the patterns of social behavior are established (97,179,209).

Children under three years of age show

a low level of social interaction with other children. However, after three, there is a marked increase in social interaction. Refer to Figure 5-8, page 217, which shows the rapid increase in associations with other children and conversational interactions with them after three. The period from three to six years, therefore, is the most "crucial" age in the child's socialization. The quality, as well as the amount, of social behavior the child develops—whether, for example, he shows dominance, leadership, dependent submissiveness, conformity, or compliance with the wishes of others—depends largely on the environment and the child's relationship to it. Follow-up studies of children as they grow older have revealed that social attitudes and behavior established during the preschool years persist with little modification and change (93,145,200).

The most important forms of social behavior which develop during early childhood are discussed briefly below. Many of these appear to be unsocial or anti-social rather than social, but each is important to the socialization of the child.

NEGATIVISM, or resistance to adult authority, begins in babyhood. As Macfarlane et al. (180) have explained:

Negativism is an interesting combination of self-assertion, self-protection, and of resistance to excessive pressures. Children learn that resistance is their best defense in the face of erratic training, or when quick-tempered persons push slow-tempered persons too fast.

At the age of two or three years, negativism is a normal phase of ego development. It generally reaches its peak between the ages of three and four years, after

which there is a rapid decline. The negativistic child usually becomes cooperative when he has established himself as an individual and has learned to gain satisfaction from complying with the wishes of others. Well-adjusted children show negativism, but it is less frequent and less severe than that of poorly adjusted children (22,134,185).

The usual forms of negativism consist of verbal responses, motor responses, and silence. As children grow older, they often pretend not to hear or understand a request; they dawdle over routine activities or completely neglect them. Between the ages of four and six years, a decline in physical resistance and an increase in verbal forms usually occur (35,180).

IMITATION The earliest forms of imitation use parents as models. With the beginnings of interest in other children, the child imitates their speech, actions, and emotions. He is, in this way, trying to identify himself with the group. The child does not imitate everyone with whom he is associated. Instead, he tries to imitate those for whom he has a warm attachment and with whom he wants to be identified. If a young child, for example, finds his relationships with the mother satisfying, he will imitate her speech and actions. Later, he will accept her interests and values as his own (81).

Similarly, the child singles out one or more playmates with whom he enjoys playing for identification and imitates them. This is often the leader of the play group. When he is older, he is more likely to follow the pattern set by the group as a whole than by one member of it (132,134,228). When a young child has a close, personal attachment with an older sibling, especially a sibling of the same sex, that

sibling becomes a model whom the young child tries to imitate in every possible way (37,155).

RIVALRY The desire to excel or outdo others is apparent as early as the fourth year of life. The young child's bragging about his possessions is a form of rivalry. It is usually displayed in the presence of another, generally an adult for whose attention the child is competing. Rivalry is very common in the home, especially where sibling jealousy exists. It is more often found in families where the children are of both sexes or where the mother shows a preference for one child (37,155,238).

AGGRESSION Aggression is a common reaction to frustration (139,185,238). Aggressiveness is especially strong in children who want power and dominance or who are identified with an aggressive adult (21, 244). Boys are, as a rule, more aggressive than girls (82,116,201,281). Popular children express their aggression within the context of their play and have a definite, single recipient of their aggression; unpopular children tend to attack anyone they are with, whether or not that person has done anything to deserve it (21,75).

The better the child knows the other children, the more aggressive he is likely to be. Children tend to be more aggressive when there is an adult around whose attention they want to attract (116,244). Aggressiveness in children increases from two to four years and then declines. By contrast, friendly, affectional approaches to other children increase with age and social experience (22,281). This is illustrated in Figure 5-9.

By the time the child is four or five years old, he expresses aggression verbally more often than by direct physical attack (116,

281). The younger the child, the more attacking he does and the more he cries. As he grows older, his verbal attacks generally take the form of name calling or blaming others. He also attacks indirectly by tattling to an adult about what the other child has done (21,75,82,139,201).

QUARRELING When the child quarrels, he takes away toys that the other child is playing with, he is destructive of the other child's work, and he generally screams, cries, kicks, hits, and bites. The outbursts, though intense, are usually short in duration. After they are over, they are forgotten, and the friendly relationship that prevailed before the quarrel is resumed.

Quarreling generally starts in a conflict over property, such as toys. However, it may start when one child teases or bullies another (185,208,209). Quarreling between siblings in the home is very common during the early childhood years. The more permissive the discipline of the home, the more quarreling between siblings there will be (37,155,168).

The age of three years is generally the peak of quarreling. After that, improved social adjustments bring about a decrease in the frequency and intensity of quarrels. Boys are more quarrelsome than girls, especially when paired with other boys (208, 283). Children of the lower socioeconomic levels quarrel more than do those of the higher. The more social contacts a child has with other children, the more quarreling he is likely to do (140). However, quarrels have a socializing value in that they teach the child what others will and will not tolerate.

COOPERATION Because very young children are self-centered and quarrelsome, there is little cooperation in their play with

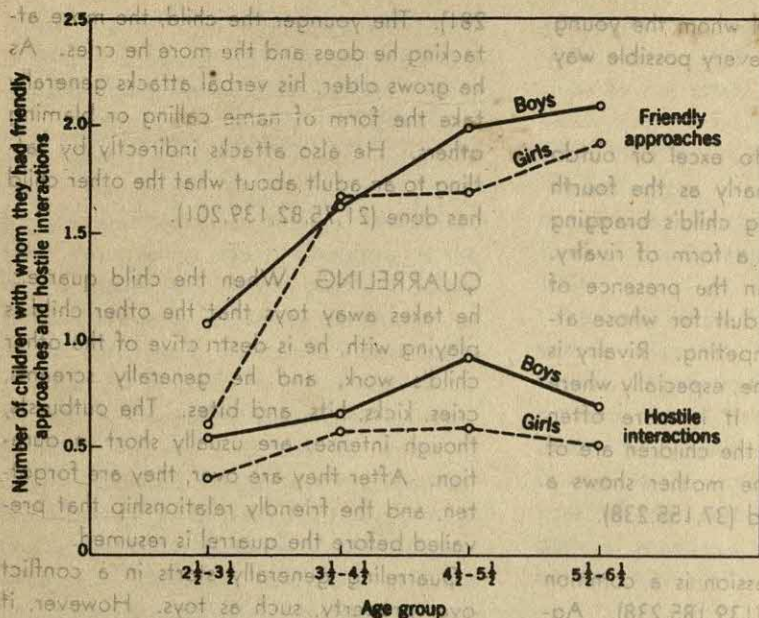


FIGURE 5-9 THERE IS A DECLINE IN HOSTILE INTERACTIONS AND AN INCREASE IN FRIENDLY APPROACHES TO MEMBERS OF THE PEER GROUP AS CHILDREN GROW OLDER AND HAVE MORE SOCIAL EXPERIENCES. (ADAPTED FROM H. R. MARSHALL: RELATIONS BETWEEN HOME EXPERIENCES AND CHILDREN'S USE OF LANGUAGE IN PLAY INTERACTIONS WITH PEERS. *Psychol. Monogr.*, 1961, 75, NO. 5. USED BY PERMISSION.)

other children. Even with adults they cooperate little because the adult has a tendency to give in to the child and to allow him to have his own way (127,154). By the end of the third year, however, cooperative play and group activities are more frequent and longer in duration. With practice, the child learns to cooperate with other children and to play in an increasingly harmonious manner. The stronger the ties of friendship between young children, the more cooperative is their play (37,208,209).

ASCENDENT BEHAVIOR Almost all young children show a strong tendency to be "bossy." The child attempts to direct

and influence the behavior of his playmates (155,180). From three years of age on, ascendancy increases with the increase in opportunities for social contacts. This reaches its peak around the fifth year. Whether ascendent behavior will take the form of bossiness, leadership, or undifferentiated ascendancy will depend partly on the child's environment. Girls are significantly more dominating than boys in their play with other children during the preschool years (155,180).

SELFISHNESS Selfishness reaches its peak between the fourth and sixth years. It is not surprising that after being the center of attention during the early part of his

life, the young child is egocentric and wants everything his way. Only after he learns from playing with other children that being selfish is a handicap to him does he try to submerge his self-interests into those of the group. Then he begins to be more generous with his possessions and is willing to share them with his playmates. Generosity, however, is still in a very undeveloped form in the early childhood period (112,140,272).

SYMPATHY Sympathy requires an understanding of the feelings and emotions of others. Occasionally a three-year-old will respond sympathetically to persons whose distress is made apparent by the use of bandages colored with iodine and by scars and scratches; to physical dilemmas, such as a fall from a bicycle; and to a child attacked by another child (208).

The child shows his sympathy by attempting to help others, by trying to remove the cause of distress, by protecting those in distress, by warning and telling others about the individuals in distress, and by suggesting solutions. Occasionally, however, unsympathetic responses such as laughing at a person in distress occur (42, 272).

SOCIAL APPROVAL At first, the approval of adults is more important to the child than the approval of other children (140, 180,238). The young child seeks the attention of adults by glances, questions, comments, and urgent responses for overt notice. Boys seek the attention of women more than of men (97,180,194). Unlike the baby who is often afraid of strangers, the young child tends to be more influenced by strangers than by parents (25). This is illustrated in Figure 5-10.

As interest in being with the group in-

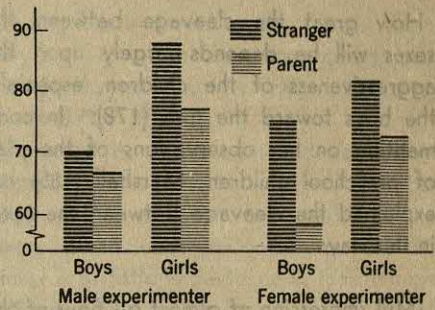


FIGURE 5-10 THE YOUNG CHILD IS OFTEN MORE INFLUENCED BY STRANGERS THAN BY PARENTS. (ADAPTED FROM H. W. STEVENSON, R. KEEN AND R. M. KNIGHTS: PARENTS AND STRANGERS AS REINFORCING AGENTS FOR CHILDREN'S PERFORMANCE. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1963, 67, 183-186. USED BY PERMISSION.)

creases, the desire for approval from his companions becomes more important to the child than approval from adults. This may lead the child to be naughty and disturbing. Socially unacceptable behavior is frequently motivated by the child's preference for approval from his companions to that from adults (180,209).

SEX CLEAVAGES Up to the time boys and girls are four years old, they play together harmoniously with no real preference for members of either sex. After four, a cleavage between the sexes begins to appear; it becomes marked after five years of age. At first, children show a preference for certain types of play with members of one sex and certain other types with members of the opposite sex. Later, they show a preference for *all* play with members of their own sex and a tendency to treat members of the opposite sex with disdain if not actual contempt (2,57,178). See Figure 6-7, page 285.

How great the cleavage between the sexes will be depends largely upon the aggressiveness of the children, especially the boys toward the girls (178). In commenting on her observations of the play of preschool children, Marshall (185) has explained the cleavage between the sexes in this way:

[My] impression of almost all boys of this age ($4\frac{1}{2}$ – $5\frac{1}{2}$), regardless of school group, was that they were noisy, rough, slam bang 'shooters' and 'clobberers,' and that they were regarded as public enemies by the girls in the group during most of the play observed. . . . The hostile behavior of these boys suggested that they were solving some life problem or were generally frustrated.

Although the "life problem" young boys are trying to solve and the situation that causes them to be "generally frustrated" may differ, most boys at this age are under strong pressure to reject girls, girls' play, and "girls' play materials" in favor of boys, regardless of their personal preferences. Fathers, older brothers, and male members of the peer group make it clear to the boy that they regard any boy who prefers playing with girls to playing with boys as a "sissy" and that, by comparison with boys who prefer more masculine activities and companionship, he seems immature and "kiddish" (13,155). In their attempts to conform to such pressures, many boys go to the extreme of trying to be "real boys"; this results in their aggressive behavior which antagonizes the girls (114,185).

PREJUDICE Racial prejudice begins sooner than religious or socioeconomic, though later than sex prejudice. In one study, for example, it was reported that preference

for members of their own sex appeared at four years, and preference for members of their own race did not appear until children were five years old. Boys showed a greater preference for members of their own race sooner than girls did (2).

In most cases, preschool children show a preference for playmates of their own race rather than a dislike for those of other races. There is little refusal to accept members of another race as playmates but a definite preference for playmates of their own race (193,204). This may be described as "racial bias" rather than "racial prejudice." The reason for this "racial bias" is that they feel more "comfortable" and "at home" with members of their own race than with members of another race. As McCandless et al. (193) have explained:

Children in one ethnic group do not actively avoid members of the other group, but differentially approach the members of their own group.

Companions in Early Childhood

Between the ages of two and three years, the child begins to grow restless when his companions are limited to adults. At this time, he shows a decided interest in watching other children, and he attempts to make social contacts with them. "Parallel play," in which the child plays independently beside children rather than with them, is the earliest form of social activity with his contemporaries (42,140).

Following this comes "associative play," in which the child plays with other children in similar, if not identical, activities, and "cooperative play," in which he is a part of a group. Frequently children play the role of an onlooker in which they watch other children at play. By the time the

child is four years old, he shows the rudiments of team play, is conscious of the opinions of others, and tries to gain attention by "showing-off" (134,180,185). Refer to Figure 5-9, page 220, for a graphic illustration of how friendly contacts with other children increase with age and how aggressive interactions decrease.

Normally, the young child's companions are limited in number and variety. For the most part, they consist of adults in the family, siblings, and children in the immediate neighborhood. The child who comes from a large family will, of course, have more companions than the only child or than the child from a small family. Only if the young child attends Sunday school, nursery school, or kindergarten does the circle of his companions outside the home enlarge to any marked extent.

The young child's relationships with family members play an important role in his adjustments to children outside the home. Only children or those with siblings widely separated in age or of a different sex are likely to be withdrawn when they are with other children. When the siblings are of the same sex, the child has more difficulty in associating with peers of the opposite sex (37,155).

Children who are *emotionally* dependent on their parents make poorer social contacts with members of the peer group. *Instrumental* dependence—or depending on others for help—does not affect the type of relationship the child has with other children (117,193). Dependence on peers does not interfere with a young child's popularity as it does when it is on adults (200).

Children brought up with strict, authoritarian child training tend to be more withdrawn and less talkative when with other children than do children whose home

training is more democratic. As a result, they are less often chosen as companions, though they are not actually disliked or rejected (37,185,238).

Companions of the same age and level of maturity are important at this time. Because young children are relatively unaware of socioeconomic differences, this factor is of little importance in their choice of friends (137,147).

STABILITY OF PLAYMATES Young children show far less stability in their choice of companions than do older children. In a study of kindergarten children, it was found that, during a ten-week period, boys changed their friends more often than girls, and the most frequent changes came between the fourth and six weeks. Boys changed from girl to boy playmates to avoid being considered "sissies" by the other children, and they shifted from one boy to another when they found that a boy they played with was a "toughie." Girls likewise shifted from boy to girl friends, showing the beginning of sex preferences, which are so strong in friendships developed during the late childhood years (257).

SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY When the child begins to play with other children, his acceptance or rejection by them soon becomes apparent. The outstanding trait that makes for popularity among young children is the acceptance of a situation, such as willingness to do what others do, offering no resistance, complying with requests, and accepting gracefully what happens. The popular child is conscientious in his conformity to the group ways. Girls, at this age, are more popular than boys with members of both sexes. Bright children are generally more popular than the less bright (57,65,193).

The unpopular child at the preschool age, on the other hand, is one who attacks vigorously, who strikes frequently, or pushes and pulls. Added to the aggressive behavior of unpopular children are frequent attempts to escape responsibility, such as clinging to an adult or running away; dawdling; refusals to comply with the requests of others; and failure to conform to the routine (57,264,281).

Furthermore, the unpopular child usually has objectionable personality traits. The child who is rejected by others often tries to force himself into the group and this increases his unpopularity. Being rejected by others tends to make a child "self-bound," and this sets up barriers that interfere with possible acceptance as the child grows older (171,172,193).

Substitute Companions

The young child who has few companions either in the home or outside the home is lonely and restless. To satisfy his desire for companionship, he often substitutes *imaginary companions* for real companions. This is a natural developmental phenomenon and is especially characteristic of the age period from 2½ to 4½ years (135, 256).

Having an imaginary companion is a temporary solution to the lonely-child problem, but it does little to socialize the young child. He is likely to acquire the habit of dominating his playmates, which is possible with an imaginary playmate but frequently is not possible with a real child. When he discovers that the technique that worked so successfully with his imaginary playmate does not work with real children, the child is likely to become a maladjusted member of the group (42,256).

Another form of substitute companion

that meets the social needs of a young child is having a *pet* to play with. Little children like any animal they can watch, handle, pat, hug, squeeze, or kiss. Hamsters, cats, dogs, white mice, and rabbits are their favorites because they are soft and furry and, in most cases, willing to allow the child to do whatever he wants to do to them.

While pets meet, to some extent, the social needs of a child, they lack the socializing influence that the child should have. A pet that is considered suitable for a young child is usually so docile that he will take any treatment from the child without a protest. This encourages the child to be aggressive in his relationships with the pet, even though he may at times show affectional reactions. As was stressed earlier, to be an accepted member of the play group, aggressive reactions must give way to friendly, affectional ones.

Leaders in Early Childhood

In early childhood, the leader is characteristically superior in size, intelligence, and usually in age to the other members of the group. Superior age and intelligence make it possible for him to offer suggestions for play which the other children, because of their habitual reliance upon adult suggestions, are willing to follow. The big child has the advantage over smaller children in that children tend to respect size as a result of their constant contact with adults and their habits of obedience to adult requests (37,66,155).

Most leaders in early childhood are tyrannical bosses who show little consideration for the wishes of others. When tyranny becomes too great, the leader loses status and is replaced by another (89,113). In addition to "bossy" leaders, or the bully

type, leaders in early childhood are sometimes "diplomats" who lead others by indirect and artful suggestions or by bargains. Girls, at this age, frequently assume the role of leadership in groups containing boys (66,89).

PLAY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

The play interests of young children conform more or less closely to a pattern which is markedly influenced by their maturational readiness for certain forms of play and by the environment in which they are growing up. However, there are variations in this pattern. Children of high *intelligence*, for example, show a preference for dramatic play and creative activities and for books which inform rather than merely amuse. In their constructions, they make more complicated designs with greater originality than children who are less bright (115,286).

Even in the preschool years, children become aware of the fact that certain types of play and certain types of toys are considered more *sex-appropriate* for one sex than for the other. This influences the type of play equipment they use and the way they play with it (118). Boys are more aware of the sex appropriateness of toys than are girls (67). This is shown in Figure 5-11. Boys also, throughout early childhood, show a wider range of play interests than do girls (61).

The amount of play equipment children have and the amount of space they have to play in—both of which are influenced by the *socioeconomic status* of the family—will also influence the patterns of their play. Socioeconomic status likewise influences the amount of *supervision* they have in their play (115).

This is well illustrated in the case of tele-

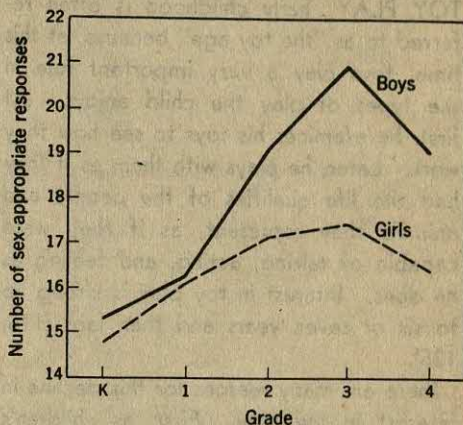


FIGURE 5-11 THE CHILD'S AWARENESS OF SEX APPROPRIATENESS OF TOYS BEGINS EARLY, WITH BOYS MORE AWARE THAN GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM L. A. DELUCIA: THE TOY PREFERENCE TEST: A MEASURE OF SEX ROLE IDENTIFICATION. *Child Developm.*, 1963, 34, 107-117. USED BY PERMISSION.)

vision watching. Children of lower socioeconomic families spend more time watching television and parents exert less control over what they watch than do middle-class families. In addition, lower-class families frequently use refusal to view a favorite program as punishment for childish misbehavior. This far less often happens in middle-class families (31).

Common Patterns of Play

In spite of these variations, there are certain patterns of play that are found almost universally among children of preschool age in the American culture of today. Of these, the following are the most important: toy play; dramatization; construction; games; reading; movies, radio, and television.

TOY PLAY Early childhood is often referred to as "the toy age" because, at this time, toys play a very important role in the types of play the child enjoys. At first, he examines his toys to see how they work. Later, he plays with them as if they had the life qualities of the people and animals they represent, as if they were capable of talking, acting, and feeling as he does. Interest in toy play is strong up to six or seven years and then lags (115, 135).

There are many reasons for this decline in interest in toy play. *First*, as children's reasoning ability develops, they can no longer endow inanimate objects with life qualities as they formerly did. This is especially true of bright children (140,172). *Second*, toy play is more often solitary than social. As the child's desire to play with other children increases, his interest in any form of solitary play decreases (42, 133,206). *Third*, toy play is associated with "babies." As the child approaches the school age, he is anxious to create the impression that he is "grown up." And, *finally*, games with competition appeal more to the child as he grows older than play in which competition is lacking (115, 173).

DRAMATIZATION Dramatization begins to enter into the child's play between the second and third years. Dolls, soldiers, and stuffed animals become living creatures; and wagons, dollhouses, and coaches make it possible for the child to dramatize scenes from real life in his play. The characters in the dramatic play of young children tend to be stereotypes, such as "mother," "baby," and "teacher." By putting on a garment belonging to the mother, the little girl can easily think of

herself as the "mother" of her dolls. Or, a doll dressed like an adult can be used to play the role of "mother" for the dolls that represent babies or young children (106, 115,202,247).

Dramatic play follows a definite pattern in which personification, such as talking to dolls or stuffed animals, predominates before the age of three years. Following this is make-believe use of materials, such as drinking from an empty cup, and then, among those who are four years of age and older, there are make-believe situations involving companions and the use of materials, such as playing house, or dramatizing scenes from movies, television shows, or books that have been read to them. In dramatic play, the child often pretends he is someone he loves or would like to resemble (115,140,185,219).

Very *bright* children engage more in dramatic play than do those of lower intellectual levels. Their play is also more original and more elaborate in pattern (172). There are also marked sex differences in dramatic play. Boys have more ideas for dramatic play than girls, partly because the television shows, movies, and comics are more slanted to boys' interests than to girls' and partly because parents talk to their sons more about topics, such as cowboys and fighting, that can be used for dramatizations than they talk to girls about topics they can dramatize (185). Figure 5-12 shows the greater number of roles boys play in dramatic play than girls do.

Sex differences are also evident in the themes of dramatizations. For example, although both boys and girls will play house, boys play the role of "father" and girls, the role of "mother." Boys would not play "nurse," nor would girls play "cow-

boy" or "policeman." If playing store, the boy would play the role of "clerk" and the girl, the role of "buyer" (185).

CONSTRUCTION The young child spends much of his play time making things with sand, mud, clay, blocks, beads, paints, crayons, scissors, and paste. He uses blocks, for example, to build bridges, tunnels, or houses. Most of his constructions are in imitation of what he sees in daily life (115,183,206).

The young child's *drawings and paintings* are symbolic, not direct copies of objects. He is more interested in color than in form, proportions, or perspective. He puts in details that interest him, such as the buttons on a man's coat, and these are usually proportionally too large. Most of his drawings are of people, usually adults, houses, trees, trains, animals, and flowers (133,140).

GAMES Around the fourth or fifth year, the child becomes interested in playing games with the children in the neighborhood. These "neighborhood games," such as tag, hide-and-seek, cat-and-mouse, cops-and-robbers, advancing statues, and going to Jerusalem, are of the *undefined-group* type in which any number of children can take part. Games at this age are simple, involve few rules, and often are invented on the spot.

Games that test skill, such as jumping rope, playing jacks, and bouncing balls, are likewise popular toward the end of early childhood. These are played individually rather than in a group and involve little competition (115,263).

READING Long before the child can read, he likes to look at pictures in his

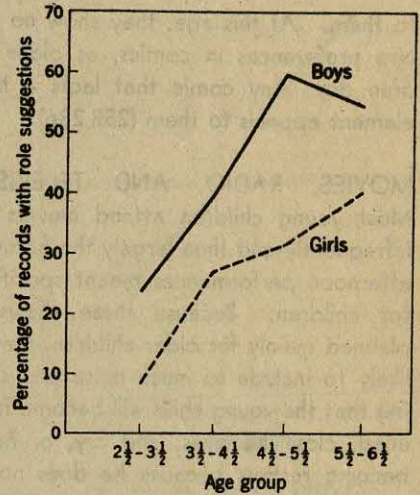


FIGURE 5-12 BOYS PLAY A LARGER NUMBER OF ROLES IN DRAMATIC PLAY THAN GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM H. R. MARSHALL: RELATIONS BETWEEN HOME EXPERIENCES AND CHILDREN'S USE OF LANGUAGE IN PLAY INTERACTIONS WITH PEERS. *Psychol. Monogr.*, 1961, 75, NO. 5. USED BY PERMISSION.)

storybooks and to have someone read to him (194). Simple fairy and nature stories have great appeal at this age. The classic fairy tales, such as "Little Red Riding Hood" and "Cinderella," the more modern, fanciful stories, such as "Little Black Sambo," the Mother Goose jingles, and stories about animals and everyday people doing everyday things all appeal to young children (11,39,46).

They prefer stories that "could happen," however, to those that "actually happened," and enjoy stories that are sprinkled with a *bit* of unreality more than those that are factual and real (11,54,219).

Young children like to look at the pictures in the comics and to have the comics read

to them. At this age, they show no definite preferences in comics, as older children do. Any comic that lacks a terror element appeals to them (258,286).

MOVIES, RADIO, AND TELEVISION

Most young children attend *movies* very infrequently and then largely the Saturday-afternoon performances meant specifically for children. Because these shows are planned mainly for older children, they are likely to include so much noise and shooting that the young child will become frightened, close his eyes, and cry, or he will become restless because he does not understand the picture.

Radio listening and *television* watching, on the other hand, appeal far more to him because there are programs designed specifically for preschool children, and these can be enjoyed in the security of the home. For the most part, the programs he likes parallel what he likes in reading—stories about people and animals with a bit of unreality (176,227). In addition, most young children like to watch television programs meant for older children and adults because of their excitement (236).

Studies of time spent on radio listening and television watching have revealed that more time is spent on television than on radio. At three, for example, the child listens only occasionally to radio and, at five, to several favorite programs weekly (236,286). By contrast, at these ages most American children are seeing television regularly and are spending two to four hours daily on television watching (185, 236). Figure 5-13 shows the increase in time spent in television watching from 2½ to 6½ years. The young child who has few opportunities to play with other children, or who does not find play with other children enjoyable, spends proportionally too

much of his play time before the television screen (125,175,185).

Because young children spend relatively little time listening to radio and, then, mainly to children's programs, there is evidence that radio has few undesirable effects and serves as a pleasurable form of recreation (286). This is not true of television watching. The harmful effects of too much television watching, especially when there is little or no control over the programs seen, include nervous tension, nightmares, and increased aggressiveness in play with other children. While many parents claim that television watching is not harmful to young children because they do not "understand what they see," they fail to realize that children are less critical than adults and, therefore, are more influenced by what they see on the screen than adults are. They may not understand what they see, but they often get *misconceptions* or distortions of what they were *supposed* to see. This makes even a harmless program harmful to the young child (125,175,236, 243,286).

DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERSTANDING

New experiences lead to new meanings which are associated with meanings established in babyhood. The child now begins to notice details which formerly escaped his attention. As a result, he is not so apt to confuse objects, situations, or people that have elements in common, as he formerly did. His concepts become more specific and meaningful to him (195,230, 275,288).

The young child's feelings and emotions have a marked influence on his developing concepts. In time, they become "emotionally weighted" and, as a result, are dif-

ficult to change (188,288). The young child, for example, whose concept of Christmas has been built up around Santa Claus with its pleasurable emotional weighting will be resistant to changing his concept about Christmas when he discovers that there is no Santa Claus. Instead of revising it to include its religious meaning, he will claim that "Christmas doesn't mean anything now" (160).

Because of his limited experiences with people and things and his limited vocabulary, it is understandable that many of the young child's concepts would be inaccurate or actually faulty (15,230,288). Furthermore, when concepts are heavily weighted with emotional accompaniments, there is resistance to change even when new knowledge would increase the accuracy of formerly learned concepts (284).

Common Concepts of Early Childhood

Many of the concepts developed in the early years of childhood are common among children in the American culture of today because of common learning experiences. Others are individual and depend upon the learning opportunities of that particular child. A young child, for example, whose parents take him to remote parts of the world when his father's business requires travel to such areas, will develop concepts of people and patterns of life unlike those of children whose childhood is spent in one particular place in the United States.

Of the different categories of concepts developed in early childhood, the following are the most common and most important: concepts of life and death, concepts of space, concepts of weight, number concepts, time concepts, concepts of self, social concepts, aesthetic concepts, and concepts of the comic.

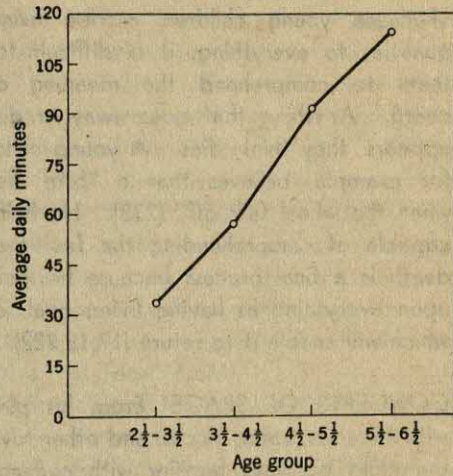


FIGURE 5-13 THERE IS AN INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT IN WATCHING TELEVISION FROM 2 1/2 TO 6 1/2 YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM H. R. MARSHALL: RELATIONS BETWEEN HOME EXPERIENCES AND CHILDREN'S USE OF LANGUAGE IN PLAY INTERACTIONS WITH PEERS. *Psychol. Monogr.*, 1961, 75, NO. 5. USED BY PERMISSION.)

CONCEPTS OF LIFE AND DEATH Young children believe that all objects have the same life qualities as humans. "Living" is more often applied to inanimate objects than "having life." *Animism*, or the tendency to ascribe living qualities to inanimate objects, is responsible for many of the faulty concepts of young children. When asked, "What makes the engine go?" even young children recognize that a person is involved in the movement of the engine (233,247,288). Adults often encourage animistic thinking in young children by their emphasis on the living qualities of the child's toys and by reading them books or telling them stories about inanimate objects which act as if they were alive (39,46,161,237).

Because young children ascribe living qualities to everything, it is difficult for them to comprehend the meaning of death. Anything that goes away or disappears, they think, dies. A young child, for example, believes that a "bike dies when the wheel falls off" (233). He is incapable of comprehending the fact that death is a final process because he looks upon everything as having living qualities which will enable it to return (17,18,222).

CONCEPTS OF SPACE From his play with tricycles, carts, blocks, and other toys, the child becomes familiar with common cues which help him to perceive short distances if they are studied in relation to his body. Longer distances, because they are unrelated to his body, are still very difficult to judge accurately. By the age of four years, perception of short distances is similar to that of an adult. The child's ability to perceive differences in form increases gradually from two to six years (84,250).

The ability to distinguish between right and left begins to develop at about five years of age and develops rapidly after that. The child can distinguish right from left in relation to his body before he can make this distinction in relation to other objects (79).

Perception of *relative size* also develops at this age. At the age of three years, young children can select the largest and smallest objects from a group of objects of varying sizes. By the age of five years, they can select middle-sized objects. The concept of roundness is well established between the ages of three and six years (268,287).

CONCEPTS OF WEIGHT Until the child learns that different materials have different weights, he is apt to estimate weight

exclusively in terms of size. A ball of cotton, for example, would be judged heavier than a rubber ball of smaller size.

With experience, he learns that he must judge the material the object is made of as well as its size. By the age of five years, the child is able to tell the difference between 3- and 15-gram weights when they are the same size (268).

NUMBER CONCEPTS Numbers mean little to young children. Children who go to nursery school or kindergarten frequently learn the meanings of numbers from 1 to 5 but have only vague concepts about numbers above that. However, their concepts develop rapidly if the home or the kindergarten puts emphasis on the development of number concepts as a preparation for entering first grade in school (268,287).

TIME CONCEPTS Young children have no idea of the length of time nor do they have means by which to judge it. They cannot tell time by a clock much before five or six years of age. They have not yet learned how to estimate time in terms of their own activities. Because they do not have a crowded schedule, they are apt to dally over different activities, thus adding to their difficulty in estimating time with any degree of accuracy.

By associating specific activities with different times of the day, with the days of the week, and with the seasons of the year, the child can make more accurate estimates. By the time they are four or five years old, most children know what day of the week it is. Only if the month, season, or year are told them at home or in kindergarten are they likely to know these periods before age six (59,230).

CONCEPTS OF SELF The concept of self develops very rapidly during early childhood because of the child's interest in himself. By the time he is three years old, he should know whether he is a boy or a girl, what his full name is, and where his nose, eyes, mouth, and hair are. At this age, children generally know also the different parts of their bodies, such as their hands, feet, toes, legs, arms, and "tummies," and what articles of clothing belong to the different parts of the body (10,14,74). However, the young child's concepts of the bodily functions are still very inaccurate and will remain so even after he enters school (96). See Figure 6-12, page 297.

When the child begins to play with other children, he compares himself with them. If his comparison is favorable, he will develop a favorable concept of himself; if unfavorable, his concept will be so unfavorable that he will be self-conscious and shy. Most children during the preschool years tend to perceive their undesirable traits as less undesirable than they are and their desirable traits are overrated (220,284).

The child's concept of himself as a member of a racial group develops earlier among Negro children than among white children. Negro children have a more definite concept of their difference from the group and their similarity to another group than do white children of the same age. By the time the child is five years old, he uses ethnic terms to describe himself, as "colored," "Jewish," or "American" (19,204,225,260). Figure 5-14 shows how racial awareness increases rapidly between the ages of three and five years.

By the time he is five years old, the young child has a clear concept of appropriate sex roles, as he shows in the patterns of his play and in his general behavior. Children with older siblings learn appropriate sex

roles earlier than do those who have younger siblings or are only children (74, 87,141,155,265). Boys of nursery-school age are more clearly aware of appropriate sex-role behavior than are girls. Fathers are more concerned with sex-appropriate behavior than mothers are, and they put pressure on their sons to behave in a masculine way. As a result, boys are more conscious of sex-appropriate behavior and define their sex roles more sharply than do girls (101,166,177,274).

Being able to identify sex differences and knowing what are the appropriate sex roles for the two sexes does not guarantee acceptance of the appropriate role (14). By 5½ years, boys show a predominantly male-role preference, while girls of that age are about equally divided, with some preferring the masculine and others, the feminine role (49,114,118,165,209).

SOCIAL CONCEPTS Young children, as a result of their constant contact with parents, brothers, sisters, and playmates, learn to "size up" these individuals with a fair degree of accuracy (155,165). Because of their limited contact with strangers, young children frequently size them up incorrectly. Much of the tactlessness of young children can be traced to poor social perception (140). Children who attend nursery school or kindergarten develop social concepts more rapidly than children whose environment is limited to the home and the neighborhood. As Estvan has pointed out, the "nursery school period is one of rapid development in social perception" (85).

AESTHETIC CONCEPTS The young child's perception of beauty depends largely on his ability to understand the meaning of what he sees or hears. He likes pictures of familiar people and animals doing familiar

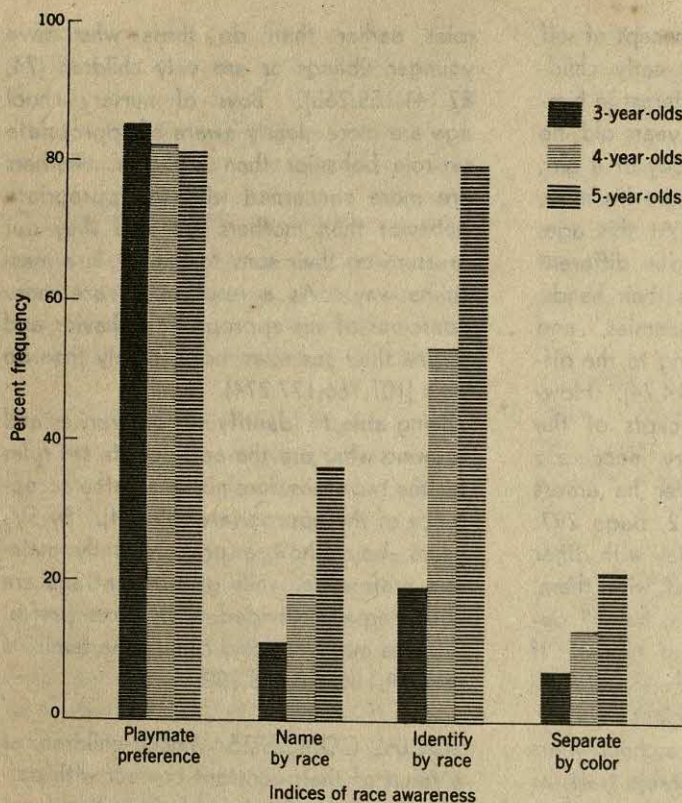


FIGURE 5-14 THERE IS AN INCREASE IN RACIAL AWARENESS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 3 AND 5 YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM C. A. RENNINGER AND J. E. WILLIAMS: BLACK-WHITE COLOR CONNOTATIONS AND RACIAL AWARENESS IN PRESCHOOL CHILDREN. *Percept. mot. Skills*, 1966, 22, 771-785. USED BY PERMISSION.)

things. He prefers people of his own sex to those of the opposite sex, and he considers people of his own racial background more beautiful than those of other races. The younger the child, the more he likes colors which are bright and gaudy. Pastel shades are usually perceived as ugly by young children (20,232). At this age, they associate moods with colors. Yellow, for example, is associated with happiness and brown, with sadness (169,289).

Liking for music of certain types is strong

among young children. They prefer songs and music with a definite "tune" or rhythm. The more the child's favorite music is played, the more beautiful he believes it to be (152).

CONCEPTS OF THE COMIC Up to the age of three years, the child laughs in response to some pleasurable experience, such as tickling. From then until he is six years old, strange and unusual things, provided they are not so exaggerated as to be fright-

ening, are perceived as funny. Among the things most often perceived as funny by nursery-school children are motions and noises made by the child himself or by others, inferiority in others, word play, and grimaces made by the child himself or by others, socially unacceptable situations, imitative laughter. The funny antics of domestic animals and the misfortunes of others are likewise sources of humor (10,11, 105).

MORAL DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

The young child's intellectual development has not yet reached the point where he can learn or apply abstract principles of right and wrong. He must learn moral behavior in specific situations. And, because his retention is still poor, the learning is a slow process. Being told not to do something one day may not readily be remembered the next day or the day after that (44,121,130).

This learning is complicated when several different people, at different times, require that he do different things in the same situation. He cannot understand why an act is wrong today when the same act, yesterday, passed unnoticed (121,229).

When their children are as young as three to four years of age, parents emphasize the importance of self-control in aggression and in destroying or taking property of others. Middle-class parents have been found to be demanding about property, and lower-class parents are strict about the young child's use of tabooed language. Middle-class parents, in general, are stricter in their demands that the child conform to socially approved standards of behavior than are parents from the lower or upper classes (42,74).

Moral Concepts

The young child judges acts as right or wrong in terms of the consequences of his own acts. Because of his mental immaturity, the child cannot understand the whys and wherefores of behavior. He merely learns how to act without knowing why he does so. As early childhood comes to an end, habits of obedience should be established, provided the child has had consistent discipline (76,143,272).

Even though he does not understand why certain acts are good and others bad, the child knows that some acts are labeled "good" and some, "bad." From this information, he lays the foundation for moral concepts that will guide his behavior as he grows older. Even though he may try to evade rules by going to different persons for permission to do something labeled "naughty" by a parent, and even though he may try to test the authority of the person in charge of him, the young child does not question the rules, suggest alternative acts, or bargain with the person in authority as the older child does. Nor does he feel guilty when caught doing something that is wrong. He may, however, become frightened at the prospect of punishment, or he may rationalize to explain why he did what he did (34,36).

Misdemeanors

Young children learn that willful disobedience of a minor sort will generally give them more attention than good behavior. If, therefore, they feel that they are being ignored, they are frequently naughty in the hope of getting the attention they crave. Even the temporary discomfort of punishment does not outweigh the satisfaction derived from having adult attention focused on them (58,108).

Desire for adult attention is, by no means, the only cause of misdemeanors in early childhood. The young child may misbehave through ignorance of what is expected of him; he may have forgotten what he was told to do; he may be confused because rules change from day to day; or he may want to test adult authority and see how much he can "get away with" without being punished (34,58,229,285).

There are predictable times when misdemeanors occur and when discipline to restrain them is needed especially. Among three-year-olds, the peak times of the day for misdemeanors are 8 A.M., noon, and 6 P.M. and, for six-year-olds, at 4 and 6 P.M. (58). These peak periods are shown in Figure 5-15. Within the week, the weekend and Monday are usually the troublesome times (58). These are periods of "disequilibrium" when children are especially difficult to live with (12).

While young children engage in every conceivable type of misdemeanor, the most common forms are capriciousness—often called "oneriness"—thumb-sucking, bed-wetting, boisterous attempts to get attention, temper tantrums, lying, destructiveness, cheating in games, and dawdling. Most of these are associated with immaturity and appear less and less frequently as the child grows older (43,53,58,64,180).

Although any or all of these forms of misdemeanor may be found in both boys and girls, some are more common among girls and others, among boys. Boys, for example, tend to be more destructive than girls, and girls are usually more stubborn and willful than boys (58,86,180). Among kindergarten children, the most common behavior problems reported by teachers consist of enuresis, temper tantrums, destructiveness, showing off, and

attempts to get attention by "cutting up" (134,285).

Discipline

The educational aspect of discipline, which consists of training the child to conform to the mores of the group, should be the outstanding part of discipline during early childhood. As new social horizons open up, when the child first plays with other children or enters nursery school, he must learn how to act in a socially approved manner in these new groups (241,276).

How much emphasis parents will put on the educational aspect of discipline will depend on the type of disciplinary method—authoritarian, democratic, or permissive—they use. See pages 165 to 166 for a discussion of the essential features of these methods. Those who favor the authoritarian or permissive form put little emphasis on teaching the child what is right or wrong; those who favor the democratic put much emphasis on it.

However, their rules are mainly related to areas of behavior where the child can be injured, such as play, or those which inconvenience them, such as dawdling over food, being troublesome at meals or bedtime, and fighting with siblings. They tend to be more permissive in other areas, such as the amount of time spent in television watching and the type of program viewed (58 130,155,158,217,282).

Regardless of type of discipline used, almost all children are punished at some time. Common forms of punishment consist of spanking, isolating the child in his room, sending him to bed, making him sit on a chair, withdrawing a privilege, threatening to leave or to cease to love the child, invidious comparisons with siblings,

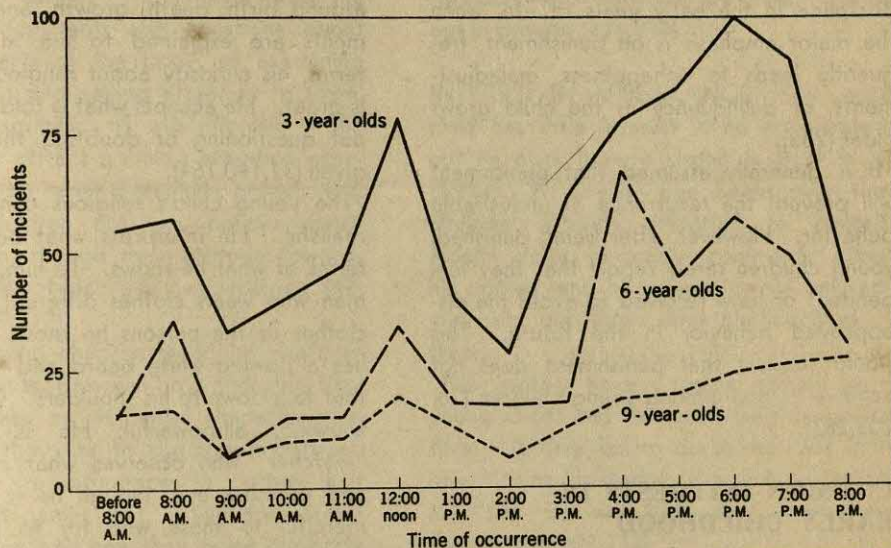


FIGURE 5-15 PEAK TIMES OF THE DAY FOR MISDEMEANORS. (ADAPTED FROM E. CLIFFORD: DISCIPLINE IN THE HOME: A CONTROLLED OBSERVATIONAL STUDY OF PARENTAL PRACTICES. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1959, 95, 45-82. USED BY PERMISSION.)

sarcasm, nagging, and harping on a misdeemeanor (31,58,121,158,238,276).

Rewards in the form of toys, candy, being taken somewhere, or given a special treat are used, somewhat sparingly, by parents of young children, even by those who favor democratic discipline. They are afraid they will "spoil the child" or they regard the reward as a form of bribe which they have been told is a bad disciplinary technique (58,143,276).

EFFECTS OF DISCIPLINE Discipline affects the child's behavior in different ways (184). Children who are brought up permissively tend to be selfish, to disregard the rights of others, and to be aggressive and unsocial in their relationships with their peers (58,124,217,241,283). Those who are subjected to strict, authoritarian training

become overly obedient and "good as gold" in the presence of adults, but they use such defensive reactions as aggressiveness in physical and verbal forms when they are with their peers (25,58,217,276).

By contrast, children brought up by democratic discipline learn to restrain themselves from doing what they want to do when they know it is wrong and, in that way, they learn to be more considerate of the rights of others (53,111,130). Even more important, their behavior at home is more social, and this results in better parent-child relationships (198).

The effect of discipline on the child's personality is more important than the effect on his behavior. The more physical punishment is used, the more likely the child is to become sullen, obstinate, and negativistic in his attitude and behavior. Very strict

discipline in the early years of life, when the major emphasis is on punishment, frequently leads to unhappiness, maladjustments, or delinquency as the child grows older (283).

It is generally assumed that punishment will prevent the recurrence of undesirable behavior. However, after being punished, young children rarely report that they feel penitent or have resolved to avoid the disapproved behavior in the future. This would suggest that punishment does not achieve its goal among young children (76, 203, 283).

COMMON INTERESTS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

The young child's interests broaden and intensify as his environment expands and as he comes in contact with more and more people outside the home. At this age, his interests center chiefly on himself and all that pertains to his own possessions (9, 37, 269).

Types of Interest

There are some interests that are almost universal among young children in the American culture today. They include interest in religion, in the human body, in sex, and in appearance.

INTEREST IN RELIGION Religious beliefs are, for the most part, meaningless to a young child. This is true, but to a lesser extent, of religious observances. He may learn words and phrases so well that he can repeat them in a parrotlike fashion, but they have little meaning for him (146).

However, the young child is curious about religion. Many of the questions asked by young children relate to religious matters. Because so many of the mysteries centered

around birth, death, growth, and the elements are explained to him in religious terms, his curiosity about religious matters is great. He accepts what is told him without questioning or doubting the answers given (37, 140, 164).

The young child's religious concepts are realistic. He interprets what he hears in terms of what he knows. To him, God is a man who wears clothes different from the clothes of the persons he knows, and who has a flowing white beard and white hair that falls down to his shoulders. God is all-knowing, all-powerful. He is really a "watcher" who observes what people do and punishes evil, though he is kind and merciful to those who try to be good. Angels are men and women with white wings, and heaven is a place where every human wish is gratified (103, 208).

Early childhood is the "fairy-tale stage" of religious beliefs. That is why religious stories have such a strong appeal to young children. That is why, also, the pageantry of religious services is so awe-inspiring to the child. Even home religious observances inspire awe and reverence in him (5, 99, 140, 221).

The young child's interest in religion is egocentric. To him, prayer is a way of gaining childish desires. He thinks of God as a person who can and will do things for him just as his parents do when he asks them (144, 181). The egocentrism of childish religion is best illustrated in the young child's attitude toward Santa Claus. To him Christmas is not a day to celebrate the birth of Christ but the day when Santa Claus will fill his stocking with everything he has asked for (160).

INTEREST IN THE HUMAN BODY From the age of 3½ years on, children show a greater interest in their own bodies than

was shown earlier. This interest takes the form of comments and questions about various parts of the body; of examining these parts and calling attention to them; and occasionally, of exhibitionism. The areas that attract a child's attention especially are the navel, eyes, hair, breasts, and anus. Children are also curious about elimination, though their attitude towards it is matter-of-fact and unconcerned (42, 96, 135, 140, 212).

While young children recognize anatomical differences between boys and girls, they regard these as incidental characteristics. The cues they use to distinguish between the sexes are differences in clothes, hair styles, and names (61). They are curious about germs and how they cause the body to become "sick," and how medicine cures sickness (211). When a person dies, they are curious about what happens to the body and how it gets to heaven (17, 18).

INTEREST IN SEX Children at this age are intensely curious about the origin of babies and ask frequent questions about this matter. This curiosity is intensified if there is a new baby in the family or neighborhood, or if a pet animal has offspring. God is often referred to as the source of babies, and many children believe they come from a hospital or a store, or that the stork brings them (61, 161, 224).

Many children show their interest in sex by talking to their playmates about sex matters when away from the listening ears of adults, by looking at pictures in books and comics that show adult men and women in amorous poses, by sex play with members of their own sex or of the opposite sex, and by masturbation (72, 209, 224). However, because parents of middle-class children regard sex play and masturbation as "naughty" if not actually

"wicked," such activities are usually carried out in private (224, 238).

INTEREST IN APPEARANCE The young child has little interest in his appearance, but he does have a strong interest in his clothes. At an early age, he discovers that clothing attracts attention to himself. Adults make favorable comments about his clothes, and his playmates not only admire him but often envy him because of them.

New clothes have a special appeal for a young child, and he likes others to notice them. If they fail to do so, he calls their attention to his clothes with such comments as "See my new hat" or "I have new shoes" (140, 208, 232).

The first clothes of a particular type, especially when they are like the clothes of older children, such as the first black shoes or the first long trousers, are worn with intense pride. To the young child, they are insignia of growing up. When he can manipulate them himself, without any help, this is an added source of satisfaction to him (10, 232).

The young child is well aware of the sex appropriateness of clothes and wants to be sure that his clothes conform to the approved styles for his sex. Little girls, for example, prefer skirts and dresses to slacks or jeans and they like to be more dressed up than boys. Boys, on the other hand, regard being dressed up as a sign of a "sissy," and they prefer play clothes to dressy clothes (131, 232).

Young children also have a strong interest in the colors of their clothes. They prefer light colors to dark, and they prefer saturated to pastel colors. In fact, no color is too bright to suit the taste of a young child. Red is usually the favorite color of little children, both boys and girls. How-

ever, as boys soon discover that red clothes are not considered appropriate for boys, they change their preference to blue and wear red only in ties or sweaters (131). Regardless of how becoming or unbecoming a color is to a child, he wants to wear garments of his favorite colors: color is more important to him than becomingness (131, 232).

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

The young child's attitudes toward people, things, and life in general are patterned by his home life. Although no one method of child training is responsible for making the child well or poorly adjusted, the child who is brought up in a democratic home generally makes better adjustments to outsiders than does the child from an authoritarian home (7,127,238).

Child-training methods alone are not responsible for the effects of family relationships on the young child's personal and social adjustments. Because the child identifies with the parent for whom he has a warm and close feeling, he imitates the attitudes, emotions, and behavior patterns of that person (44,159,210). Figure 5-16 shows the effects of the attitudes of parents on the child's behavior.

Parents who are well adjusted pass on to their children, through *personality transmission*, attitudes and behavior patterns that will contribute to the success of the child's adjustments (30). Parents of disturbed children, by contrast, are often poorly adjusted and self-rejecting (159,196,240).

Communication between parent and child is likewise a method of personality transmission. From what the parent says, the child learns new values and attitudes and discovers what behavior is socially accept-

able or unacceptable. In middle- and upper-class families, communications between parent and child are more numerous and more stimulating to the child than in lower-class families (95,185,280).

Evidence of Importance of Family Relationships

How important family relationships are to a young child has been emphasized by studies of children who are deprived of maternal care through institutionalization (248,280). A comparison of young children, some of whom were living temporarily in a nursery residence during the mother's illness or absence from home and some of whom were there only during the day, shows how serious an effect separation from the mother has at this early period in the child's life.

Those who were separated from their mothers reacted by a constant seeking of the parent, accompanied by shrieking and crying. Their reactions to the members of the residential staff were hostile and demanding, and they engaged in frequent autoerotic practices. Those who were separated from their mothers only during the day showed more normal patterns of behavior, especially after the first few days of separation (123).

Loss of a parent, especially a mother, by death likewise shows how important family relationships are to young children. The loss of a parent usually leads to feelings of insecurity which may and often does affect their personalities then and as they grow older (17,18,245). As Archibald et al. (17) have explained:

Loss of a parent in early life constitutes a nonspecific trauma whose effects depend upon complex interactions among

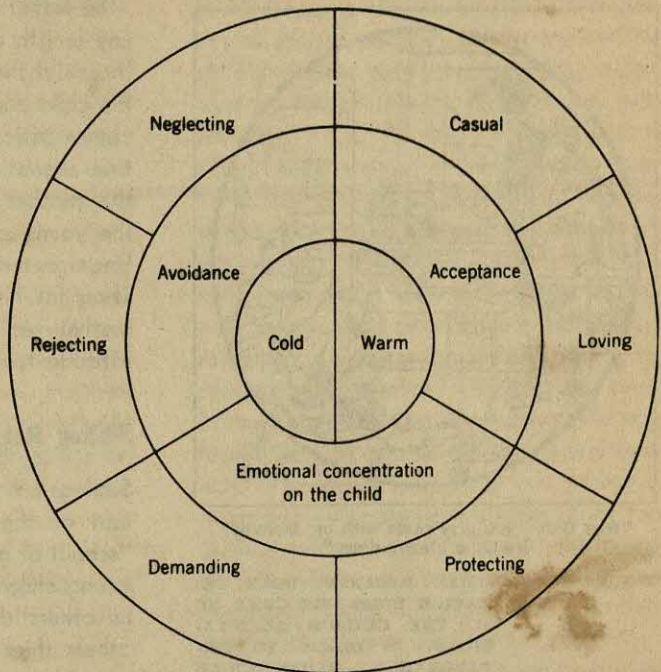


FIGURE 5-16 EFFECT OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES ON PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS. (ADAPTED FROM A. ROE AND M. SIEGELMAN: A PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE, *Child Developm.*, 1963, 34, 355-369. USED BY PERMISSION.)

such variables as sex, biogenetic vulnerability, parent surrogates, type of loss, availability of compensatory support, and developmental status.

If the "compensatory support" is in the form of a stepparent, it will restore much of the feeling of security the young child needs (37,149,252).

Changes in Parent-Child Relationships

Changes in parent-child relationships in early childhood come from many causes. *First*, no longer is the young child the soft and cuddly helpless infant that he was when

he was a baby. Now he is a rebellious, self-assertive, mischievous individual who is constantly into everything, demanding attention, and refusing to do what he is asked to do 'unless it strikes his fancy. *Second*, as the young child becomes more independent, parents feel that it is no longer necessary to devote as much time to his care as they did earlier. The young child still wants parental attention and resents not receiving it (37,234,238). See Figure 5-17.

A *third* common cause of changed parent-child relationships comes from the fact that parents have definite concepts of what they think a "good" child should be. When



"Why CAN'T you play cards with us, Mommy?
Grandma always does."

FIGURE 5-17 WHEN PARENTS' ROLE BEHAVIOR DOES NOT COME UP TO THE CHILD'S EXPECTATIONS, IT LEADS TO UNFAVORABLE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS. (ADAPTED FROM "THE FAMILY CIRCUS," *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, JAN. 10, 1966. USED BY PERMISSION OF THE REGISTER AND TRIBUNE SYNDICATE.)

the child does not come up to their expectations, they become critical and punitive in their attitudes (1,63,172,271). As they become less warm and affectionate, the child reacts by being more negativistic and troublesome (127,168).

And, fourth, parent-child relationships change when young children begin to show a preference for one parent. Because the mother spends more time with the young child than the father does and because mothers as a rule have a better understanding of the troublesome behavior of young children than fathers do, young children generally prefer the mother to the father (16,37,145,168,226).

The father who is away from the child for any length of time often expects more of the child than does the father who is with the child continuously. As a result, he becomes critical of the child and his behavior, thus alienating the child, who then turns to the mother for affection (62,74,266). If the young child goes to nursery school or kindergarten, he may show such a strong liking for his teacher that it will make the mother resentful, and this will affect her attitude toward the child (91).

Sibling Relationships

Siblings are important aids to the socialization of the young child: they act as a "school of mirrors." From his siblings, the young child learns to evaluate his behavior as others do and to think of himself as others think of him. Older siblings serve as role models for him to imitate and, in this way, he learns not only socially approved behavior patterns but also those that are considered appropriate for his sex (37,129,136,238). Whether his siblings are older or younger than he, they contribute to his emotional security and teach him how to show his affection for others. Every child learns, in a family where there are siblings, to play a certain role, depending on his sex, his ordinal position in the family, and the age differential between him and his siblings. This is, likewise, an important aid to his socialization because, in the peer group, he will be expected to play the role of leader or follower (42,136,140). Second-born children, especially those with an older male sibling, try to keep up the pace set by this older sibling, and they compete with him for the mother's attention (97,155,168). The only child, by contrast, uses his parents as his models and, as a result, is often more mature for his age

than are children with siblings (37). Children from large families tend to become dependent, especially when the spacing of the children is small. The reason for this is that too many contacts with siblings encourages the child to become dependent on them instead of learning to be more self-sufficient (277).

As early childhood draws to a close, many children show a preference for playmates outside the home in place of their siblings. From these playmates they learn new patterns of speech and behavior, new interests and new values which may differ markedly from those of their siblings. Boys, for example, not only learn to play boys' games, but they also learn to regard girls as inferiors. When they have sisters, this peer-learned attitude often leads to bickering, name calling, and quarreling with the girls in their families (37,38,155,185).

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

The pattern of the child's personality, the foundations of which were laid in babyhood, begins to take form in early childhood. The child learns to think and feel about himself as he is defined by others. His image of himself thus develops from the way his parents and others treat him and how he thinks they feel about him (41, 92,220).

The parents, siblings, and relatives constitute, for the most part, the social world of the child. How they feel about him and how they treat him are therefore important factors in the shaping of his concept of himself (42,73). For that reason, it can be correctly said that the child's concept of himself as a person is formed "within the womb of family relationships" (99). Because the mother plays a more im-

portant role in the young child's life than any other person, her attitudes toward the child and her treatment of him play major roles in his personality development (45, 63,159).

The child-training methods used in the home are likewise important contributors to the young child's developing concept of self. Strict, authoritarian discipline, accompanied by frequent and harsh corporal punishments, for example, tends to build up resentments against all in authority and feelings of martyrdom. Because this type of training is more commonly used by lower- than by middle- or upper-class parents, it accounts, in part at least, for the resentful, antagonistic attitudes and the feelings of inadequacy so often expressed by aggressive attacks on others that are commonly found among lower-class children as they grow older (58,242,283).

The aspirations parents set for their children play an important role in the young child's developing self-concept. When these are unrealistically high, the child is doomed to failure. Although some children may ignore failures, most react to them either by asking for help, by rationalizing their failures, or by projecting the blame on others. Regardless of how they react, failure leaves an indelible mark on their self-concepts and lays the foundation for feelings of inferiority and inadequacy (63,292).

As children's ordinal positions in the family vary, so do their personalities. This may be explained in part by the fact that each child in the family learns to play a specific role, in part by differences in child-training methods used by their parents with each succeeding child, and in part by their success or failure in competing with their siblings (37,140,168,238).

In a study of the personalities of first and

second children, it was reported that first-born children tended to be adult-oriented, serious, "good," and sensitive. Because they are often "exploited" by their parents in the sense that they are used as models for younger siblings or are expected to help with the care of younger children, they tend to develop feelings of martyrdom. Second-born children, by contrast, are tougher, less anxious for adult approval, more cheerful, placid, easy-going, and peer-oriented (192).

There is some evidence that the young child's personality is influenced by his body build. The reason for this is uncertain. It may be the result of a hereditary factor or of environmental influences in the form of social expectations—people expect certain personality characteristics to be found in an individual of a particular build.

People who believe that certain personality traits accompany a given body build may provide the child with opportunities and encouragement to learn patterns of behavior traditionally associated with his body build. Because a thin body build, for example, is traditionally associated with a restless, high-strung person, parents may, unconsciously, encourage a thin child to be such by criticizing him for being restless and by being tense in their relationships with him (278,279).

Parental and nursery-school teachers' ratings of the personality patterns of young children with different body builds have revealed certain characteristic patterns associated with those of ectomorphic, mesomorphic, and endomorphic builds. The *ectomorphic* child is described as not social in play, emotionally restrained, not talkative, and unaggressive. The *endomorphic* boy is described as not sensitive to physical pain or verbal slights, not absorbed in fantasy or nervous bodily habits, and in-

clined toward social activities; girls are considered to be social, child-oriented, lacking in emotional tension, and they recover quickly from emotional upsets.

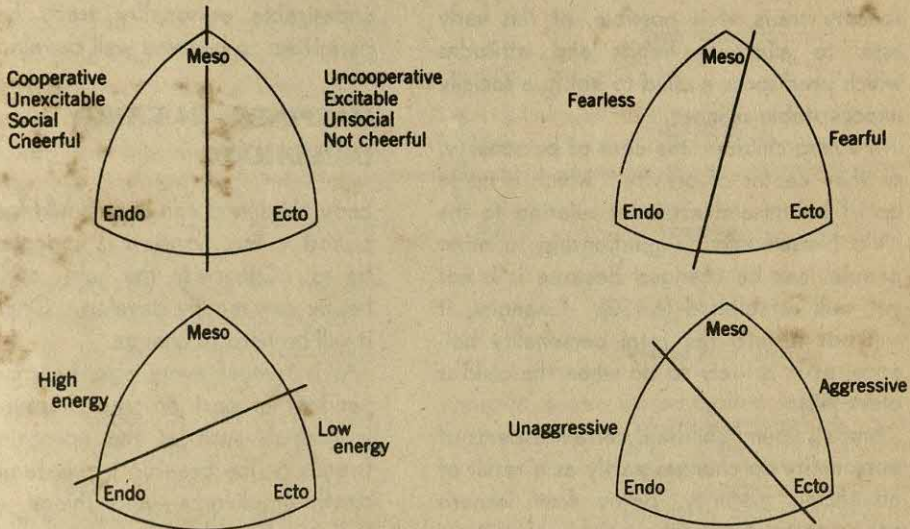
Young children with *mesomorphic* builds are regarded as energetic, cheerful, social, competitive, self-assertive, cheerful, warm, and friendly. However, if boys are annoyed, they may become irritable, quarrelsome, revengeful, and inconsiderate. They are often daring and noisy and are more accident-prone than boys with other body builds. Leaders among young children tend to have mesomorphic builds (287,279). However, how *important* a role body build plays in personality development is still undecided. Figure 5-18 shows parents' ratings of boys and girls with ectomorphic and mesomorphic builds.

Beginnings in Individuality

By the time the young child enters school, the pattern of his personality can be readily distinguished. Some children are leaders, and some are followers; some are despotic, while others are meek; some are sociable, while others are solitary; some like to show off and be the center of attention, while others prefer to shun the limelight (6).

Sex differences in personality patterns are apparent at this time. Boys are active, expressive of anger, quarrelsome, insistent on their rights, alibi-building, exhibitionistic, and uncooperative, while girls are inclined to be obedient, affectionate, responsible, and tenacious of purpose. How closely the child will conform to the personality pattern characteristic of his sex will be determined by whether his siblings, especially an older sibling whom he uses as a model, are of his sex or not (155). Conformity is also influenced by the child's

Ratings of girls



Ratings of boys

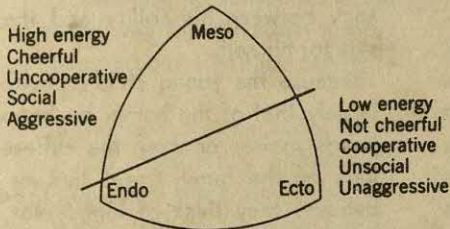


FIGURE 5-18 PARENTS' RATINGS OF THE PERSONALITY PATTERNS OF CHILDREN WITH ENDOMORPHIC, MESOMORPHIC, AND ECTOMORPHIC BUILDS. (ADAPTED FROM R. N. WALKER: BODY BUILD AND BEHAVIOR IN YOUNG CHILDREN: II. BODY BUILD AND PARENTS' RATINGS. *Child Developm.*, 1963, 34, 1-23. USED BY PERMISSION.)

identification with a parent of the same sex (78,81,209).

Individuality is greatly influenced by early social experiences outside the home. When these experiences are unfavorable, the child is likely to become *unsocial* in his relationships with people and to build up compensations of an unsocial sort, such as spending his play time watching television or imagining himself a martyr who is "picked on" by others (6).

Children whose parents are upwardly mobile may learn to be independent and ambitious, but they tend to become nervous, tense, anxious, and highly competitive and aggressive in their peer relationships (172).

Persistence of Personality Traits

Genetic studies of the same children over a period of time have shown that the pattern of personality remains persistently uni-

form. In spite of the persistence of personality traits, it is possible, at this early age, to eliminate habits and attitudes which predispose a child to act in a socially unacceptable manner.

In young children, the core of personality, or the "center of gravity," which is made up of habits and attitudes relating to the child himself and his relationship to other people, can be changed because it is not yet well established (6,150). Changing it will not disturb the total personality balance, as it is likely to do when the child is older (42).

Among young children, certain aspects of personality do change, partly as a result of advancing maturity, partly from experience, partly from the social and cultural environment in which he lives, and partly from factors within himself, such as emotional pressures or identification with people. A difficult child may, for example, become more tractable, just as a happy, contented child may develop into a sullen one as he grows older. Changes, however, are more likely to be *quantitative* than *qualitative*: undesirable traits becomes less undesirable and desirable ones, more desirable (63,81,140,150). This is illustrated in Figure 5-19. As Emmerich has pointed out, "Salient personality dimensions have high stability from ages 3 to 5, supporting the view that personality differences arise early in life and are maintained in essentially their original form (81).

Whether the changes that take place are for the better or for the worse will be determined largely by the child's environment and whether his environment meets his needs. The way the child's dependence needs are met will shape his personality (122). Training in the development of self-confidence and in cooperative behavior, for example, will result in personality changes,

provided this training is given early, before undesirable personality traits have been permitted to become well developed (145).

HAPPINESS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

Early childhood can and should be a happy period in life. And, it is important that it be so. Otherwise the habit of being unhappy can readily develop. Once it does, it will be hard to change.

As is true of every age, happiness is dependent in part on what happens to the individual—such as the uprooting of his friends or the breakup of his family life by death or divorce—and things within the individual—such as some physical defect or deformity which is a handicap to his doing what his age-mates do or a discrepancy between his ability and the goal he sets for himself.

Because the young child's environment is largely that of the home, his happiness depends mainly on how the different members of the family treat him or what he believes they think of him. Not until the latter part of early childhood are the young child's contacts with people outside the home frequent enough, close enough, or prolonged enough to have any appreciable influence on his happiness. Fulfilling the three A's of happiness—acceptance by others, affection, and acceptance of self through achievement—thus becomes a family matter.

There are certain basic wants and needs that must be fulfilled if the child is to be happy. A few practical suggestions will show how this can be done and will emphasize the important role the parents play in making a young child happy.

1. A healthy child has the potentials for happiness. With careful attention to diet,

sleep, rest, and play, most children can be in good health for most of the time. Even when ill, a child can be happy if he feels that his parents are doing all they can to help him to be comfortable and if they avoid giving him the impression that they are angry because his illness has inconvenienced them or added expenses they were unprepared to pay.

2. When parents recognize that behavior that annoys them—such as constant asking of questions, temper outburst following a necessary thwarting of a childish desire, or quarreling with siblings and playmates—are a normal accompaniment of early development, they can accept these annoyances more philosophically than if they thought of them as a sign of a spoiled, unattractive "brat." Even more important, showing the child how to satisfy his needs in a more social way will make him a more attractive child and one that they can more readily love.

3. A recognition of the necessity of a well-planned and consistently adhered to disciplinary policy will dispel any belief the child may harbor that he is unloved when he is punished or that he is unfairly treated. When emphasis is placed on the naughtiness of his act, rather than on him, he will have no reason to feel that he is rejected.

4. Guidance in learning how to get along with other children in play situations will increase the young child's feeling of being accepted and loved by his siblings and playmates outside the home. The more popular he is, the easier it is for him to like and accept himself.

5. Recognition of the fact that young children are often embarrassed by expressions of affection in the form of hugs and kisses will encourage parents to show their affection for the young child by an interest in his activities, an expression of pride

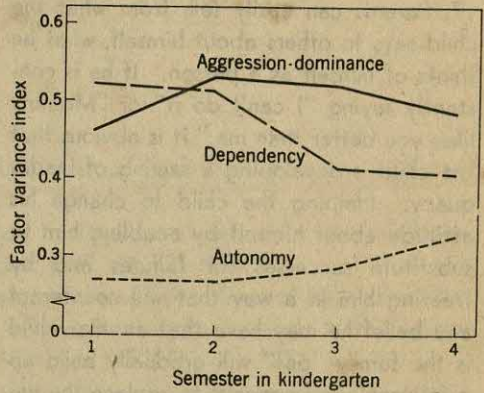


FIGURE 5-19 QUANTITATIVE CHANGES IN PERSONALITY TRAITS DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD. (ADAPTED FROM W. EMMERICH: CONTINUITY AND STABILITY IN EARLY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: II. TEACHER RATINGS. *Child Developm.*, 1966, 37, 17-27. USED BY PERMISSION.)

in his achievements, and a desire to have him with them when he so desires. Every child must have a reasonable amount of affection to be happy. But affection will not satisfy his needs unless it is suited to his level of development.

6. No child can be expected to like himself if he feels that he is a failure. It is the responsibility of his parents to avoid having a failure complex develop in the child. This can best be done by not comparing the achievements of the young child with an older sibling or playmate, by showing appreciation for what he has done, and by showing him how it could have been done better. Even more important, because every child tends to aspire unrealistically high, parents can tactfully suggest a goal more within the child's potentials, thus diverting his attention from his unrealistic goal.

7. Parents can easily tell, from what the child says to others about himself, what he thinks of himself as a person. If he is constantly saying "I can't do it" or "Mommy likes you better than me," it is obvious that the child is developing a feeling of inadequacy. Helping the child to change his attitude about himself by enabling him to substitute successes for failures and by treating him in a way that will counteract any belief he may have that another child is the family "pet" will gradually build up a favorable self-concept to replace the unfavorable one.

8. Last, and in most respects the most important point, an atmosphere of happiness

in the home must prevail if the child is to be happy. It is difficult to be happy when unhappiness is literally "in the air." Older children, adolescents, and adults can escape from an environment where unhappiness prevails for at least part of the time.

This is not true of the young child. His home is *his environment*. Unhappiness can be kept from a child by concentrating his attention on pleasant things and by not talking in his presence about things that will be upsetting to him. If the prevailing atmosphere of the home is happy, the child will be able to tolerate temporary unhappiness without having it become the major factor that influences his outlook on life.

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Even when illness is frequent, it is far less likely to lead to death than in the earlier years of life. Boys, however, are much more likely to die at this age than are girls, but their deaths are more often from accidents than from illnesses (241).

The psychological effects of illness in late childhood are more serious than the physical effects. Illness upsets body homeostasis. This, in turn, affects the child's behavior and attitudes, making him irritable, demanding, and difficult to live with. Absence from school and inability to join his playmates in play after school deprive the child of opportunities to learn the skills his age-mates consider important for membership in the play group.

His school progress suffers, and this may make it necessary for him to repeat the grade. Perhaps the most serious psychological damage comes in the area of family relationships. Many parents, tolerant and understanding when the child was younger, now are intolerant and punitive in their attitudes toward his illness, blaming him for doing things he was forbidden to do or for not using "common sense" (31,168,177,208).

Just as some children are accident-prone, so some are *illness-prone* in the sense that they have more illness than most children of that age. This may be because of some hereditary weakness or a poor prenatal environment, but it usually comes from conditions in the child's life at that time. He may have excessively permissive parents who permit him to eat, sleep, or do whatever he pleases: what he does is usually bad for his health. Or, he may have parents who are very strict and authoritarian, causing him to live under conditions of almost constant emotional tension, which upsets him and makes him prone to illness (121, 208).

Some of the illnesses an illness-prone child

experiences are real, and others are imaginary. Many children have learned, from earlier experiences, that when they are ill they are not expected to carry on their usual activities; they receive more attention than usual; and the home discipline is markedly relaxed. As a result, when unpleasant conditions exist in the child's life or when he is expected to do something he feels inadequate to do, he uses illness as a form of escape. Many illness-prone children are imaginary invalids (59,130).

Physical Disabilities

Children suffer from every possible type of physical defect. Some of these are present at birth; others are acquired at different times throughout childhood as a result of illness, accident, or neglect of the child's physical well-being. The most common defects include dental caries, visual and auditory impairments, orthopedic disabilities, and diseased tonsils and adenoids (59).

How these defects will affect the older child will be influenced by how much they *disable* him. Diseased tonsils and adenoids, for example, will have no real effect on the child's social and personal adjustments unless they are so diseased that they are poisoning his body and reducing his energy level to the point where he cannot do what other children do. Blindness, deafness, or some orthopedic trouble, on the other hand, disable the child to the point where he cannot participate in activities with his age-mates (88,153,197,227).

When the child is disabled, the seriousness of the effect will be determined by how other people treat him, especially members of the peer group. Although some children may show marked sympathy and consideration for a handicapped child, many ignore or reject him (46,227,289).

Accidents and Accident Proneness

The older child has, as a rule, fewer accidents than the younger child, but they tend to be more serious than those of the younger child. It has been reported that approximately two-thirds of all childhood accidents occur before children are nine years old, with more before six than after six (98).

Most accidents experienced by older children occur outside the home. This contrasts with the younger child's accidents, which are mostly in the home. Boys have many more accidents at all ages than do girls (126,292). While any part of the child's body can be injured in an accident, it has been reported that injuries to the head are the most frequent and injuries to the legs, the least frequent. This is illustrated in Figure 6-3.

As we have seen, some children seem to be accident-prone. They are, as a rule, overactive, restless, anxious, impulsive, adventuresome, resistant to authority, and less popular with their peers than children who have fewer accidents. Children with the fewest accidents, on the other hand, have been found to be timid, submissive, and well controlled (54,171,255).

When a boy becomes a member of a gang, he must show his sex appropriateness to retain his status. Many boys who feel that they lack the sex appropriateness needed for social acceptance accept dares and do foolhardy things which may result in accidents (292). This explains, in part, the greater number of accidents among boys than girls: a girl does not have to be brave and daring to be sex-appropriate.

Even when accidents leave no permanent physical scar, they can and often do leave psychological scars. Just as the young child who experiences more than his share

of accidents usually learns to be more cautious, so does the older child. In time, this may lead to physical timidity, which may spread to other areas of his behavior and become a generalized timidity that will affect his social relationships, his work, and his personality (54,98,168,171,292).

SKILLS OF LATE CHILDHOOD

When late childhood begins, the child has a remarkably large repertoire of skills learned during the preschool years. Studies of six-year-olds have revealed that most children of that age can make simple objects, such as tables, wagons, or boats with wood and nails; they can model with clay, paint, crayon, cut and paste, sew, make cookies, copy simple geometric figures, and help with simple household tasks, such as carrying glasses and pitchers of milk without spilling.

Leg skills are equally as well advanced as hand and arm skills. The six-year-old can roller skate and even ice skate, if he lives where there are opportunities to learn this complicated skill; he can swim and dive, ride a bicycle, and keep time to music by skipping or even dancing (103,111,177).

The skills the child learns will depend partly upon his environment, partly upon his opportunities for learning, and partly upon what is in vogue among his classmates (31,100,177,292). Marked sex differences, for example, exist not only in play skills at this age but also in the level of perfection of these skills. Girls, as a rule, surpass boys in skills involving finer muscles, such as painting, sewing, weaving, and hammering, while boys are superior to girls in skills involving the grosser muscles, such as basketball throw, soccer kick for distance, and standing and running broad jump for distance (31,100,111).

What level of perfection children reach will depend not so much on the opportunities they have for practice and the motivation they have to learn these skills, but rather on the guidance they are given while they are learning, especially when the foundations of the skills are being learned (220).

Types of Skills

The skills of late childhood can be divided into categories according to the purpose each serves. The major categories of childhood skills are: self-help skills; social-help skills; school skills; and play skills.

SELF-HELP SKILLS Skills connected with eating, dressing, bathing, and grooming should be well enough developed by six years of age so that the child will need only occasional help. The results may not be up to adult standards at first but, with practice, these skills will be perfected to the point where the child can perform them with as much speed and excellence as an adult (31,100,220).

SOCIAL-HELP SKILLS Skills in this category relate to those which contribute aid to others, whether in the home, the school, or the play group. Skills learned in relation to tasks in the home, such as dusting, sweeping, washing and drying dishes, making beds, or cooking, not only give the child pleasure but they also add to his feeling of self-importance. Even more important, they encourage the child to learn to be cooperative—a trait which will contribute greatly to his acceptance as a member of a peer group (31,111,114).

SCHOOL SKILLS At school, the child develops the skills needed in writing, drawing, painting, clay modeling, dancing, sing-

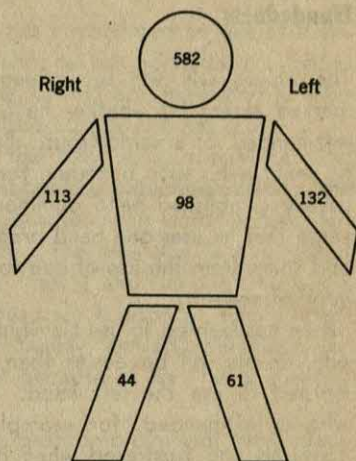


FIGURE 6-3 PARTS OF THE CHILD'S BODY MOST OFTEN INJURED IN NON-FATAL ACCIDENTS. NUMBERS INDICATE FREQUENCY OF INJURIES IN ONE SURVEY. (ADAPTED FROM H. JACOBZINER: ACCIDENTS—A MAJOR CHILD HEALTH PROBLEM. *J. Pediat.*, 1955, 46, 419-436. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ing, sewing, cooking, and making things out of wood. Although many of these skills are used also in the child's play, in school they are learned under guidance by a teacher, and the child is expected to practice them in a more serious way than if they were merely sources of entertainment (9,31,103,114).

PLAY SKILLS Play skills, such as throwing and catching balls, riding bicycles, skating, swimming, and constructing things from wood, clay, or other materials, are learned in connection with the child's play. Children who have superior skills make better adjustments to school and in their social relationships outside of school than children whose skills are inferior to those of their age-mates (111,114).

Handedness

The child's skill will be influenced to a marked extent by whether he is right- or left-handed, or ambidextrous. By the time he reaches his sixth birthday, the child has usually established hand dominance in the sense that he uses one hand predominantly and shifts from the use of one to the other very infrequently.

If he has learned to use his right hand, his adjustments will be easier than if he has learned to use the left hand. The child who is left-handed, for example, will be confused and frustrated when he tries to use materials designed for right-handed people or when he attempts to learn new skills by imitating models meant for the right-handed. This is well illustrated when a left-handed child tries to imitate the writing model of his right-handed teacher. Even though the speed and quality of writing may, in time, be equal among children who are right- and left-handed, the right-handed child usually shows a superior skill in the early stages of writing, and his speed is greater (222).

If guidance in establishing hand dominance was not given in early childhood and if the older child *sincerely wants* to become right-handed, there is little evidence that doing so will lead to speech disorders and nervous tension, as many believe. However, to avoid the psychological damage that can and often does accompany changes in handedness, the child should be under six years of age; he should be more placid and easygoing than tense and nervous; he should be above average in intelligence so that he will be able to learn easily; and, most important of all, he should be agreeable to the change if not actually anxious to make it (130).

Awkwardness

Because motor skills play such an important role in the child's success in school and in his play with other children, the child whose motor development lags behind that of other children of his age is greatly handicapped. When he is awkward and lacks skills other children have, he is likely to withdraw from the group and develop unhealthy attitudes toward himself and social life.

A serious and deep-rooted cause of awkwardness in the older child is the tension and anxiety built up from the way important people in the young child's life reacted to his childish clumsiness. As Breckenridge and Vincent (31) have explained:

Ridicule, sarcasm, scolding, or laughing at a child's clumsiness in the early learning stages, or at the inevitable slips which cause dropping of objects, stumbling, or falling, may cause an emotional blocking which can result in tense movement and awkwardness throughout the child's life.

The older child, for the first time, begins to compare himself and his achievements with those of his age-mates. When his achievements fall below those of his age-mates because of his clumsiness, it is inevitable that he would start to think of himself as inferior. And, because skills play such an important role, not only in play but also in the early years of school, the older child has ample evidence of his inferiority to reinforce his growing feeling of inadequacy. As Havighurst (114) has pointed out:

As a child becomes part of an activity group . . . he contributes certain skills, cer-

tain knowledge. He has an opportunity to test his skills against those of his peers. He adds to his conception of himself as his peers react to his skills.

SPEECH IMPROVEMENT IN LATE CHILDHOOD

As the child's social horizons broaden, he discovers that speech is an important tool for group belonging. This realization gives him a strong motivation to learn to speak better. He also learns that the simpler forms of communication, such as crying and gestures, are socially unacceptable. This gives him an added incentive to improve his speech.

How important a tool speech is for social belonging has been illustrated by cases where children are unable, for one reason or another, to communicate with members of the peer group or to communicate as well as they do. Deaf children, for example, become socially isolated because they cannot hear what other children are saying and, as a result, cannot participate in group conversations. If they do talk, they are likely to say things that are totally unrelated to what the others are talking about, and this antagonizes the group members (59).

Bilingual children have difficulty in talking to children whose dominant language is different from theirs. When they do speak, their foreign accents, misuse of words, and grammatical mistakes affect the attitudes of their listeners and cause them to attribute the stereotype associated with that national group to them (12). Children who *speak little* because they were not permitted to do so in authoritarian homes are usually neglected. By contrast, chil-

dren who are encouraged to talk at home and who learn to talk about play activities or other topics that are interesting to their playmates are usually popular (174).

One of the most serious handicaps to social acceptance is *defective* speech. The child who uses baby-talk words is regarded as a "baby": the one who lisps is looked upon as a "sissy"; and the one who has a more serious speech disorder, such as stuttering, is usually teased, mimicked, or laughed at because of his "funny speech" (42).

Normally, great improvement takes place in children's speech after they enter school. As the child learns to read, he adds to his vocabulary and becomes familiar with correct sentences. Mispronounced words and wrong associations with words are quickly corrected by the teacher (172,303).

Lower-class children, who enter school with a poorer foundation in speech than children of middle- and upper-class families, suffer especially from a "cumulative deficit phenomenon" (68). Poor speech causes them to be hesitant about speaking in class, and they are quickly aware of the poor opinion their classmates and teachers have of them because of their speech (172). On the other hand, parents of children from middle and upper socioeconomic groups feel that speech is important and, as a result, motivate their children to learn to speak better (182,245).

There are several important lines of evidence to show how important speech is to the child's success in school. Children who enter school with a smaller-than-average *vocabulary* for their age level are not ready for the work of first grade and often have to repeat the grade. Later, lack of vocabulary will affect their ability to write as well as to read (182,261). The signifi-

cance of vocabulary size to school success has been stressed thus by Garrison (95):

The number of words a child knows determines in large measure his school progress, and failure to progress normally has far-reaching significance. Words are the means by which the child learns about his world. If his knowledge of words is grossly inadequate, the interpretation of his environment will be correspondingly so.

The *bilingual* child has a language barrier which militates against school success. Although this barrier should normally decrease with each year in school, the barrier is still serious up to the fifth grade (43).

School success depends upon the child's ability to comprehend what is taught and what he reads. Although these abilities depend to some extent upon his comprehension of word meanings, they also depend upon his ability to *listen* attentively enough to be able to understand what the teacher says. There is evidence that this is primarily a matter of training (36).

Areas of Improvement

In spite of the fact that all children are given similar opportunities to improve their speech in school, there are, as we have seen, marked variations in the improvements made. There are also variations in the amount of improvement that takes place in the different tasks involved in learning to speak. An analysis of these tasks will show where the improvement occurs.

COMPREHENSION The older child's comprehension vocabulary exceeds his use

vocabulary. He knows the meaning of many words in a vague way and can understand them when they are used in combination with other words and with gestures and facial expressions, but he does not know them well enough to hazard using them himself. Listening to radio, watching television, and participating in general family conversation help develop good listening and therefore help to improve the child's comprehension vocabulary (36,182, 209).

VOCABULARY BUILDING Throughout late childhood, the child's *general* vocabulary grows by leaps and bounds. From his studies in school, his reading, his listening to other people, the radio, or television, the child builds up a vocabulary which he uses in his speech and writing. It has been estimated that the average first grader knows between 20,000 and 24,000 words, or 5 to 6 percent of the words in a standard dictionary. By the sixth grade, he knows approximately 50,000 words (82,182, 296).

Not only does the older child learn many new words, but, in addition, he learns new meanings for old words, thus further enlarging his vocabulary (182,237,296). Children from better-educated families increase their vocabularies more than do those from families where parents have less education, and girls, on the whole, build up larger vocabularies than boys (182,245).

Words with *special* meanings and limited use are also learned at this age. By the end of the first grade, the child's *etiquette* vocabulary should be as large as that of the adults of his environment. Girls, as a general rule, have larger *color* vocabularies than boys because of the girls' greater interest in colors.

From the study of arithmetic and his out-of-school contacts with money, the older child learns the names and meanings of *numbers* and different denominations of *money*. His *time* vocabulary likewise increases and is generally as large as that of the adults with whom he comes in contact (31,114,182,275).

Slang and *swear words* become important parts of the older child's vocabulary. These words he learns from older brothers and sisters or high school students in the neighborhood. He thus identifies himself with older children, and this gives him a feeling of self-importance.

To the typical boy, the rougher the language, the better he likes it and the more he feels that it distinguishes him from girls. Boys take keen delight in using slang and swearing at times when they will attract attention. Late childhood is a "slang age," and few children escape using the slang that is in vogue at the time (31,53,97).

A new form of language makes its appearance in late childhood. This is *secret language*, which is used in the child's communication with his intimate friends. *Written forms* consist of codes formed by symbols or crude drawings to express words or complete thoughts. The common verbal forms are generally known as "pig Latin" or "pidgin English" (31). Kinetic language usually consists of the use of gestures and the formation of words by the means of the fingers.

Girls use secret language more frequently than do boys, and they spend more time developing new symbols and word signs than do boys. From ten years of age until early adolescence is the peak of the secret-language age. Most children start to use secret language in some form from the time they enter the third grade (31,97).

PRONUNCIATION Errors in pronunciation are uncommon at this age. A new word may be incorrectly pronounced the first time it is used but, after hearing a correct pronunciation of it once or twice, the child is generally able to pronounce it correctly. This, however, is less true of children of the lower socioeconomic groups, who hear more mispronunciations in their homes than do children from more favored home environments, and it is even less true of children from bilingual homes where they use a foreign language in the home (53,182).

The older child does, however, have a tendency to talk at the top of his lungs. This is not only disagreeable for those who must listen to his shouting, but it also has a tendency to coarsen the tonal quality of his voice. Boys are especially given to shouting because they think a quiet, pleasant, modulated voice is a sign of a "sissy" (31,97,130).

FORMING SENTENCES The six-year-old child should have command of nearly every kind of sentence structure. From then until he is nine or ten years old, the length of his sentences will increase. These long sentences are generally rambling and loosely knit. Gradually, after the age of nine years, the child begins to use shorter and more compact sentences (142,168,182).

Because sentence construction is difficult for a child, *grammatical errors* are very common even at this age. The number and seriousness of these errors will vary, however, according to the correctness or incorrectness of the speech the child hears at home or among his playmates. There is a high correlation between the grammatical errors made by the child and those made by his parents (53,245).

Speech Disorders

Speech disorders are far less likely to begin in late childhood than in early childhood. However, stuttering and slurring, which may have started several years earlier, will likely grow worse as time goes on unless remedial measures are taken to correct them. Because these disorders trace their origins to nervous tension, they are likely to grow worse rather than better after the child enters school, owing to the child's embarrassment when other children laugh at his "funny speech." Children who stutter show more, and more serious, symptoms of maladjustment than do nonstutterers (26,42,154).

Children from middle-class families more often develop into stutterers than do those from lower-class families. There are more stutterers among children who come from less crowded than from more crowded homes (26,182). Except when there is some physical cause, such as a space between the two upper front teeth or malocclusion of the jaws, few children lisp by the time they reach second grade, at which time the permanent teeth in the front of the mouth should have cut through (168,182).

CONTENT OF SPEECH The older child's speech is less egocentric than is that of the preschool child. Just when he will shift from *egocentric* to *socialized* speech will depend not so much upon his age as upon whether his personality is egocentric or social, the number of social contacts he has had and the satisfaction he has derived from them, and the size of the group to which he is speaking. The larger the group, the more socialized the speech. When the child is with his contemporaries, his speech is generally less egocentric than when he is with adults (28,97,172).

Although children may talk about anything, their favorite topics of conversation, when with their peers, consist of talk about their own experiences, home, family, games, sports, movies, television programs, their gang activities, sex, sex organs and functions, and the daring of a contemporary that led to an accident. When he is with adults, what the child talks about is largely determined by the adult (29,71,97).

When the older child talks about himself, it is usually in the form of *boasting*. He boasts less about material possessions than about his skill and strength in games. Boasting, as a rule, is very common between the ages of nine and twelve years, especially among boys.

The older child also likes to *criticize* and to *make fun* of other people. Sometimes he criticizes people openly, sometimes behind their backs. When criticizing adults, the child generally puts his criticism in the form of a suggestion or complaint, as "Why don't you do so and so?" or "You won't let me do what my friends do." Criticism of other children frequently takes the form of name calling, teasing, or making derogatory comments (31,97,130).

A study of *questions* asked by children of different ages has revealed that the older child's questions are more specific in form than are the questions of the preschool child, which tend to be general. As may be seen in Figure 6-4, "why" questions reach their peak between the second and third grades, and other types of questions, especially the "what" questions, increase in frequency (299).

How much improvement there will be in the content of the older child's speech and how much improvement there will be in the way he presents what he has to say will depend not so much on his intelligence as

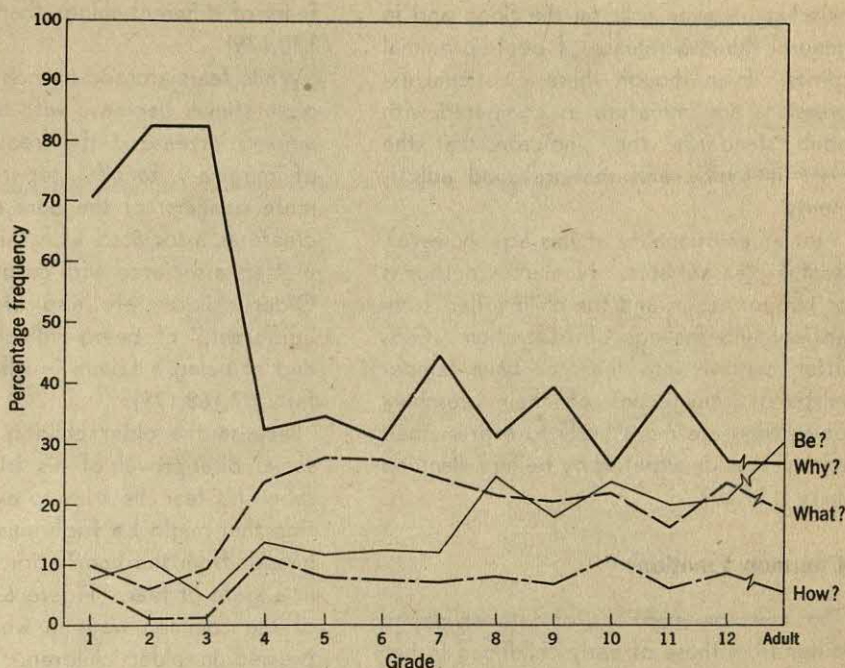


FIGURE 6-4 COMMON TYPES OF QUESTIONS ASKED BY CHILDREN AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM K. YAMAMATO: DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABILITY TO ASK QUESTIONS UNDER SPECIFIC TESTING CONDITIONS. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1962, 101, 83-90. USED BY PERMISSION.)

on the level of his socialization. Children who are popular have a strong motivation to improve the quality of their speech. They learn, from personal experience, that words can hurt and that the popular children are those whose speech adds to the enjoyment of their contact with their peers (60,245).

EMOTIONS AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS IN LATE CHILDHOOD

The older child soon discovers that violent expressions of emotions, especially of the unpleasant emotions, are socially unacceptable to his contemporaries. They regard

temper outbursts as "babyish"; withdrawal reactions in fear as indicative of a "fraidy cat"; and hurting another in jealousy as poor sportsmanship. Hence a child acquires a strong motivation to learn to control the outward expressions of his emotions (31,95,97,130).

At home, however, there is not the same strong motivation to control his emotions. As a result, the child frequently expresses his emotions as forcibly as he did when he was younger. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that parents criticize or punish him for "not acting his age."

Characteristically, emotional expressions in late childhood are pleasant. The child giggles or laughs uproariously, squirms,

twitches, or even rolls on the floor, and in general shows a release of pent-up animal spirits. Even though these emotional expressions are immature as compared with adult standards, they indicate that the child is happy and making good adjustments.

Not all emotionality at this age, however, is of a pleasant sort. Numerous outbursts of temper occur, and the child suffers from anxiety and feelings of frustration. Girls often dissolve into tears or have temper outbursts reminiscent of their preschool days; boys are more likely to express their annoyances or anxieties by being sullen and sulky (134,159).

Common Emotions

The common emotions of late childhood differ from those of early childhood in two respects: *first*, in the type of situation that gives rise to the emotions, and *second*, in the form of expression. These changes are the result of broadened experience and learning rather than maturation.

Furthermore, his broader experiences enable him to discover how different people feel about different emotional expressions. In his desire to win social approval, he tries to curb forms of expression he discovers are socially disapproved of. The common emotional patterns of late childhood are: fear; anger; jealousy; curiosity; affection; and joy.

FEAR Many objects, situations, animals, and people which terrify young children are accepted calmly by older children. Fears of fire, darkness, illness, disease, doctors, dentists, operations, being hit by a car, and being bitten by a dog are most common at this age. Girls show more

fears of different things than do boys (97, 130,179).

While fears aroused by concrete and tangible stimuli decrease with age, there is a marked increase in the frequency of fears of imaginary, fanciful, supernatural, or remote dangers; of the dark and imaginary creatures associated with the dark; and of matters associated with corpses and death. Older children are also afraid of being "different," of being ridiculed or teased, and of being a failure in what they undertake (97,168,179).

Because the older child is aware of the social disapproval of his friends when he shows his fear, he tries to avoid any situation that might be frightening, thus saving himself from the humiliation of being seen in a state of fear. Figure 6-5 shows some of the common ways in which fear is expressed in older children. Note the attempt made by the child to avoid having his fear detected.

Shyness, a form of fear in social situations, is less common among older children than among younger. When it does occur, it is expressed by such nervous mannerisms as holding the head on one side, pulling at the nose, ears, or clothing, or shifting from one foot to the other (130, 168).

Worries, or fears caused by imaginary stimuli, begin to make their appearance at this age. Family or school problems, problems related to personal and social adjustments, or to health are the most common worries of older children. School worries, such as failing a test, being late for school, or being left behind in school, are more common than out-of-school worries (11,130).

The things that children find important enough to be cause for worry are those

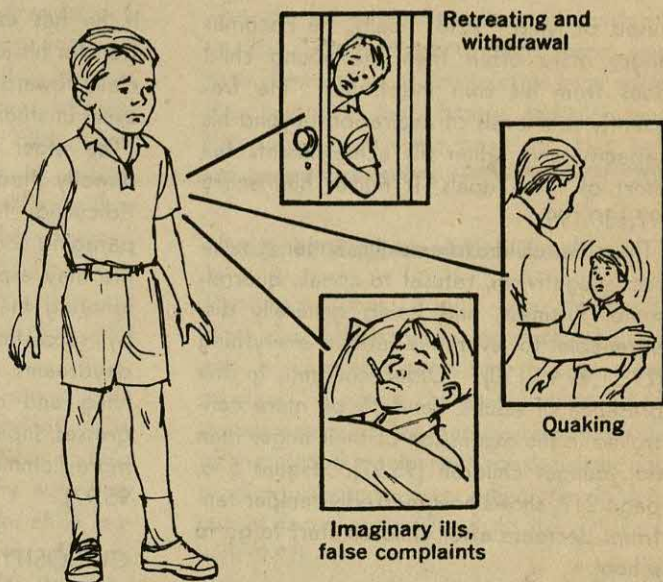


FIGURE 6-5 SOME TYPICAL WAYS IN WHICH THE OLDER CHILD SHOWS FEAR.

things that are important to their parents or to members of the peer group. Parents, for example, regard school success as important, while members of the peer group look upon having money to spend for fun and for status symbols as important. Because others place high values on them, these things become a source of concern for the older child. Because values vary with the social-class identification of the child, it is to be expected that worries would vary in intensity accordingly (11). This is illustrated in Figure 8-3, page 405, which shows social-class differences in worries about school success.

Generalized *anxiety*, "a painful uneasiness of mind concerning impending or anticipated ill," is more common than any one, specific worry. Anxiety is greater in children who are unpopular than in those who are well accepted by their peers. As a

rule, anxiety is greater among girls than among boys. It increases as the child grows older and more pressures are placed on him (168,272).

ANGER There are more anger-provoking situations in late childhood than in early childhood because the older child has a stronger desire for independence than he had when he was younger. He is therefore more frequently frustrated in his efforts to achieve this independence than is the more docile, younger child.

The older child also becomes angry when an activity in progress is interrupted, when he is constantly criticized, when unfavorable comparisons with older children are made, and when he is "lectured." It also annoys him to be blamed or punished for something he did not do, to see someone else cheat or do unfair things, or to be ac-

cused of lying. And, finally, he becomes angry more often than the young child does from his own ineptitude. He frequently sets levels of aspiration beyond his capacity and, when his achievements fall short of these goals, it makes him angry (97,130,199).

The older child expresses his anger in sulkiness, negativism, refusal to speak, quarrelsome, fussiness, and being generally disagreeable to everyone about everything (29,31,95,97,130). Older children, in the presence of adults, tend to be more controlled in the expression of their anger than do younger children (95,97). Figure 5-6, page 212, shows how markedly temper tantrums decrease after children start to go to school.

The older child experiences more *frustrations*, or feelings of helplessness when a drive is blocked, than do younger children. Sometimes the blocks come from his social environment, from parents or teachers who will not permit him to do what he wants to do, and sometimes from his own unrealistic aspirations, which he discovers he is incapable of reaching (86,302).

Some children react in an aggressive way by striking out at the offending object or person, while other children react in a passive way, withdrawing from the block (70). In free, unrestricted social situations in which adult authority and discipline are absent, aggressive reactions are more frequent and also more violent (31,130,302).

JEALOUSY Sibling jealousy does not die out when the child enters school. Sometimes, in fact, it is intensified because the child feels that, during his absence from home, the younger child has the whole of his mother's attention while he is among unfriendly strangers. The school child may,

if he has experienced jealousy at home, transfer his jealousy to his classmates, especially toward those who are popular or who excel in studies or sports (28,31,130).

The older child may show his jealousy directly through quarreling, telling tales, ridiculing, teasing, bullying, making disparaging comments, or instigating quarrels. He may express his jealousy indirectly by ignoring the child of whom he is jealous, by sarcastic comments, by engaging in daydreams of the "martyr" type, or by lying and cheating. As childhood progresses, indirect expressions of jealousy are more common than direct expressions (29, 95,97).

CURIOSITY Curiosity is not so strong in the older child as in the younger. This may be explained partially by the fact that there is less for the older child to explore because he is already familiar with the commonplace things in his daily life and partly because he has learned from experience that curiosity can get him into trouble. The older child is, however, curious about new things that appear in his environment and about those things which, when he was younger, he was not permitted to explore, such as matches, old trunks in the attic, or the working of the stove (158,180).

The older child satisfies his curiosity in much the same ways as he did when he was younger. He examines things that mystify him, and he frequently takes them apart to see how they work. In addition to direct explorations, the older child asks innumerable questions to supplement what he has been able to learn for himself. By the time he reaches the third grade, he reads well enough to get meaning out of what he has read. From then on, reading as a source of information becomes increasingly important to him.

AFFECTION Affection is expressed very slightly by older children. Boys feel that they are "too old" to be kissed or hugged, and they are likely to be embarrassed if the demonstrations are in public. They even resent being called by names of endearment. While girls are not so restrained as boys, they too dislike being "fussed over." Because both boys and girls dislike having people show affection for them, they are very undemonstrative in their relations with others (29,117).

Their affection, however, is shown indirectly by their desire to be constantly with those whom they love, to do things to help them, or to assist them in any way they possibly can (29,109). The older child usually has "favorites" among his siblings, playmates, and parents and, for them, he has greater affection than for the family members who are not his favorites. When he does show affection, it generally comes in "bursts" at unexpected times (97).

JOY As children grow older, much the same things arouse pleasant emotions as when they were younger. They never fail to smile or laugh at incongruous situations, violations of conventions, absurdities, slight calamities, sudden or unexpected noises, or anything that seems out of place in the situation in which they are (97,130).

The child gets more pleasure from play on words and from jokes than he did when he was younger. He is now able to laugh at his own predicament, though he may do so mainly to convince others that he is a "good sport." Anything that gives him a feeling of superiority, such as practical jokes, eating forbidden foods, taking a puff of a cigarette or a taste of liquor, gives him keen pleasure (31,95,97).

Expressions of joy are much more controlled in older than in younger children.

They do, however, show their glee in loud, raucous laughter. Frequently boys slap their companions on the back or head when they are particularly happy, and girls may throw their arms around a friend, hug, and kiss her as expressions of their joy (97,130).

Periods of Heightened Emotionality

There are times, during late childhood, when the child experiences more frequent and more intense emotions than he does at others. Because these emotions tend to be unpleasant rather than pleasant, periods of heightened emotionality become periods of disequilibrium—times when the child is out of focus and difficult to live or work with (9,97).

Heightened emotionality in late childhood may come from physical or environmental causes or from both. When a child is ill or tired, he is likely to be irritable, fretful, and generally "ornery"; when he is feeling well and rested, he tends to be happy. Just before childhood ends, with the beginning of the functioning of the sex organs, heightened emotionality is normally at its peak. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Adjustments to new situations are always upsetting for a child. Because every child must enter school at the age of six years, heightened emotionality is almost universal at this age. After the child becomes adjusted to school, heightened emotionality tends to subside. Even children who have attended nursery school and kindergarten experience some heightened emotionality until they become adjusted to the requirements of first grade—requirements that usually differ markedly from those of nursery school and kindergarten (130,156).

Once the child has made his adjustments to school, he normally enters a rather "be-

nign age" which lasts until the puberty growth spurt begins. The reasons for this period of relative emotional calm are: *first*, the roles of the older child are well defined, and he knows how to play them; *second*, through games and sports, he has a ready outlet for any pent-up emotional energy, and this helps to clear his system; and, *finally*, with the improvement of skills, the child no longer experiences the frustrations he formerly experienced when he tried to do something and failed. As Alexander and Adlerstein have stressed, "No great new demands calling for marked change in response patterns are introduced. It is, as life goes, a 'Golden Age' " (3).

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Interest in peer activities, an increasingly strong desire to be an accepted member of the gang, and discontentment when away from it have given the name the "gang age" to the closing years of childhood. At this time, social development is taking place rapidly, and the child quickly passes from the self-centered, selfish individual, whose social contacts are characterized by constant disagreements and fights, to the point where he is a cooperative, well-adjusted member of a social group composed of his peers (18,157).

At this time, patterns of behavior that make the child seem immature are replaced by more mature patterns. Negativism, for example, normally recedes after children reach the age of six years, though boys often experience another peak between ten and eleven years, when they are rebelling against adult authority as a way of asserting their sex appropriateness (168).

The older child is no longer satisfied to play at home alone or to do things with

members of his family. Even one or two friends are not enough for him. He wants to be with the "gang" because only then will there be a sufficient number of individuals to play the games he now enjoys and to give the excitement to his play. From the time the child enters school until the physical changes at puberty begin to develop, the desire to be with and to be accepted by the gang becomes increasingly strong. This is just as true of girls as of boys (185). Figure 8-4, page 409, shows the increase in time spent outside the home as children grow older.

Children's Gangs

Children's gangs are play groups. Unlike the gangs of adolescents—the social groups that receive so much attention in mass media—the child's gang does not have as its main objective "getting even" with peers who have rejected them or displacing angers stemming from rejection by peers, but rather having fun. True, in having fun, children may get into mischief and may even damage property or hurt others, but this is unintentional; adolescents, on the other hand, often set out to "rough up" others or to destroy property.

The second major difference between children's and adolescents' gangs is that, in the latter, the members are those who have failed to gain acceptance among members of the peer groups that make up the social life of adolescent society: they are often regarded as the "hoodlums" or the "tough guys" who are unacceptable to their better-accepted classmates. Children, by contrast, who belong to gangs are the popular ones: only those who are acceptable to their age-mates are invited to join the gangs.

Typically, the childhood gang is composed of individuals of the same sex. At first,

there may be only three or four members. But, with a growing interest in sports, the gang becomes larger so that there will be enough players to make a team. Boys' gangs, as a rule, are larger than girls' gangs. The size of the gang, however, is influenced by the number of children available and the activities the gang members want to engage in (58,97,114).

All boys' gangs, at some time or other, engage in some activities not considered desirable by adults, such as annoying people, stealing fruit, smoking, or holding "smut" sessions. Girls' gangs, by contrast, less frequently engage in socially unacceptable behavior, though they occasionally smoke or engage in scandal mongering. Most of their time is spent in talking, in raising money for charity, in playing games, in making things, or in acting out plays (58,292,295).

While gang activities vary from community to community and among the different social classes within a community, there is a marked similarity in their interest in games and sports, going to the movies or athletic contests, exploring the community, or just sitting around to talk and eat (58,292,295).

The gang generally has some central meeting place. This meeting place may be a street corner, a garage, the cellar of a home, a barn, a vacant lot, a deserted house, or the corner drugstore. Boys, as a rule, have their meeting place as far away as possible from parental supervision and interference. Girls, on the other hand, are likely to have their gang headquarters in the home of one of the gang members where they have both space and freedom to do as they please (58,185).

INFLUENCE OF GANG Insecure in his status and afraid that he will be rejected

by the gang unless he conforms wholeheartedly to the standards set by its members, the child bends over backward to be like his gang-mates in dress, opinions, and behavior. When a conflict arises between parental standards and those of the group, the child is likely to conform to the latter rather than to the former (58,113,114,278).

From his contacts with the gang, the child learns to compete with others, to cooperate and work as a member of a team, to accept responsibilities and to see them through, to take the part of others when they are mistreated or neglected, and to be a good sport in adversity as well as in success. This training in socialization, which can be derived through no other medium than day-in, day-out contact with his peers, is of far more value to the child, throughout the remaining years of his life, than the temporary disturbance to parent-child relationships which this training is likely to engender (29,58,97,130,206,278). Figure 6-6 shows some of the important socializing influences of the gang.

Friendships in Late Childhood

Both boys and girls at this age definitely prefer the companionship of individuals of their own sex (33,110,188,223). See Figure 6-7. Antipathy for members of the opposite sex reaches a high point just before puberty, at which time the girls regard boys as boisterous, are impatient with their noisiness and lack of manners, and are generally antagonistic toward them. Girls' attitudes toward boys are more emotionally toned than are boys' attitudes toward girls. Boys, by contrast, are more objective and neutral than antagonistic in their attitudes toward girls (109,174). Figure 6-8 shows the attitudes of boys and girls toward peers of their own sex and of the opposite sex.

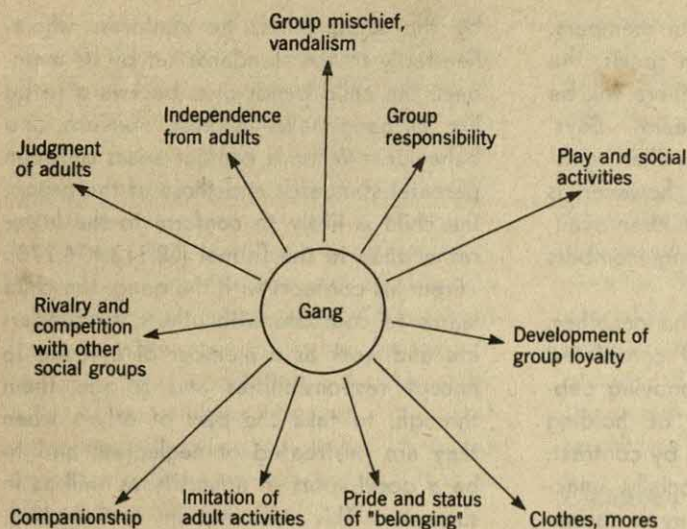


FIGURE 6-6 SOME IMPORTANT INFLUENCES OF GANGS DURING LATE CHILDHOOD.

There is reason to believe that the unfavorable attitude of girls toward boys at this age stems partly from girls' resentment at the greater freedom boys are permitted to enjoy and partly from the fact that, as girls reach puberty, the greater social maturity that accompanies their early sexual maturity makes the typical behavior of boys of their own age seem "immature" (97,109).

There are many factors influencing the older child's choice of friends. As a rule, he chooses those he perceives as similar to himself and those who meet his inner needs. Proximity in the school or neighborhood is important because the child is limited to a relatively small area in the selection of his friends. There is a strong tendency for children to choose friends from their own grades in school.

Personality traits are an important determining factor in the choice of friends, with cheerfulness, friendliness, cooperativeness,

kindness, honesty, generosity, even temperedness, and good sportsmanship ranking high. As childhood draws to a close, the child shows a preference for friends of his own socioeconomic, racial, and religious groups (1,28,114,125,135,195).

TREATMENT OF FRIENDS Older children, once they have formed a group of friends, are often cruel to others whom they do not regard as their friends. Much of the secrecy of the gangs is designed to keep out the children they do not want as friends. The tendency to be cruel and callous toward all who are not their gang-mates generally reaches a peak around the eleventh year (31,95,97).

A new child in the neighborhood or school often has a difficult time gaining acceptance in a gang or of making friends. It is the new child who must initiate the contacts if he wants to have friends. This he does by trying to talk or play with one of the

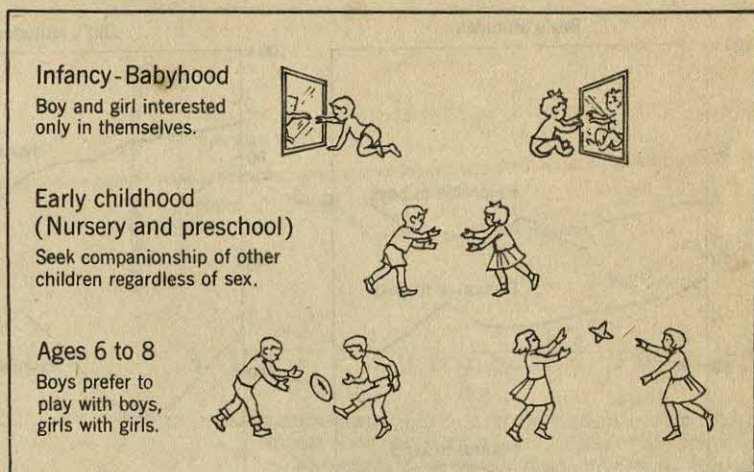


FIGURE 6-7 AFTER PLAYING HAPPILY WITH CHILDREN OF EITHER SEX IN EARLY CHILDHOOD, THE OLDER CHILD PREFERS PLAY WITH MEMBERS OF HIS OWN SEX. (ADAPTED FROM A. SCHEINFELD: *Your heredity and environment*. PHILADELPHIA: LIPPINCOTT, 1965. USED BY PERMISSION.)

already-formed groups, by observing and imitating their play, and by trying to attract their attention to himself.

At first, he is usually ignored or rebuffed. If he is willing to try again and again, he may succeed in getting one member of the group interested in him and, through this contact, he may eventually win a place in the gang (305).

Even though gangs are tightly knit social units, shrouded in secrecy to keep out newcomers or others they do not want as members, there is a great deal of fighting going on within the ranks. Often children in a gang are not on "speaking terms" with their friends. Many of these quarrels are made up and the friendships reestablished; others are not (97).

As a result, children's friendships are rarely static. The child shifts from best friend to enemy, or from casual acquaintance to close friendship, quickly and often

for little reason. Quarreling, bossiness, disloyalty or underhandedness, conceit, and incompatibility are the reasons most often given by children for changing friends. However, as children grow older, their friendships become more stable. Children who are popular have been found to change their friends almost as often as unpopular children (28,253). Friendship fluctuations at different ages are shown in Figure 6-9.

Gang Leaders

The leader of a gang represents the gang's ideal. In the case of boys, the boy must be a good athlete, a good sport, and an all-round superior individual. Because boys and girls of this age develop an attitude of hero worship toward someone who possesses qualities they admire, the leader who can hold the respect of the gang and thus

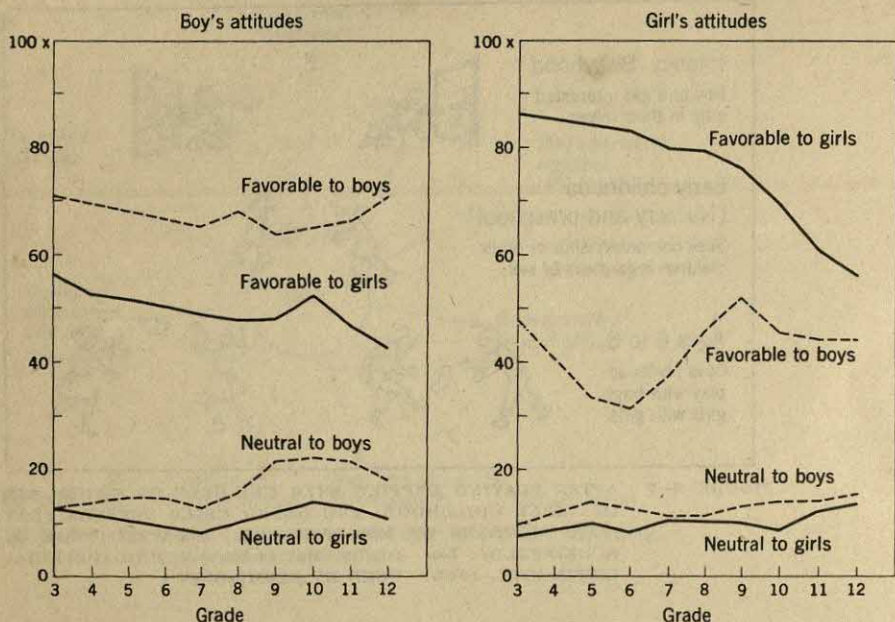


FIGURE 6-8 ATTITUDES OF BOYS AND GIRLS TOWARD PEERS OF THEIR OWN AND OF THE OPPOSITE SEX AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM D. B. HARRIS AND S. C. TSENG: CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD PEERS AND PARENTS AS REVEALED BY SENTENCE COMPLETIONS. *Child Developm.*, 1957, 28, 401-411. USED BY PERMISSION.)

assure his popularity must be superior in most respects to the rest of the group, especially in intelligence, dependability, diplomacy, self-confidence, emotional stability, athletic ability, and awareness of the wishes of others (51,66).

Even more important, this superiority must express itself. The quiet, introverted individual is likely to be overlooked, regardless of how many superior qualities he may possess. In all leaders, extroversion is more marked than introversion (87,295). The larger the group, the more leadership skill the leader must have. The more experience in leadership the child has when he is younger, the better will be his chances of being selected as a leader when the group becomes larger (87,295).

Social Acceptability

The older child is well aware of what his classmates think of him and whether they like him or not. Some children, especially those who are very bright or who have some special ability that makes them interested in things that have little interest for their contemporaries, find little in common with their contemporaries. As a result, they are *voluntary isolates*, as contrasted with the *involuntary isolate*, who craves friends but is rejected by others (10,174).

Comparisons of popular with unpopular children have revealed that those who are popular conform more to classroom requirements and expectations, smile more frequently, engage in some form of coop-

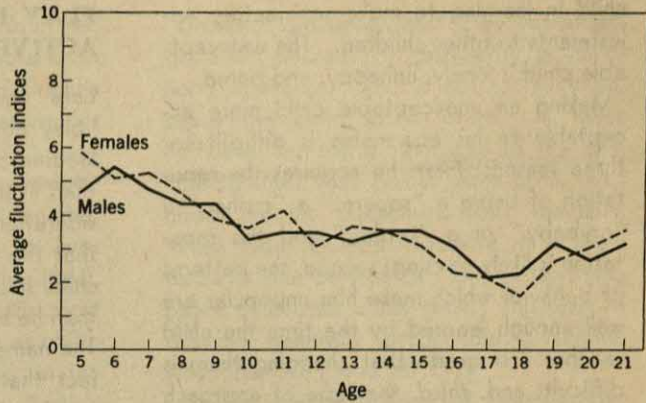


FIGURE 6-9 FRIENDSHIP FLUCTUATIONS THROUGHOUT CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE. (ADAPTED FROM C. A. SKOREPA, J. E. HORROCKS AND G. G. THOMPSON: A STUDY OF FRIENDSHIP FLUCTUATIONS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1963, 102, 151-157. USED BY PERMISSION.)

erative, voluntary group activity, make more voluntary contributions to the group, are less likely to be alone during play, are less aggressive, and are primarily "group-centered" rather than self-centered. While they invariably have certain traits that are social liabilities, popular children have enough positive traits that are social assets to counterbalance these. They are, on the whole, well-adjusted individuals (141,174).

Children who are socially unacceptable to their peers are usually either of the quiet, withdrawn, reserved type or of the aggressive, "problem" type that antagonizes other children. Because they spoil the play for other children, they are rejected by the group (10,28,141,196).

Boys, as a group, tend to be less well accepted than girls. The major reason for this is that boys, in their zeal to show their sex appropriateness, often become aggressive and impulsive—behavior patterns that not only antagonize others, but also spoil the fun other children would like to have.

Girls who are impulsive and show-offs are perceived as "tomboys" by their peers and they, too, are rejected as playmates (271).

Bright children are better liked than those of average or below-average intelligence. This is because they can suggest activities for the enjoyment of the group and act in a more mature way than their peers. Too high intelligence, on the other hand, makes a child a misfit in a group of his age-mates, though they are more eager to have him play with them than he is. Children who are dull are not only ignored, but they are also often actively disliked by their classmates. The reason for this is that their slowness in learning and their immaturity of behavior make them liabilities rather than assets in group play (10,28,196).

IMPROVING SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

The unfortunate thing about lack of social acceptance is that it cuts the child off from social contacts at the very age when such contacts are of vital importance for the

child in learning to make satisfactory adjustments to other children. The unacceptable child is lonely, unhappy, and bored.

Making an unacceptable child more acceptable to his age-mates is difficult for three reasons: *First*, he acquires the reputation of being a "square," a "pusher," a "crybaby," or a "tattler," and this reputation is likely to cling; *second*, the patterns of behavior which make him unpopular are well enough learned by the time the child reaches first grade that changing them is difficult; and, *third*, the type of approach the child uses to others will determine how they will react to him. If, for example, he is bossy and domineering, other children will resent him (141). Similarly, when children take an unfavorable approach to members of the opposite sex, negative reactions from them are likely to be the result (223).

This, of course, does not mean that an unpopular child cannot improve his acceptability. He can, and many children do. With guidance, an unpopular child can acquire patterns of behavior that are socially acceptable to replace those that are unacceptable. He can, for example, learn to say pleasant instead of unpleasant things and to talk about things other than himself (161).

One important point that must be stressed is that just because a child is popular during preschool years does not mean that he will automatically continue to be popular during his school years. What makes a young child popular will not necessarily make an older child popular. Under such conditions, he will need guidance and help from parents and teachers to change the patterns of behavior that were acceptable when he was younger into patterns that are acceptable as he grows older (188).

PLAY INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES IN LATE CHILDHOOD

Late childhood is frequently called the "play age." This name is likely to be misleading because it suggests that more time than ever before is devoted to play. Consideration of the subject will quickly show that this would be impossible. The school child has far less time available for play than he had before he entered school (185). The name, the "play age," comes from the fact that there is, during this period, an overlapping of play activities characteristic of the younger years and those of adolescence.

Variations in Play

Children of different *social-class* backgrounds engage in leisure activities that are both quantitatively and qualitatively different. Children of the middle-class group, for example, participate more in organized recreational groups, such as the Scouts, while those who come from the lower economic groups engage in activities mostly in centers or clubs for "underprivileged children" (25,111).

Both boys and girls are keenly aware of the *sex appropriateness* of different types of play, and they shun play activities that they know are regarded as inappropriate for their sex, regardless of personal preference. The greater the cleavage between the sexes, the more aware both boys and girls are of the sex appropriateness of their play and the more they shun any play they know is regarded as inappropriate for their sex (112,231,270,286). Refer to Figure 5-11, page 225.

Bright children, especially as they grow older, are more solitary than social in their play, and they participate in fewer activities that involve strenuous physical play

than do children who are less bright (44, 156, 287). The type of *neighborhood* in which they live also has a marked influence on children's play because it determines what opportunities there will be for play (111). The urban slum child, for example, concentrates on watching television because the environment in which he lives offers few other play opportunities (244).

Regardless of these variations, for most children play becomes less active as childhood progresses, and amusements, in the form of movies, radio, television, looking at the comics, and reading, gain in popularity. This shift in interest is due partly to increased pressure from schoolwork and partly to additional home duties (25, 185, 268).

Favorite Play Activities

Which forms of play the child will engage in will be determined largely by how popular he is. Children who are accepted members of gangs engage in play activities with other children more than in activities that are carried out in solitude; the reverse is true of less popular children. Among the most popular forms of play in late childhood are: constructive play; collecting; games and sports; and amusements such as reading, movies, radio and television, and daydreaming.

CONSTRUCTIVE PLAY Making things just for the fun of making them and with little forethought of the eventual use that may be made of the products is a popular form of play among older children. *Construction* with wood and tools appeals to boys, while girls prefer finer types of construction, such as sewing, drawing, painting, clay modeling, and jewelry making (97, 111, 268).

Drawing, painting, and clay modeling, gradually decrease in popularity as childhood advances. This is not so much because the child loses interest in these activities, but rather because of the self-consciousness that comes when he is criticized by his classmates and teachers. When older children do draw, it is likely to be in the form of cartoons of teachers, peers, or people in the news. This type of drawing generally occurs during school, when they are bored (97, 111).

Singing is another form of creative play the older child enjoys. He does not like to sing as part of his schoolwork, but rather with his friends when away from the listening ears of teachers and parents. Boys make little attempt to sing well: their fun comes from making a noise and from caricaturing the songs, just as they like to caricature people in their drawings (97, 130).

COLLECTING Collecting as a form of play increases in popularity as childhood progresses. The older child is more selective in his collections than when he was younger. He now limits his collections to a few special items and tries to get a wide variety of each item (31, 97).

GAMES AND SPORTS Early in the school life of a child, his games are the simple, undifferentiated type characteristic of early childhood. However, he is anxious to play the games of older children, and he begins to practice basketball, football, baseball, and hockey. By the time the child is ten or eleven years old, his games are largely competitive in spirit. His interest is now concentrated on skill and excellence, rather than on merely having fun (73, 111, 233, 270).

During late childhood, most children who belong to gangs start to play *indoor games*

when the weather is too poor to allow them to play out-of-doors. Many of these games are ones they learned from playing with family members when they were younger, while others, such as simple card games like "Old Maid," simplified forms of bridge, and craps, they learn from older siblings or from watching adults play them. Boys prefer games with a chance for gambling for match sticks, while girls prefer the more sophisticated female games requiring the use of cards (233,270).

Games and sports have great value as socializing agents for the child. From them, he learns to cooperate, to get along with others, to play the role of follower as well as leader, and to evaluate himself and his abilities realistically by comparing himself with his teammates (97,270). As Dubois (73) has pointed out:

When young people do not participate in sports, . . . they frequently are headed for trouble because they have not had the opportunity to learn to win humbly, to lose gracefully, and to endure physical discomfort to attain a goal.

AMUSEMENTS There are times during the day, and more often in the evening, over weekends, and on holidays when it is impossible for the child to be with his friends. During these periods of isolation, he spends what time he has free from schoolwork and from home responsibilities in amusing himself, not by playing solitary games, but by reading, listening to the radio, watching television, going to the movies or daydreaming.

Even though he may not participate in these amusements with his friends, he is more influenced by them than by his parents in what he chooses as amusements. In reading, whether books, magazines, or

comics, for example, he reads what his friends read so that he can talk to them about his reading and so that he can be familiar with what they are talking about (235).

READING The older child is too much of a realist to be able to enjoy the make-believe element of a fairy tale. His reading time now is devoted mostly to books of adventure. He derives keen satisfaction from imagining himself in the role of the hero of these stories and of doing things which his prosaic life denies him. Books about heroes and heroines, history, school life, or present-day national figures, such as athletic heroes, movie actors and actresses, appeal to his interest in hero worshiping (93,164,210).

In late childhood, marked sex differences in reading interests begin to develop. Boys concentrate on what is considered appropriate for boys, while girls' choices are mainly those considered appropriate for them. Girls, however, are more likely to read boys' books, comics, and magazines than boys are to read those that are meant for girls (16,31,97,130). Bright children, as was pointed out earlier, read more serious material than those who are less bright (49,156,287).

In addition, to reading books, older children show an interest in reading *magazines* and *newspapers*. At first, most of their "reading" will consist of looking at the pictures and the comics. Later, they read the headlines and may even read larger portions if they relate to topics of special interest to them (97,156,243). As Schramm *et al.* have pointed out, newspapers are the last of the media of communication to which the child is introduced. They further explain (243):

It is not until the age of 7 that any substantial number of children read the newspaper. . . . First attention is to the comics, with more rounded newspaper readership beginning at about the eighth-grade level. . . . Sports become very important to boys, and columns to girls. . . . Brighter students are much more likely to read the newspaper than are slow ones.

Regardless of intellectual level, almost all American children today enjoy reading the comics. The appeal of the comics is chiefly emotional and is achieved by their being "skewed toward reality," with real people in unreal situations or vice versa. While some comics have a humorous element, most are adventure stories in which the characters are engaged in dangerous adventures or noble deeds (16,260). The popularity of different themes in comics is shown in Figure 6-10.

There are many reasons why comics appeal to children. Not only are they amusing, exciting, easy to read, and cheap, but they may also stimulate the child's fantasy life. They may present an escape from everyday reality, help the child to forget unpleasant experiences, and give him something to look forward to (23,40,294). In explaining the appeal comics have for children, Podolsky (215) has pointed out:

The current crop of comics appeals to the child's love for the supernatural and the imaginative. They deal with mystery, bloodshed, crime, and murder. They pass the bounds of the physical, leave the intellectual, and play heavily in the emotional field.

While there is a great deal of criticism of children's reading of the comics, no one

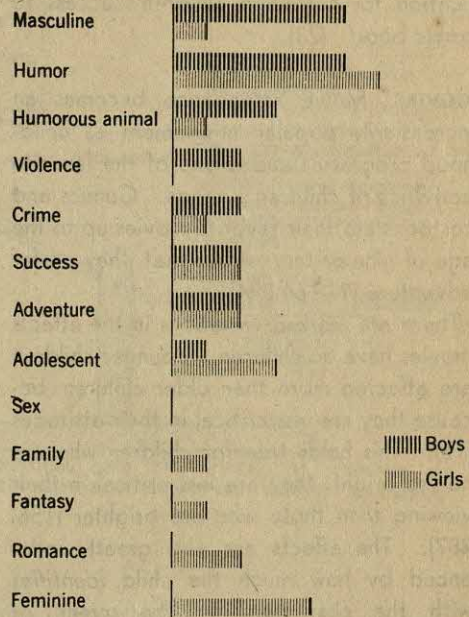


FIGURE 6-10 POPULARITY OF DIFFERENT THEMES OF COMICS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM R. F. BUTTERWORTH AND G. G. THOMPSON: FACTORS RELATED TO AGE-GRADE TRENDS AND SEX DIFFERENCES IN CHILDREN'S PREFERENCES FOR COMIC BOOKS. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1951, 78, 71-96. USED BY PERMISSION.)

has demonstrated conclusively that they are detrimental. Unless properly selected, however, they introduce children to things they would not otherwise be exposed to at such an early age, such as sex; they tend to make aggressiveness and crime exciting and glamorous, and they are likely to be harmful to the development of reading skills (197,288,294). If, on the other hand, some supervision is given to the type of comics the child reads and to the amount of time he spends on them, there seems to be, as Blakely has pointed out, "no justi-

fication for curtailing children's access to comic books" (23).

MOVIES Movie attendance becomes an increasingly popular amusement as childhood progresses and is one of the favorite activities of children's gangs. Comics and cartoons are their favorite movies up to the age of nine or ten. After that, they prefer adventure (97,164,294).

There are marked variations in the effects movies have on children. Younger children are affected more than older children, because they are less critical in their attitudes (16). This holds true for children who are not so bright: they are less critical in their viewing than those who are brighter (156, 287). The effects are also greatly influenced by how much the child identifies with the characters on the screen or whether he views them in an objective and even critical way (167). The criticism, for example, that children become more aggressive after seeing films of the cowboy or villain type because they identify with these characters has not been found to be valid. In fact, it has been reported that there is a decrease in aggression after seeing such films, especially among more aggressive children (197,251).

RADIO AND TELEVISION Because television combines the features that appeal to the child in both the movies and radio, children prefer television to radio until they reach adolescence. Children of the younger ages and those of the lower socioeconomic groups, spend more time watching television than do older children, who prefer to be with their gang, or than children from the higher socioeconomic groups, who have opportunities for a wider range of play activities (189,244,276,294). Figure 5-13, page 229, shows the increase

amount of time children spend in watching television by the time they enter first grade.

Program preferences for radio and television follow much the same pattern as preferences for reading and movies (225, 276). However, the child must listen to or watch what is available at the time he is free; he cannot always satisfy his preference. Children become more critical of the programs on radio and television by the time they are ten years old, and this critical attitude increases as they grow older (97,107,276).

Stories, comedies, humor, and music are popular at all ages. With advancing age, children become more interested in the more serious types of programs, such as plays and presentations dealing with science and feats of skill. Boys, especially, become interested in sports programs, while girls show a greater interest in programs of an imaginative sort (2,107,244,276,294).

Parents tend to become less careful in supervising television watching as their children grow older. And, because they frequently believe that television has an educational value for their children, they permit the children to watch longer than is good for them. This often results in eye-strain, nervous tension, nightmares, or poor eating habits due to fatigue and emotional excitement. Furthermore, it may cause them to have distorted values about the seriousness of crime (2,81,244). In addition, television watching, if too frequent, is likely to affect the emotional reactions of children unfavorably. In discussing the effect of watching programs surfeited with brutality and aggression, Wertham (288) has pointed out:

The result is a distortion of natural attitudes in the direction of cynicism, greed, hostility, callousness and insensitivity.

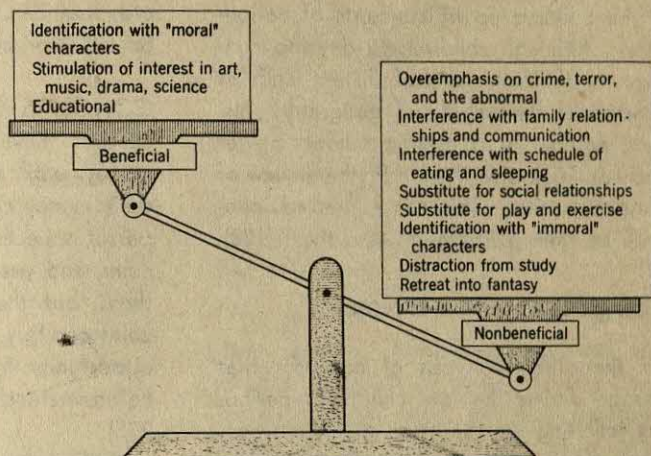


FIGURE 6-11 BENEFICIAL AND NONBENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF TELEVISION WATCHING ON OLDER CHILDREN.

This may express itself in the individual in overt acts, in fantasy, in dreams, in subtle personality changes, in a lowering of inhibitions or an alteration in the threshold of resistance to all kinds of injurious influences. . . . Harmful mass media influences are a contributing factor in many young people's troubles.

Figure 6-11 shows the good and the harmful effects of television watching as they are balanced against each other.

DAYDREAMING The child who has made poor school adjustments and who, as a result, has few opportunities for contact with other children is likely to spend more time in daydreaming than is the socially well-adjusted child. Children who are lonely at home, such as only children, first-born children, or children who are distantly spaced from their siblings tend to daydream more than do children who have playmates among their siblings (31,210).

Typically, the daydream of this age is of

the "conquering-hero" type. The dreamer sees himself as he would like to be in real life. While the background and setting of childish daydreams vary, the dreamer is invariably the hero or the heroine of the dream. Daydreaming gives the child an opportunity for self-glorification which may prove to be so pleasant to him that he substitutes daydreaming for real social contacts, thus increasing his poor social adjustments (31,114,130).

INCREASE IN UNDERSTANDING

As the child's world expands with his entrance into school, so do his interests. And with the broadening of interests comes an understanding of people and things which formerly held little or no meaning for him (193,236,297).

Equally as important as the new meanings he derives from his school experiences are the new meanings the child derives from mass media, especially movies, radio, and television (167,249). This is well illustrated

in the building up of concepts of nationality. Although children do develop concepts of their own and of distant lands as a result of their study of geography, history, and social studies in school, movies and television give them a firsthand view of these countries. This has a marked influence on their attitudes toward them (128).

Changes in Specific Concepts

Of the different types of concepts that change during the late childhood period, the following are the most important: concepts of space, of numbers, of money, concepts of time, of life, of death, concepts of bodily functions, concepts of self, social concepts, concepts of beauty and of the comic.

CONCEPTS OF SPACE Space no longer is a vague, meaningless thing for an older child. From the use of weights and rulers, he comes to learn the meaning of ounces, pounds, inches, feet, yards, and even miles. Schoolwork in arithmetic helps him to formulate more definite ideas of space and distance than he could develop through his own personal experiences (34,83,139). With the great emphasis placed on reporting space explorations in mass media, the child becomes familiar with outer space just as children in his parents' young years learned about their more immediate environments.

CONCEPTS OF NUMBERS Numbers take on new meanings for the older child as he begins to use money and as he works with arithmetic problems (129,275). In one study, it was reported that children can add and subtract within 25 and can deal with simple fractions, multiplication, and division by the time they are eight years

old; they can understand number concepts to 1,000 or beyond a year later (129).

CONCEPTS OF MONEY Because most children have few opportunities to use money until they reach the school age, their money concepts tend to be forms of parrot speech: they can identify different coins and associate the right labels with them, but they do not know what these coins can buy. Only after the child has an opportunity to use coins for buying does he understand what they really mean (175, 275).

Learning to budget an allowance with a certain percentage of it for saving and the rest for spending increases the child's understanding of the meaning of money. Children who spend their money foolishly learn more about money more quickly than do children who spend wisely or than do those whose spending is carefully supervised by their parents (175).

Children who earn money from after-school jobs or from doing household chores learn more about the meaning of money than children whose money is given to them as an allowance or as rewards for good grades or good behavior (97,175,201). As the child grows older, he begins to moralize about the rightness or wrongness of the use of money, and this adds new meanings to his money concepts (269).

As the child's contacts with his gang members increase, he associates new meanings with money. It now becomes a prestige symbol to have money to spend for candy bars, cokes, and other after-school snacks which his friends enjoy. In addition, it gives him a feeling of independence—a symbol of being "grown up" to have money to spend as he wishes. These new meanings are focused on *spending*: spend-

ing has prestige in the eyes of the peer group, while saving has prestige only in the eyes of adults (64, 163).

CONCEPTS OF TIME Social studies in school, with their emphasis on the manners, customs, and modes of living of people in other lands and in different periods of history, broaden the child's concepts of time. In addition, movies, television, and pictures in magazines and books bring the remote near at hand to the child. This helps him to develop concepts of *historical* time (181, 249).

Even more important, the rigid schedule of the school day, with the ringing of a bell at the end of a given period of time, enables the older child to estimate time more accurately in terms of what he can accomplish in a stated period of time (97, 139, 162, 181).

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CONCEPTS OF DEATH Children whose lives are touched by the death of a family member or a pet react to it much as their parents do: if parents are grief-stricken, the child is confused, anxious, and disturbed by their absorption with their own grief and apparent unconcern about him. This is bound to color his concepts of death. Should they, on the other hand, hide their feelings from the child, he will

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CONCEPTS OF BODILY FUNCTIONS

By the time he reaches the school age, the child has well-developed concepts of bodily functions, but these, for the most part, are inaccurate until he begins to learn about his body in health courses in elementary school (96).

The child, for example, thinks of the lungs as round bags made of bone, skin, blood, and flesh and located in the head or neck. Nerves are thought of as threads composed of bone, blood, and flesh which cover all or part of the head. The stomach is believed to be made of skin, bone, flesh, and blood and is located at different points in the trunk (96,198). Concepts of how food is digested are shown in Figure 6-12 for children of different ages.

Equally erroneous are older children's concepts of the causes of illness. While some school-age children still believe that illness results from being "naughty," most believe that illness comes from "germs." To them, "germs" are thought of as abstract figures or animals like flies or worms. They believe that germs enter the body by the mouth, nose, or skin and, after making the individual sick, they leave through the same channels or the anus. Some children believe that they can get rid of germs by coughing or sneezing (198).

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They have to be able to fight in case a bully comes along; they have to be athletic; they have to be able to run fast; they must be able to play rough games; they need to know how to play many games—curb-ball, baseball, basketball, football; they need to be smart; they need to be able to take care of themselves; they should know what girls don't know—how to climb, how to make a fire, how to carry things; they should have more ability than girls; they need to know how to stay out of trouble; they need to know arithmetic and spelling more than girls do.

By contrast, they have the following far-from-complimentary concept of the role they believe girls are expected to play (110):

They have to stay close to the house; they are expected to play quietly and be gentler than boys; they must not be rough; they have to keep clean; they cry when they are scared or hurt; they are afraid to go to rough places like rooftops and empty lots; their activities consist of "fop-

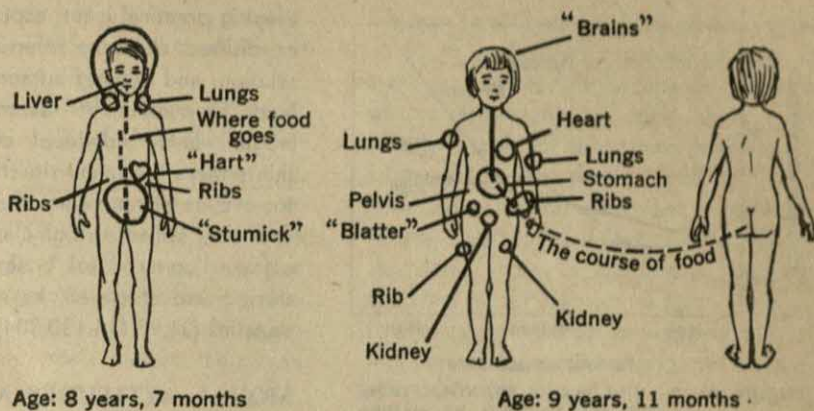


FIGURE 6-12 SOME EXAMPLES OF THE OLDER CHILD'S CONCEPT OF THE DIGESTIVE PROCESS. (ADAPTED FROM E. GELLERT, CHILDREN'S CONCEPTIONS OF THE CONTENT AND FUNCTION OF THE HUMAN BODY. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1962, 65, 293-405. USED BY PERMISSION.)

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Shortly after he enters school, the child becomes aware of his racial-group and religious-group memberships and of the attitudes his peers have toward them. These attitudes affect his self-concept. Toward the end of childhood, he adds to his self-concept the meaning of social-class status, as defined in terms of parental occupation (84).

SOCIAL CONCEPTS Not only does his ability to identify his peers' racial, religious, and socioeconomic status improve with each passing year, but the child also tends to accept the adults' attitudes toward these groups, thus giving rise to group consciousness and the beginnings of social prejudice (5,127,183). Figure 6-13 shows

the relation between parent and child prejudice. That prejudice is not usually based on personal experience but is a reflection of the cultural pattern and stereotypes of the child's environment has been demonstrated by a study which showed how elementary school children's attitudes changed when they learned to speak the language of the children against whom they were formerly prejudiced (228).

The child's social concepts include prejudices against members of the opposite sex as well as against those of minority groups. When adults encourage children to differentiate between their boy and girl companions and expect them to behave differently toward members of the two sexes, the child learns to view the two sexes differently and to regard one as superior to the other (97,109,110).

CONCEPTS OF BEAUTY The older child learns to appraise beauty in a more mature way than he did when he was younger. No longer are things beautiful or ugly just be-

in the building up of concepts of nationality. Although children do develop concepts of their own and of distant lands as a result of their study of geography, history, and social studies in school, movies and television give them a firsthand view of these countries. This has a marked influence on their attitudes toward them (128).

Changes in Specific Concepts

Of the different types of concepts that change during the late childhood period, the following are the most important: concepts of space, of numbers, of money, concepts of time, of life, of death, concepts of bodily functions, concepts of self, social concepts, concepts of beauty and of the comic.

CONCEPTS OF SPACE Space no longer is a vague, meaningless thing for an older child. From the use of weights and rulers, he comes to learn the meaning of ounces, pounds, inches, feet, yards, and even miles. Schoolwork in arithmetic helps him to formulate more definite ideas of space and distance than he could develop through his own personal experiences (34,83,139). With the great emphasis placed on reporting space explorations in mass media, the child becomes familiar with outer space just as children in his parents' young years learned about their more immediate environments.

CONCEPTS OF NUMBERS Numbers take on new meanings for the older child as he begins to use money and as he works with arithmetic problems (129,275). In one study, it was reported that children can add and subtract within 25 and can deal with simple fractions, multiplication, and division by the time they are eight years

old; they can understand number concepts to 1,000 or beyond a year later (129).

CONCEPTS OF MONEY Because most children have few opportunities to use money until they reach the school age, their money concepts tend to be forms of parrot speech: they can identify different coins and associate the right labels with them, but they do not know what these coins can buy. Only after the child has an opportunity to use coins for buying does he understand what they really mean (175, 275).

Learning to budget an allowance with a certain percentage of it for saving and the rest for spending increases the child's understanding of the meaning of money. Children who spend their money foolishly learn more about money more quickly than do children who spend wisely or than do those whose spending is carefully supervised by their parents (175).

Children who earn money from after-school jobs or from doing household chores learn more about the meaning of money than children whose money is given to them as an allowance or as rewards for good grades or good behavior (97,175,201). As the child grows older, he begins to moralize about the rightness or wrongness of the use of money, and this adds new meanings to his money concepts (269).

As the child's contacts with his gang members increase, he associates new meanings with money. It now becomes a prestige symbol to have money to spend for candy bars, cokes, and other after-school snacks which his friends enjoy. In addition, it gives him a feeling of independence—a symbol of being "grown up" to have money to spend as he wishes. These new meanings are focused on *spending*: spend-

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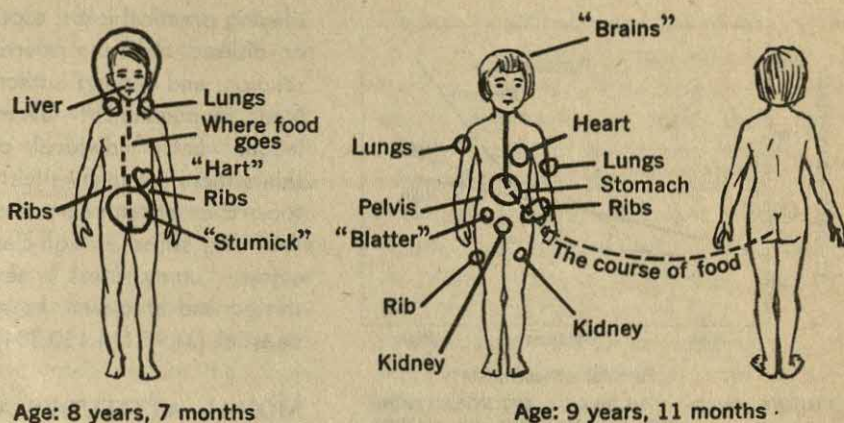


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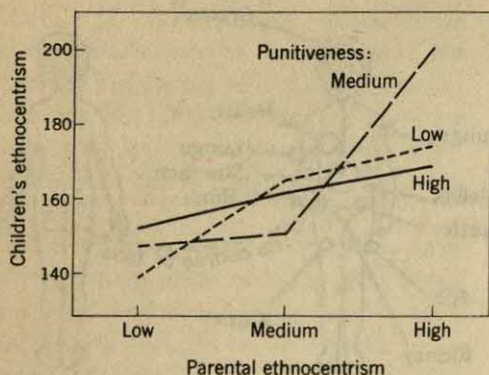


FIGURE 6-13 CHILDREN'S ETHNOCENTRISM IS INFLUENCED BY PARENTAL ETHNOCENTRISM AND PARENTAL PUNITIVENESS. (ADAPTED FROM R. EPSTEIN AND S. S. KOMORITA: CHILDHOOD PREJUDICE AS A FUNCTION OF PARENTAL ETHNOCENTRISM, PUNITIVENESS, AND OUTGROUP CHARACTERISTICS. *J. Pers. soc. Psychol.*, 1966, 3, 259-264. USED BY PERMISSION.)

cause he likes or dislikes them. Beauty and ugliness of color, of nature, of pictures, and of the human face and form are conditioned by group standards, rather than by individual reactions (15,282). In a study of children's concepts of facial beauty, for example, it was reported that as children grew older, their preferences became increasingly similar to those of adults (273). Similarly, with increasing age, there is a decrease in their perception of bright colors as beautiful in favor of the less saturated hues which appeal to adults (238,273).

CONCEPTS OF THE COMIC From his group contacts, the older child discovers that certain things are considered funny while others are not. Seeing others in a predicament; making faces; drawing caricatures of teachers and others in authority;

playing practical jokes, especially on adults or disliked children; referring to sex and religion; and defying authority, even if this leads to punishment—all make the group laugh. Each individual child thereupon thinks these are funny situations and laughs too. Even at ten years of age, the child is "not very skilled at high-class humor." He enjoys "corny jokes," sex, and smutty stories, and at eleven, he still enjoys some slapstick (31,97,114,130,304).

MORAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

The older child's moral code is greatly influenced by the moral code of the group to which he belongs. This does not, of course, mean that he rejects the family moral code in favor of that of the gang: it simply means that if he must make a choice, he will accept the standards of the group *when he is with the group* as a means of maintaining his status in the group. However, only when the group as a whole approves and condones behavior that is in direct contradiction to adult standards will the child go along with the group (50,115,123,291).

No longer are the child's concepts narrow and specific as they were when he was younger. He gradually generalizes his concepts so that they refer to *any* situation rather than to a specific situation. In addition, he discovers that the social group attached different degrees of seriousness to different acts, and this knowledge is incorporated in his concepts. For example, he learns that stealing is wrong regardless of whether it means stealing money, material possessions, or the work of others, as in cheating (75,131,187,291). Similarly, the child now regards lying as wrong, whether the lie is told to a parent, a teacher, or a

classmate, with or without fingers crossed. As a result, he lies less than he did when he was younger (31,131,168).

As the child reaches the end of childhood, his moral code gradually approaches that of the adults with whom he is associated, and his behavior conforms more closely to their standards (50,115,131,187). Children with high IQs tend to be more mature in their moral judgments and behavior than those of lower intellectual levels, and girls, as a group, are more mature than boys (75,131,290).

Discipline

Every child needs discipline. He is not yet mature or experienced enough to manage his affairs without the guidance and control of adults (73,247,284). In spite of the child's need for discipline, discipline becomes a serious problem with older children. Continuing use of the disciplinary techniques that proved to be effective when the child was younger is likely to lead to strong resentments on the part of the older child. Not only new techniques of discipline but also a shift in emphasis on the different aspects of discipline is essential. If discipline is to fill its role as a developmental need of the child, it must be suited to the child's level of development (73,131,284).

ELEMENTS OF DISCIPLINE Changes in the three essential elements of discipline—education to build up moral concepts, punishment for intentional wrongdoing, and reward for right behavior—must be made to meet the developmental needs of the older child. This does not necessarily mean a new approach to discipline unless it is apparent that the discipline used when the child was younger was ineffective or actually bad in the sense that it fostered un-

wholesome attitudes and lack of motivation to try to conform to approved patterns of behavior. Instead, it means a modification of old approaches to make them more effective tools for developing morality.

Throughout the closing years of childhood, *teaching* the child what is right and wrong is just as important as it was during the early years of childhood. But the teaching should take a new form. Emphasis should be placed on explanations of why certain forms of behavior are acceptable while others are not and on helping the child to broaden the specific moral concepts formed when he was younger into more generalized, abstract concepts of right and wrong (52,131,247,266,284).

Rewards, in the form of praise or an occasional special treat for meeting a difficult situation successfully, have a strong educational value in that they tell the child that what he has done is right; furthermore, they offer him a strong motivation to repeat such behavior (52,73,131). To have this motivating value, they must be appropriate for the child's age and level of development. Although young children like material rewards, whether it be a penny, a stick of bubble gum, or a new toy, the older child is more motivated by verbal rewards, such as "That's fine" or "Good boy" (293). The motivating value of different incentives is shown in Figure 6-14.

Just as rewards must be developmentally appropriate for the child, so must *punishment*. Parents and teachers use every conceivable form of punishment when older children misbehave. However, the most common forms reported are slapping and spanking, depriving children of some pleasure they have anticipated or some privilege they have been accustomed to, sending them off to their rooms alone to "think it over," reasoning, scolding, threatening,

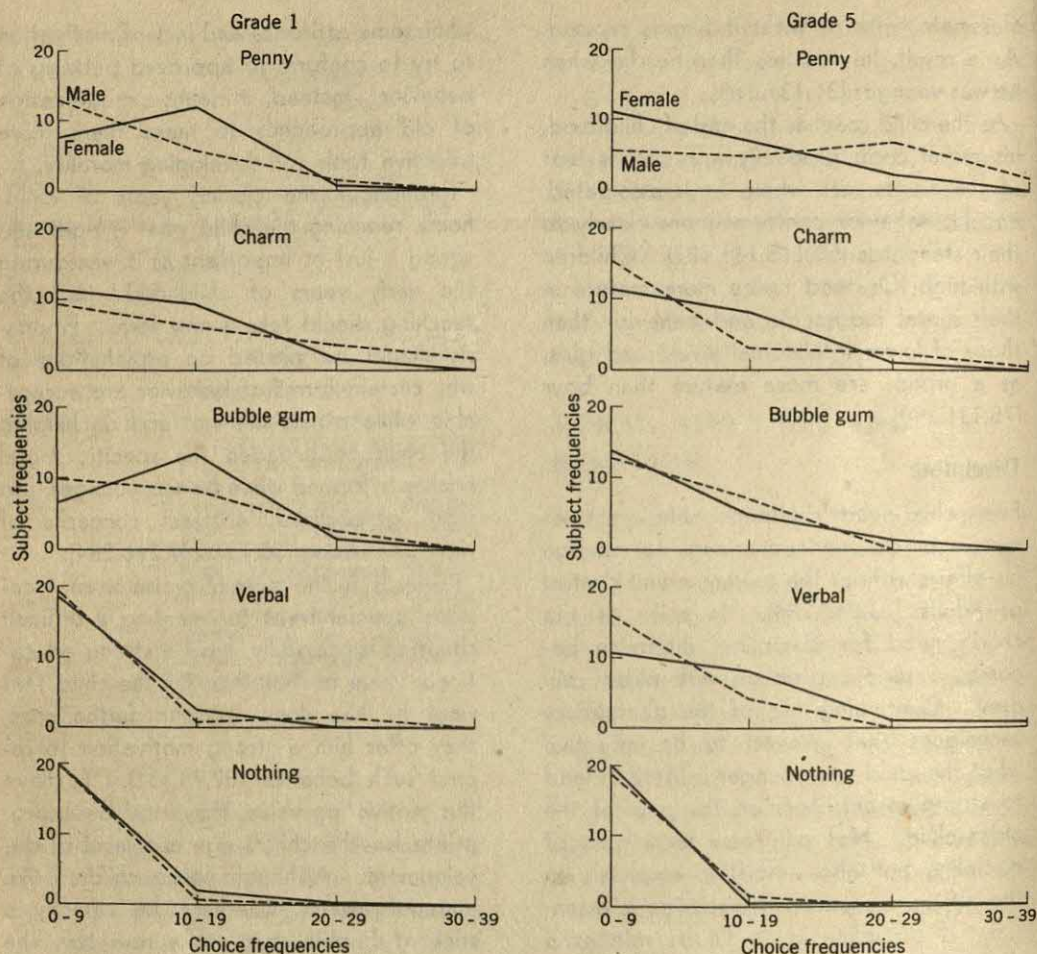


FIGURE 6-14 THE MOTIVATING VALUE OF DIFFERENT INCENTIVES. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. WITRYOL, D. J. TYRRELL AND L. M. LOWDEN: DEVELOPMENT OF INCENTIVE VALUES IN CHILDREN. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1965, 72, 201-246. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ignoring, coaxing, appealing to self-esteem, warning of social disapproval, and humoring (52,115,116,246).

Parents tend to continue to use on the older child the form they found "worked" when he was younger (240). Lower-class parents continue to use corporal punishment on the older child, often in a severe

form, while middle-class parents are more likely to try to stimulate feelings of guilt and shame in the child or to threaten him with the loss of parental love. As a result, the lower-class child concentrates on avoiding punishment by lying and being sneaky whereas the middle-class child tries to conform to parental wishes (246).

CHILDREN'S REACTIONS TO DISCIPLINE When children are young, they like to feel that parents know best. By late childhood, they rebel against their parents and parental standards when they learn that there are different standards and that different disciplinary methods are used among their friends. Too strict discipline is likely to lead the child to misbehave to prove to himself and his friends that he is independent; too lenient discipline is confusing to the child and creates a feeling of insecurity (52,73,131).

Even more important than the immediate consequences of discipline are the long-term consequences. As DuBois has emphasized, "Parents must think in terms not only of the immediate behavior at 2, 6, or 16 years . . . but also of the ultimate results of discipline at 20, 40, and 60, when parental control is no longer in force" (73).

Likewise, the child no longer accepts in an unquestioning way punishments meted out by adults for behavior of which they disapprove. Now the child has a strong sense of fairness and justice, and he does not hesitate to complain if he feels that he has been unfairly punished. Many children feel that the mother does not often take the blame herself for incidents that occur but rather tends to blame the children and this they resent (194,246). They also resent inconsistency in discipline and feel that it is unfair to be punished one day for the same act that went unnoticed the previous day (52,234,247).

Most young children react to punishment by crying; the older child is more likely to become angry and to express it overtly by verbal attacks on the person who punished him or by displacing his resentments on some innocent victim through aggressive physical attacks (52,81,173).

Development of Conscience

One of the important developmental tasks of late childhood is developing a conscience. By "conscience" is meant a conditioned anxiety response to certain types of situations and actions which has been built up by associating certain acts with punishment. It is a type of "internalized policeman" which motivates the child to do what he knows is right and thus to avoid punishment (4,14,27,85).

Guilt is a "special kind of negative self-evaluation which occurs when an individual acknowledges that his behavior is at variance with a given moral value to which he feels obligated to conform" (14). *Shame*, by contrast, is an "unpleasant emotional reaction of an individual to an actual or presumed negative judgment of himself by others resulting in self-depreciation vis-à-vis the group" (14). Shame, thus, relies on external sanctions alone, though it may be accompanied by guilt. Guilt, by contrast, relies on *both* internal and external sanctions (14,85).

With the development of shame and guilt comes a willingness to confess or to admit misbehavior. This may be to relieve the tension caused by shame and guilt, or it may be a method of gaining forgiveness which will lighten the punishment that would normally follow misbehavior if caught or of eliminating it entirely (221). *Moral shame* is thus a powerful agent in the development of moral behavior (97, 114).

FACTORS INFLUENCING CONSCIENCE DEVELOPMENT How effective a child's conscience is as a motivating force in directing his actions into channels that will lead to moral behavior will depend not so

much on his knowledge of right and wrong as on the type of *punishment* he has been accustomed to receive. As was pointed out earlier, children who have been subjected to corporal punishment, often of a harsh nature, have little motivation to do what they know is right: their motivation is to avoid being caught and punished (27). If they are caught, they do not feel remorse, nor will they admit their guilt if they can cover up with lies or if they can shift the blame to some scapegoat. By contrast, children who have been subjected to verbal punishment, such as scoldings or criticisms, more willingly admit their wrongdoing; they are less likely to shift the blame to a scapegoat; and they suffer more from feelings of shame (152).

Punishment that is general in nature, such as spanking for all misbehavior, has a negative effect on the development of conscience. By contrast, punishment that is specific in the sense that it is related to the unsocial act, provides the motivation that comes from a sense of shame and, to a lesser extent, from guilt (173).

The punishment the child receives influences parent-child relationships and *parent-child relationships*, in turn, influence the development of conscience. When parents are warm and understanding, children have been reported to resist temptations better than when parents are cold and punitive. The child, because of affection for his parents, thus becomes "insulated" against misbehavior. Because girls have a closer relationship with their parents at this age than boys, girls have a stronger motivation to live up to parental expectations than boys have (207,218,221). A combination of wholesome forms of punishment and wholesome parent-child relationships can be regarded as "conscience-building devices" (152).

Judgment of Others

An inevitable accompaniment of learning to judge oneself is the tendency to judge others. As the child looks critically at his own behavior and compares it with the behavior of others, he may see flaws in that behavior which formerly went unnoticed. Furthermore, because he has been criticized and punished when his behavior falls below socially approved standards, he feels that he has the right to criticize others when their behavior does likewise.

As a result, many older children become highly critical of the shortcomings of others, whether adults or peers. The older child condemns them severely for smoking, drinking, cheating, lying, or anything that falls below the group's standards and for which he has been criticized. This builds up an attitude of intolerance that did not exist when he was younger.

For the older child, there are no exceptions to "good" and "bad"; he approves of those whose behavior is "good" and condemns those whose behavior is "bad" (266). By adolescence, intolerance begins to give way to tolerance, and the adolescent tempers his criticism and condemnation of others with an understanding that children lack. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Not only does the older child sit in judgment on others, but he also derives keen personal satisfaction when their misdeeds are caught and punished. In fact, he often gloats when an age-mate or a sibling is punished. If he is jealous of the sibling and resents the privileges or attention the sibling gets from his parents, nothing will please him more than to see the sibling punished for some misdeed. On the other hand, if he feels the punishment is unfair or if he is very fond of the sibling, he will

side with him against the parent and show resentment rather than pleasure at the punishment (29).

The same is true with his age-mates. Gang loyalty motivates him to side with a gang member, regardless of his misdeeds. When the age-mate is not a member of his gang, or if he feels some jealousy toward him because of his greater academic, social, or athletic success, he is likely to react to any criticism or punishment that child receives as he does toward a sibling he is jealous of—he literally delights in the other's loss of status and his temporary humiliation (97,109,130).

Misdemeanors in Late Childhood

Some misdemeanors of older children, as is true of younger, come from ignorance of what is expected of them or from misunderstanding of rules. Most, however, are a result of the child's testing of authority and his attempt to assert his independence (255). Such misdemeanors "reflect strivings for social esteem" (292).

Older children, especially boys, frequently delight in doing things they know are wrong because of the sense of personal importance they derive that comes from the admiration of the members of the peer group. Much of the misbehavior in the school and neighborhood by gangs of older boys or girls is motivated by such desires (131,212,292).

That misdemeanors come from causes other than ignorance is shown by the fact that even first-grade children are able to rate the relative seriousness of different acts. They know that behavior that inconveniences others, such as whispering in school, breaking objects, playing with fire, breaking school rules, and disobeying parents are all regarded as wrong, and they

are able to rate them in order of seriousness (104).

This is equally true of home misdemeanors. Even when they are away from the gang and no longer have peer pressures to defy authority, they often misbehave because they feel that the family rules are unfair, that the punishment they are given for misbehavior is too harsh, or that their parents are inconsistent about what they will tolerate and what they will not (58,265).

Just as younger children disobey and become troublesome when they are tired or not feeling up to par physically or when they are emotionally disturbed, so do older children. As may be seen in Figure 5-15, page 235, six-year-olds tend to be most troublesome in the late afternoon, when they return from school and play in the neighborhood. After they have had time to rest and have their evening meal, they are less troublesome. Nine-year-olds show much the same pattern of behavior, though it is not as pronounced as in children who are younger (52).

COMMON MISDEMEANORS What misdemeanors the child will commit will depend on what rules he breaks. Because home rules are, of necessity, different from school rules, home misdemeanors are, in turn, different from school misdemeanors. Common home misdemeanors have been reported to be fighting with siblings, breaking possessions of other family members, being rude to adult family members, dawdling over routine activities, neglecting home responsibilities, lying, being sneaky, pilfering things of minor value, and spilling things intentionally (29,52,97,147,265).

The most common forms of misbehavior in the school have been reported to be stealing, cheating, lying, using vulgar and obscene language, destroying school property

and materials, being truant, annoying other children by teasing and bullying, reading comics during school hours, chewing gum, whispering during class, being boisterous, clowning, and fighting with other children (21,74,212).

Each year, as the child progresses in school, he has a tendency to violate school rules more than he did when he was younger (74). This may be explained by the fact that he likes school less than he did earlier, that he is more likely to dislike his teacher than to like him, that he finds some school subjects "boring," and that he is often less well accepted by the peer group than he was earlier or than he hoped to be (63,145,151).

SEX DIFFERENCES IN MISDEMEANORS

At home, in school, and in the neighborhood, boys break more rules than girls. This is true of children of all socioeconomic groups, but especially so of those of the lower socioeconomic groups. There are two reasons for this sex difference: *First*, boys are given more freedom than girls are and are less often punished for misbehavior than girls on the grounds that "boys will be boys"; and, *second*, boys feel that they must defy rules to show their masculinity and thus win peer approval (147, 207,212,292). Sex differences in school misdemeanors are shown in Figure 6-15.

SERIOUSNESS OF MISDEMEANORS

While it is generally true that misbehavior is a "transient phenomenon in school-aged children," this is not always true (147). When, for example, a child learns to rely on misbehavior to win social approval from his peers, he may gain his end temporarily but, in the long run, increase his unpopularity. As Lorber (160) has pointed out:

Disruptive, attention-seeking actions produce, at best, merely insignificant and fleeting moments of social recognition, and, in the long range perspective, impair the positive development of rewarding interpersonal relations and satisfactory social living.

Other children feel so resentful toward the peer group for rejecting them that they project their anger on society and misbehave to "get even." While this is more likely to be true of children from poor home backgrounds, it is by no means limited to them (147,207,255,292).

When misbehavior becomes the child's habitual pattern of behavior to win social approval from his peers or to vent his anger on a society he thinks has mistreated him, he must increase the seriousness of his behavior with each passing year if it is to serve the purpose for which he uses it. Children who are bad "school citizens" or "home citizens" are often headed for trouble.

This, of course, does not mean that all misbehavior will lead to trouble. But because the normal pattern is for children to show more socially acceptable behavior as they grow older and to engage less and less in socially unacceptable behavior, those who deviate from this pattern must be looked upon with concern because of trouble that may lie in store for them as they grow older (97,168,207,212).

SOME CHILDHOOD INTERESTS

What the older child is interested in depends upon the opportunities he has to develop interests. Firstborn and only children usually have more interests than later-born because they spend more time with

adults and, thus, acquire adult interests as well as childish interests (8,29). When Negro children are segregated from white children, not only do they develop different interests, but also their range of interests tends to be narrower because of fewer environmental opportunities. Children, for example, are usually interested in pets. However, those who have had pets in the home tend to have a greater interest than those who have never had a pet (8,29).

In the development of interests, interpersonal relationships are more important than specific teaching. The child, for example, who dislikes his teacher often learns to dislike the subject she teaches and school in general. "Likes" and "dislikes" thus weight interests emotionally and play an important role in the strength of interests (281).

As children spend increasingly more time with the peer group, they learn what the peer group values. This plays an important role in the development of their interests. Children who put a high value on sports, for example, encourage others to develop a strong interest in them (8). From the group, the child learns what is considered sex-appropriate and this, too, influences the type of interests he develops (97,109, 281).

Common Interests in Late Childhood

Although each child will develop certain interests that are individual in nature, every child in a particular culture develops other interests that are almost universally found among the children of that culture. In the United States these interests include: religion; the human body; appearance; clothes; sex; school; status symbols; and autonomy.

RELIGION Although the novelty of Sun-

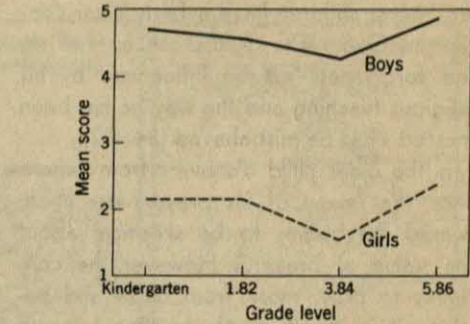


FIGURE 6-15 SEX DIFFERENCES IN SCHOOL MISDEMEANORS FOR CHILDREN AT DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS. (ADAPTED FROM D. R. PETERSON: BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF MIDDLE CHILDHOOD. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1961, 25, 205-209. USED BY PERMISSION.)

day school attendance has worn off, in part at least, by the time the child reaches first grade, he still enjoys going to Sunday school. This offers him an opportunity to be with his friends on a day when otherwise he might not be permitted to play with them or when family plans would limit his companionship to adults. He is likely to develop an attitude of skepticism toward some of the teaching. And he does not hesitate to show his skepticism by asking his Sunday school teacher or his parents to explain certain incomprehensible parts of what he learns (8,97). As he learns that there are different religious denominations, he begins to question the beliefs of the family religion (76,99).

Religious teaching in the early years of his life has, however, left its imprint on the older child's mind. He has many vague concepts which gradually become clearer and more accurate as he grows older and he can comprehend abstract theories bet-

ter. Most children have a fairly clear concept of God. The child's concepts of sin and forgiveness will be influenced by his religious teaching and the way he has been treated when he misbehaved (84,132).

As the older child discovers from experience that many of his prayers are unanswered, he begins to be skeptical about the value of prayer. However, he continues to pray, more from habit and because it is the thing to do than because he believes that it will benefit him. Prayer thus degenerates into a ritual with little or no meaning for him (130,170). Figure 6-16 shows the older child's reactions to prayer.

THE HUMAN BODY The older child is anxious to know what goes on inside his body. Being unable to observe bodily functions directly, he tries to satisfy his curiosity by asking innumerable questions and by reading stories or books that describe the body and how it works. Even though most children's concepts are inaccurate (see pages 296 to 297), they have enough knowledge to satisfy their curiosity.

Only when children are ill or when they have some chronic illness, such as asthma or diabetes which focuses their attention on their health, do older children show any real interest in health. This is especially true of boys who regard all health measures as a sign of being a "sissy." Poorly adjusted children often use imaginary illness as a means of avoiding situations for which they feel inadequate. This tends to make them preoccupied with health (8).

APPEARANCE So long as the child is not so homely that he will be ridiculed by other children, his appearance is of little concern to him. He is not bothered by his height or weight, unless they deviate so markedly from the height and weight of his

classmates that he feels conspicuous, nor do such physical defects as freckles, crooked teeth, or stringy hair bother him.

By the fifth or sixth grade, girls begin to be more interested in their appearance than they were when they were younger. Tidiness then begins to be important to them. Boys of the same age, on the other hand, prefer an unkempt appearance because they believe it is more "masculine." The older girl discovers that to be popular she must make a good appearance, but for boys, a good appearance is likely to cause them to be labeled "sissies" (31,97,130, 238).

CLOTHES The older child is keenly interested in clothes as a badge of conformity to the group. New clothes, clothing of a style usually associated with older children, and clothing in his favorite colors still appeal to the child of school age as they did when he was a preschooler. As a general rule, colors of garments are the only real source of appeal to children up to the age of nine years.

Beginning around the eighth or ninth year, slavish conventionality in the style of clothing of the group makes its appearance. At this age, the child is anxious to be acceptable to the group in appearance as well as in behavior (8,204,238). As Ryan (238) has pointed out:

The most important requisite of clothing, then, for the school child, is that it is sufficiently similar to other members of the group so that he is acceptable in this respect and is not ridiculed. Phrases such as "but all the others have..." or "nobody else has to wear..." are very familiar to every mother.

The older child's clothes do much to in-

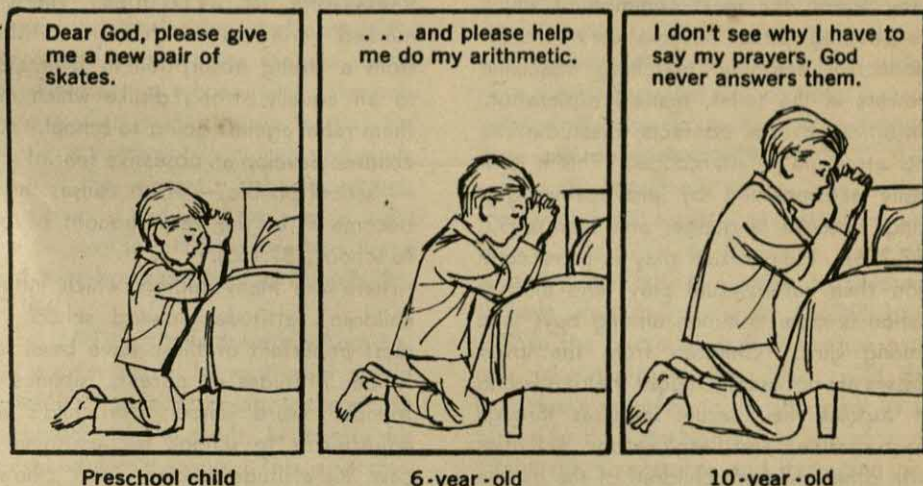


FIGURE 6-16 CHANGES IN CHILDREN'S REACTIONS TO PRAYER WITH AGE.

crease his self-confidence and to add to his feeling of "belonging." What his friends think about his clothes is quickly sensed by the child, and this influences not only his attitude toward his clothes but also his attitude toward himself (130,238). The importance of clothes to the older child has been expressed thus (238):

Children do like clothes and find real satisfaction in them. Bright colors or gay materials, the feel of different textures in clothing, the comfortable, familiar garment as well as the new one—these are all things that bring pleasure to the child. Clothes make a contribution to the process of growing up when they are right from his standpoint. They can help to make the man.

SEX Not only is the older child keenly aware of and interested in genital differences, but he also wants to know in more

detail about the relations between sexes, the birth process, how development takes place within the mother's body, and the relation of the father to reproduction (92).

As the child becomes older, his curiosity is less outspoken and more disguised than it was when he was younger because of the unfavorable attitude of many parents toward the child's questions or their avoidance of the subject. As a result of unfavorable parental attitudes, many children get their information from their friends, from suggestive pictures in the comics, from "dirty" stories and jokes, or from books (29,71,97). By the time the child is ten years old, he has a large fund of information or misinformation about sex (92, 224).

Children derive some of their information from *sex exploration*, either of their own bodies or through the mutual exploration of the bodies of children of their own or the opposite sex. Sex exploration takes

many forms, the most common of which are peeping, direct observation of the reproductive anatomy, matching masculine prowess in the toilet, manual exploration, exhibitionism, oral contacts, masturbation, and attempts at intercourse. This is generally accompanied by provocative giggling, obscene language, and secrets (92, 197,224). Homosexual play is more common than heterosexual play, and masturbation is more common among boys than among girls. Children from the lower classes are not usually taught that it is wrong to express their sexual impulses through masturbation and exploratory activities with other children; children of the middle class learn at an early age that such activities are considered "wrong" if not actually "wicked" (197,246).

SCHOOL The young child looks forward eagerly to the time when he will be old enough to go to school. To him, this means "growing up" as well as an opportunity to learn to read and write. For the first year or two, most children like school; they enjoy their studies, and they like their teachers. However, before the end of the second year, a change in attitude becomes apparent. In place of enthusiasm and interest come boredom, antagonism toward school, and a critical attitude toward the teacher (130).

While the child may still like some of the nonacademic aspects of school as he progresses through the grades, such as recess or play with his friends, and some of the nonacademic subjects, such as singing and shop work, he is likely to be bored with his classes and to resent the restrictions placed on his freedom. Furthermore, he is likely to have a less friendly attitude toward his teacher than he had earlier in his school career (25,130,174).

VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES There are marked variations in children's attitudes, from a strong absorption in their studies to an equally strong dislike which makes them rebel against going to school. A few children develop an obsessive fear of school—"school phobia"—which causes them to become ill at the very thought of going to school (137,155).

There are many factors which influence children's attitudes toward school. The most important of these have been found to be: attitudes of parents, siblings, and friends toward school; the child's social adjustments to school, his academic success, his attitude toward "work"; how the teacher treats him; and how the discipline and attitudes of the teacher compare with those he has been accustomed to at home (174,274).

Children who are younger than their classmates when they begin school often make poor social adjustments, and this leads to a dislike for school. Overage children, who have had to repeat a grade or two, likewise dislike school because they find themselves social misfits (79,196,242). In general, girls like school better than boys, who regard many of the school subjects as sex-inappropriate, and they resent "petticoat" domination by female teachers (133,280).

Bright children, especially those who read well and make good grades, are happier in school than the poor readers or those whose grades fall below their own and their parents' expectations. Children of the higher socioeconomic groups have a generally more favorable attitude toward school at all ages than do those of the lower groups (17,156,213,217,226).

EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES When children's attitudes toward school become less favorable, their behavior and work are affected.

As we have seen the liking for the teacher, so common at the beginning of the child's school career becomes less friendly as the child progresses in school (174). Accompanying a change in attitude toward the teacher is a tendency to cut up and make trouble for the teacher. This is more true of boys than of girls and explains, in part, the more hostile attitude teachers have toward their boy than their girl pupils (21, 47, 97, 174).

As the child's attitude toward school becomes less favorable, his motivation to do what he is capable of doing academically is weakened. As a result, he begins his career of underachieving. This is intensified by parental scoldings and proddings. Although underachievement may start in school subjects in which the child has difficulties or when he does not like the teacher, it often develops into a general characteristic. He then works below his capacity in *all* subjects. This is especially serious in the case of reading because of the role reading plays in elementary school work (35, 57).

VOCATIONAL AMBITION Most school children think about their future careers (8). Their first vocational aims are generally very unrealistic, with little or no consideration of their abilities for the careers they select. As a rule, their first ambitions are to follow in the footsteps of a parent, a relative, or someone outside the family whom they love and admire. Their ambition is to go into a line of work that appeals to them as glamorous or exciting, or has high prestige (97, 105, 300). In addition, they become increasingly interested in vocations that are considered appropriate for their sex (281).

Although few children decide definitely about their future vocations, they are likely

to establish favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward different vocations during their childhood days. These attitudes, once established, can and often do have a lasting influence on their vocational selections and vocational adjustments as they grow older, especially if they must revise their vocational aspirations downward and accept jobs with less prestige and less authority than they had hoped, as children, to have when they grew up (166, 205, 300).

When the "occupational elimination process" occurs, it can play havoc with the individual's adjustments to any work he is forced to do. As Nelson has emphasized, "Relatively irreversible and damaging occupational concepts may be internalized because little effort is made to help children develop an early and objective understanding of the world of work" (202).

STATUS SYMBOLS With the development of social concepts (see pages 297 to 298) comes an interest in status symbols—signs which proclaim to all what the child's status is in the social group. And, with the growing realization of the role played by socioeconomic status, the child's interest in symbols that proclaim to others a favorable status increases (64).

For the older child, a status symbol must be *visible* for all to see: invisible status symbols, such as family background or club membership are too sophisticated for him to understand. In discussing clothes similar to those of the group, Ryan has pointed out why they are such valuable status symbols. According to her (238):

The child thinks in concrete rather than in abstract terms. It is much easier for him to attribute acceptance or rejection to something tangible such as possession of the uniform or symbol of the group,

than it is to attribute it to something intangible such as sportsmanship or friendliness.

The child uses as cues in judging the status of others such visible symbols as the variety and type of clothes they wear, the size and type of house they have, the number and types of cars the family has and whether the housework is done by the mother or a servant (84, 127). Figure 6-17 shows some of the cues used by children in judging the status of others.

Not until the childhood years draw to a close can children appreciate differences in quality. To them, quantity and size are synonymous with superiority. To girls, a number of dresses or dresses with ornamentation are superior to dresses of plain design from an exclusive shop. Similarly, boys judge a big car of cheap make as superior to a small, foreign car of expensive design.

When they do notice deviations from the "average," they notice the ones that are qualitatively inferior before they notice those that are superior. They notice, for example, a dilapidated house sooner than one of equal size in better condition, and they prefer the latter to the former (84).

What status symbols the child is interested in having will be determined, to a large extent, by what his playmates have and what they consider important. If, for example, boys have roller skates or bicycles, every boy in the gang will want to have them also. Similarly, when girls discover that some of their gang-mates have flowered hats for Easter, each girl will want to have a similar hat (124, 127).

A summary of the material possessions which most American children of today are interested in because of their status-symbol value follows: clothes, television sets, radios,

cars, sports equipment, bicycles, roller and ice skates, a family car, a large house with modern furnishings, a piano, and a hi-fi set. Many children who live in cities regard a dog or cat as a status symbol (8). They also regard a prestigious occupation held by the father as a symbol of superior family status (29, 127).

AUTONOMY As children spend increasingly more time outside the home, they demand more autonomy and resent the overprotectiveness of parents, which they associate with babyhood. They also resent the feelings of inadequacy which develop when they are not encouraged to learn to be independent. This is especially true of boys who regard dependency as a sign of a sissy (13).

By contrast, children who are encouraged to be independent tend to make better social relationships, and this increases their self-confidence. How much autonomy the older child wants will be greatly influenced by the autonomy his gang-mates are given: if he has as much as they have, he will be satisfied (57).

CHANGES IN FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

In spite of the broadened environment of the older child, his home still exerts a marked influence on his development (159, 267). How important the home is to the older child has been stressed by Bossard and Boll (29) thus:

Home is the place the child comes back to with his experiences. It is the lair to which he retreats to lick his wounds: the stage to which he returns to parade the glory of his achievements: the refuge he finds in which to brood over his ill treat

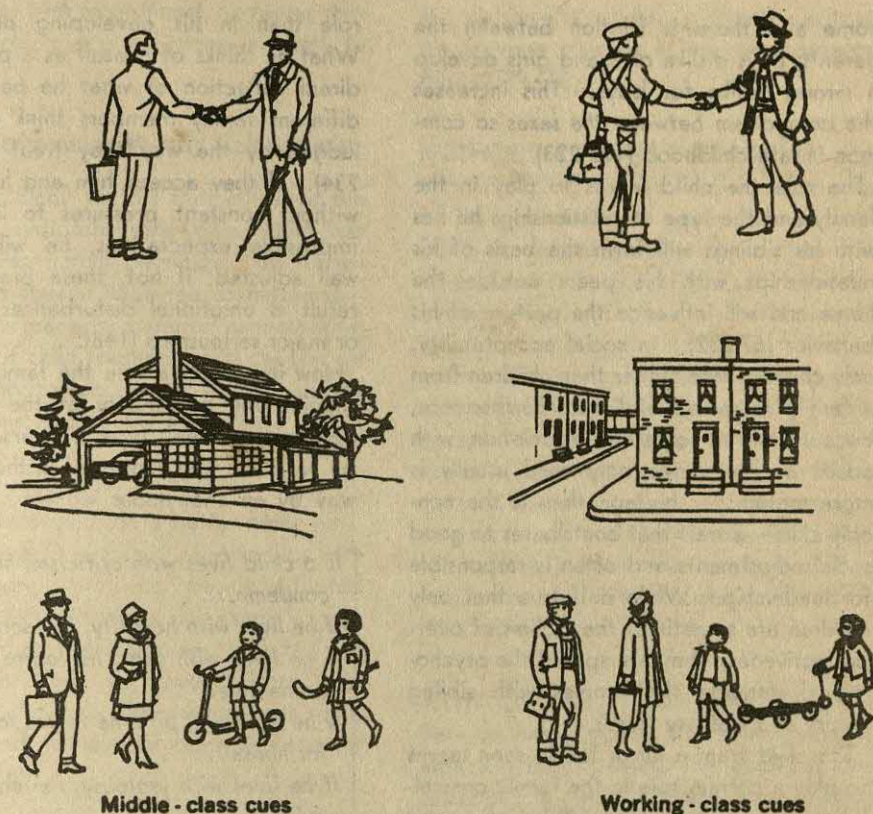


FIGURE 6-17 SOME CUES USED BY OLDER CHILDREN TO IDENTIFY SOCIAL-CLASS DIFFERENCES. (ADAPTED FROM G. JAHODA: DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL DIFFERENCES IN CHILDREN FROM 6 TO 10. *Brit. J. Psychol.*, 1959, 50, 159-175. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ment, real or fancied. Home, in other words, is the place to which one brings the everyday run of social experience, to sift, to evaluate, to appraise, to understand, or to be twisted, to fester, to be magnified, or ignored, as the case may be.

The family is regarded as the most significant part of the child's "social network." How far-reaching the effects of family relationships are is apparent in many areas of the child's life, especially in the type of

work he does in school and his attitude toward school. Wholesome family relationships lead to motivation to achieve academically what he is capable of, while unwholesome family relationships cause emotional tension, which plays havoc with the child's ability to learn (122,188,250).

When family relationships are favorable, the child's social adjustments to people outside the home are better than when family relationships are stressful. When, for example, the mother dominates the

home and there is friction between the parents, boys dislike girls and girls develop a strong dislike for boys. This increases the *antagonism between the sexes* so common in late childhood (122,223).

The role the child learns to play in the family and the type of relationships he has with his siblings will form the basis of his relationships with his peers outside the home and will influence the pattern of his behavior (67,232). In social acceptability, only children rate higher than children from a family of several siblings. Furthermore, because of his constant association with adults at home, the only child usually is more mature for his age than is the non-only child—a trait that contributes to good social adjustments and often is responsible for leadership. While it is true that only children are sometimes the victims of over-protectiveness, they are spared the psychological damage that comes with sibling rivalry and jealousy (6,29).

The child from a large family soon learns to play a certain role in the family constellation. The role he plays will be influenced largely by the order of birth. The first-born, for example, is generally expected to play the role of parent substitute in the care of the younger children while the status of the middle child is often undetermined, thus creating a problem situation for him which he meets by trying to rival the oldest or the youngest children. The youngest child never has to meet the problem of competition with a younger sibling, though he may often feel neglected and resented by his older siblings. Thus, it is apparent that the child's relationships with his siblings will establish patterns of behavior which are carried into his relationships with his peers (29,148).

In no area of the child's development do family relationships play a more important

role than in his developing *personality*. What he thinks of himself as a person is a direct reflection of what he *believes* the different family members think of him as judged by the way they treat him (184, 234). If they accept him and his abilities without constant pressures to live up to impossible expectations, he will become well adjusted; if not, these pressures will result in emotional disturbances of minor or major seriousness (148).

How important a role the family plays in shaping the personality of the child and determining what type of person he will be has been well expressed in the following way by an anonymous writer:

If a child lives with criticism, he learns to condemn.

If he lives with hostility, he learns to fight.

If he lives with fear, he learns to be apprehensive.

If he lives with pity, he learns to feel sorry for himself.

If he lives with jealousy, he learns to feel guilty.

If he lives with encouragement, he learns to be confident.

If he lives with tolerance, he learns to be patient.

If he lives with praise, he learns to be appreciative.

If he lives with acceptance, he learns to love.

If he lives with approval, he learns to like himself.

If he lives with recognition, he learns to have a goal.

If he lives with fairness, he learns to value justice.

If he lives with honesty, he learns to value truth.

If he lives with security, he learns to have faith in himself and others.

If he lives with friendliness, he learns that the world is a good place in which to live.

Factors Influencing Family Relationships

There are many factors that influence the type of relationship the older child has with different family members. The following are of special importance: the personality of the parents; parental expectations; methods of child training; attitudes toward parenthood; socioeconomic status; parental occupations; and family solidarity.

PERSONALITY OF PARENTS Well-adjusted parents provide a better home environment and have better relationships with their children than do poorly adjusted parents (159). Mothers, for example, who are "painfully self-conscious and feel inferior" are likely to have children with problem behavior. The unhappy and silent mother tends to have inhibited and somber children (168).

PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS Some parents have high and often unrealistic ambitions for their children. These are likely to make their children feel insecure and unaccepted when they fail to live up to parental expectations (57,136). Mothers who have given up a successful career for motherhood often expect the same high standards of performance from their children that they have been accustomed to expect in their careers (285).

By the time the child enters school, most parents expect the child to assume responsibilities for the care of his possessions, for help around the home, and for routine activities, such as going to bed on time. Whether the child will live up to these expectations or not will depend partly on

the personality of the child and partly on his previous training in assuming responsibilities (29,108).

METHODS OF CHILD TRAINING Parents who cling to the traditional concept of the parental role, which includes exercising considerable restraint over the child to guarantee that he will be successful and avoiding too much love and affection for fear of "spoiling the child," produce an unfavorable home climate for good parent-child relationships. Children of indulgent parents have difficulties in making good social adjustments in the home as well as outside the home. Their lack of consideration for others and their tendency to do as they please irritates the members of their families as well as their peers and teachers (55,234).

ATTITUDES TOWARD PARENTHOOD Parents who perceive their roles unfavorably and regard family life as below their expectations tend to have poor relationships with their children. When, by contrast, parents perceive their roles as close to their ideals, children show better social and emotional adjustment, and the home climate is more favorable for all members (22,203,212,306).

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS When the child goes to the homes of his friends and has an opportunity to compare his home with theirs, he is satisfied if he has as much or more than they in the way of material possessions. But he is dissatisfied and unhappy if his home falls below the standard of the homes of his friends. This leads him to complain and criticize at home—attitudes that lead to an unfavorable climate in the home (29,84,127).

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS For the older child, parental occupation has a cultural significance that gives him prestige or denies it. How his peers feel about it will be reflected in the child's attitude toward the occupation and also toward his father (29).

The child's feelings about the mother's working outside the home depend partly on how much this interferes with his life and partly on how his peers feel about it. Some children accept the mother's working without question, while others bitterly resent it (122,166,264). How he feels is also greatly influenced by what type of substitute there is for the mother when she is away from home (219,264). If his care is left in the hands of an older sibling, who may bitterly resent having to give up peer activities to do "mother's work," the effects can be and often are very damaging, not only to the child but also to the home climate (230,264).

SOLIDARITY OF FAMILY When the family is held together as a unit and participates in different family rituals, the home climate is favorable for all (29,140). When, on the other hand, the home is broken by death or divorce, the remaining parent may be overprotective or may reject the child, thus establishing an unhealthy relationship (56,120,183,298). When the missing parent is replaced by a stepparent, the older child is likely to resent the stepparent bitterly and cause friction in the home (29,258).

Even though the older child's concept of death is still unrealistic (see page 295), death of a family member affects him more than it does a younger child. He recognizes the changes in the pattern of family living and he misses the companionship of the family member. Even when he has had a fric-

tional relationship with a sibling, the loss of the sibling is very disturbing to him. Grief experienced by all family members colors the home climate for many months (19,29,41).

Increased Family Friction

With the addition of each new member of a family, whether it be a sibling or a relative, the number of interpersonal relationships increases markedly. This often results in increased opportunities for friction (29). Under such conditions, it is not surprising that, as the childhood years progress, family relationships tend to worsen (159,267).

The older child's changed attitude toward his parents and the changes in his behavior are usually accompanied by a changed attitude on the part of parents toward the child. Parents of nine-year-olds, for example, have been found to be less warm, less indulgent, less affectionate, more restrictive in their controls, more punitive for misbehavior, and less intellectually stimulating to the older child than they are to children of three years or younger (240).

Part of this change may come from parental absorption in the care of younger children in the family, but the older child's rebellion against their authority is fundamentally at the basis of the change (32, 234). Furthermore, if the behavior and attitudes of the child's friends do not come up to parental standards, parents criticize the child's friends and try to curb his contacts with them. By the end of childhood, most children protest against parental rules and advice, and they argue with their parents about these matters (97,130,148).

In addition to the friction which he has with his parents, the child of this late-childhood period is in more or less con-

stant conflict with his *siblings*. The antagonism between the sexes that develops outside the home is carried into the home and leads to conflicts between brothers and sisters (29,109).

Older brothers and sisters, especially if they are adolescents, criticize and find fault with the child's "rowdy" behavior, his crude manners, and his continual shouting. He, in turn, likes to bully and tease, to make fun of, or even to fight with younger siblings. As a result of these sibling conflicts, there is almost continuous turmoil in the home. If parents attempt to put a stop to this, they are accused of "playing favorites" (29,97,148).

There are, of course, times of peace and harmony in the home. And there are times when older children show real affection for and interest in their siblings, even to the point of helping in the care of the younger and following the advice and pattern of behavior set by the older siblings. But these favorable relationships are outweighed in number and frequency by the less favorable (61,97,109).

Deterioration of relationships within the family spreads to *relatives*. The older child is likely to regard them as "too old," "too bossy," or "bores." He resents their authority even more than he resents parental authority, and he puts up a protest whenever he is expected to be a part of a family gathering, either in his home or in the home of a relative (29,30).

Parental Preferences

Because his mother is likely to be more constantly present than his father, the child becomes accustomed to turning to her for aid. Furthermore, because mothers, as a rule, have a more tolerant and understanding attitude toward the troublesome behav-

ior of older children than do fathers, a stronger bond grows up between mother and child than between father and child (55,72,119,134,229). As Henry has pointed out, "There is no doubt that children often tend to turn more to the parent who 'lets me' and away from the parent who 'won't let me'" (118).

As children grow older, they perceive differential treatment according to sex. Although most of them perceive the mother as the "boss," there is a tendency for girls to feel that their mothers are stricter with them than with their brothers and for boys to feel that their fathers are more lenient in their relationships with the girls of the family (77,110). Figure 6-18 shows how boys and girls perceive parental attitudes toward children of the two sexes.

The older child becomes increasingly *critical* of his parents' behavior, appearance, attitudes, and manners. Boys are more critical and less satisfied with their parents and home conditions than are girls. While they feel closer to the mother than to the father, they still are critical of her, as they are of the father (55,77,109).

Both boys and girls resent having their parents, especially their fathers, scold them, lose their tempers, be cross, come home late, use poor English, be careless about their appearance, or have poor manners. They approve, on the other hand, of parents who are companionable, loving, affectionate, understanding, good-natured, sympathetic, interested in them and their affairs, and concerned about doing all they can to make the home a cheerful place (110,119,216).

From their contacts with other children and their parents, from reading, and from stereotypes of parents presented in movies or television, the child forms a concept of the *ideal parent*. He then compares his

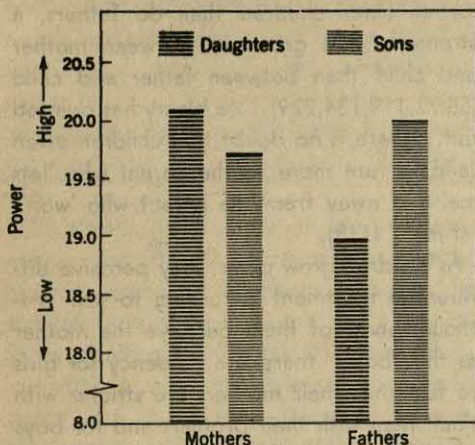


FIGURE 6-15 HOW BOYS AND GIRLS PERCEIVE PARENTAL POWER IN MOTHERS AND FATHERS. (ADAPTED FROM W. EMMERICK: VARIATIONS IN THE PARENT ROLE AS A FUNCTION OF THE PARENT'S SEX AND THE CHILD'S SEX AND AGE. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1962, 8, 3-11. USED BY PERMISSION.)

parents with these ideals. If his parents fall short of these ideals in any way, as they invariably do, he becomes critical of their shortcomings. This critical attitude soon becomes general, spreading to everything parents do or say (301).

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

As the child's social horizons broaden with his entrance into school, new factors of importance begin to influence the development of his personality. His concept of himself must frequently be revised. Having seen himself almost exclusively through the eyes of his parents for the first part of his life, it is not surprising if his concept of himself is biased. Now he sees himself as his teachers, his classmates, and his

neighbors see him. Even his parents react differently toward him now, and this helps to shatter the foundations upon which his concept of himself was based.

Because the child's attitude toward himself is affected by the attitudes of significant people—his parents, teachers, siblings, and peers—toward him, his self-concept is made up of "reflected appraisals." If these appraisals are favorable, the child will have a favorable self-concept; otherwise, he will tend to devalue himself (24, 78, 214, 257). In many cases, the child's beliefs of how people appraise him are not in harmony with their real appraisals, but he bases his self-concept on what he believes their appraisals are (7, 31). Figure 7-11, page 365, shows how children, but especially boys, tend to devalue themselves as they grow older.

That social pressures play an important role in influencing the child's self-concept is shown by the fact that relatively few children, when they first enter school have any real desire to change themselves, while a large percentage of older children do. This is especially true of girls who, after discovering the more favored position of boys in our culture, say they would like to be boys if they could (7, 45, 101, 109, 110, 223).

As childhood draws to a close and the child begins his hero worship of characters in history and in fiction, on the stage or on the screen, or in the world of sports or national affairs, he forms a concept of the *ideal self*, the kind of person he would like to be. At first, this ideal is patterned along the lines set by parents, teachers, and others from his immediate environment. Later, as his horizons broaden, people he does not know but has heard or read about form the nucleus of this ideal self. From these many sources, the older child builds

up a composite picture of an ideal self which he uses as a model (65,114).

Admired Traits

As the child spends more and more time with other children, he becomes increasingly aware of the fact that there are certain personality traits other children admire and others they dislike. Because the two sexes are widely separated at this age, it is not surprising to find that each sex has its own standard of an acceptable personality pattern for its members. This results in the establishment of certain habits of behavior specifically associated with the sex of the child.

According to these standards, the *typical boy* is wiggly, quarrelsome, aggressive, bossy, and a show-off, while the *typical girl* is quiet, popular, full of fun, a good sport, not aggressive, or bossy, or quarrelsome, but tidy, feminine in interests, and a "little lady" (7,45).

Children's ideals of acceptable personality traits change, however, with age. In general, the older the child, the more aggressive he must be if he is to be admired and accepted. There are also social-class differences in admired personality traits. The boy is expected to be more aggressive than the girl in all cultural groups, but this is especially so in the case of boys of the lower socioeconomic groups (131). Socioeconomic differences are also found in the degree of responsibility developed by children, with those of the higher groups admiring responsibility more than those of the lower groups (108).

Persistence of Personality Pattern

With each passing year, the child's personality becomes more and more fixed in a set pattern. The shy, retiring, self-effacing

individual, for example, continues to be such even when he discovers that this does not contribute to his acceptance by the group.

Early in the school life of the child, symptoms of personality trouble begin to appear, and these are likely to become progressively worse unless remedial aid is given. The common forms of personality patterns symptomatic of future trouble are those that are characterized by habitual withdrawal, excessive excitability, excessive resentment against authority, chronic depression, chronic anxiety, or emotional "deadening" (31,78,130,168).

Personality Factors

The child's concept of self is affected by his *general appearance*. The child who is large for his age, for example, or is larger than the children he associates with is often expected by parents and teachers to behave in a more mature manner than they would expect if his size were more in keeping with his age. Then, when he fails to live up to their expectations, he develops feelings of inadequacy. Or the child who differs from his peers by being markedly overweight is likely to develop feelings of inadequacy, especially if his classmates ridicule him and give him a nickname that indicates their disapproval (38).

The *general health* of the child is important when it cuts him off from the play of other children, thus making him feel inferior. Children who suffer from a physical defect, such as blindness, deafness, or lameness, may try hard to conform to the demands of their social environment, but they can do so only at the expense of anxiety and inner tension. Handicaps make the child more vulnerable to feelings of threat and cause greater emotional in-

stability, thus affecting the personality pattern (59).

If the child's *name* is accepted without ridicule or criticism by his friends, well and good. Should the group, however, comment unfavorably about it, this affects the child unfavorably just as if they commented unfavorably about his appearance. Children of minority groups find that their names often lead to prejudice and, as a result, they often try to change their names or use a nickname that will conceal their minority-group status (186). Because most *nicknames* serve as a form of ridicule of some physical or personality trait that is outstanding in the child, the child is likely to build up resentments against those who use it or to feel inferior if the nickname is widely used. Nicknames such as "Fatty," "Skinny," or "Slumpy" imply physical differences and show how other children feel about these differences. As children grow older, they learn to distinguish between nicknames that imply ridicule and those that imply acceptance and affection. How they interpret their nicknames will determine the effect the nickname will have on their personality patterns (186).

In discussing the effects of a name or nickname on the child's personality, through the effect it has on attitudes of others toward him, McDavid and Harari (186) have pointed out:

People, like objects, tend to be judged by their labels.... A child who bears a generally unpopular or unattractive name may be handicapped in his social interactions with peers.... There may be a general tendency toward negative evaluation of infrequently encountered names.

They further explain that the relationship between the child's name and the reaction

of the peer group toward him may be a case of "which comes first, the hen or the egg?" Children may like a child because of his name, or they may like a name because it is associated with a child they like. However, because a name plays such an important role in the developing self-concept of the child, they warn that a "parent might appropriately think twice before naming his offspring for Great Aunt Sophronia" (186).

Because there are pressures and prejudices against those who belong to *minority groups*, the child begins to sense these prejudices soon after he enters school. This gradually builds up a feeling of inferiority which, in time, is expressed in poor social adjustments, antisocial behavior, and in the child's whole outlook on life (14,248).

In our culture, social prestige is associated with a favorable *socioeconomic status* of the family. The child whose family does not measure up favorably becomes increasingly aware of this as the years pass. He compares his toys, his clothes, his home, his parents' status in the community, and his father's occupation with those of his friends to his personal disadvantage and dissatisfaction. There is a close relationship between the social status of the child's family and his personality adjustment. Whether the child's home is in a *rural* or *urban* area will influence the type of personality pattern he develops. Children from rural districts have been found to be superior to those of urban districts in self and social adjustments and receive better ratings from their teachers and peers (84,127,248).

The school environment exerts a marked influence on the development of the child's personality. Well-adjusted teachers do much to bring about good adjustment in their pupils; poorly adjusted teachers may have the opposite influence on their pupils.

Teachers who are happy in their work and like children can do much to help every child's personality development.

Poor grades, lack of promotion, and discipline that makes the child feel inadequate can play havoc with the developing personality of the child (211). Similarly, the acceptance or lack of acceptance by his classmates will influence his personality through the effect on his self-concept. "Stars" and isolates are especially affected, others less so (114,254).

Intelligence that deviates from the norm of the group invariably exerts a detrimental influence on the child's personality. The child who is duller than the rest of the group quickly senses his intellectual inferiority and the attitude of the group toward him. This builds up a feeling of personal inadequacy which is expressed in every area of his behavior. He becomes shy, introverted, and apathetic or aggressive and hostile toward those who reject him (156). By contrast, the very bright child not only feels superior to the group, but he also generally develops an intolerance toward those not so bright as he.

Bright children, as a rule, set *levels of aspiration* within their capacities, while dull children usually have unrealistic aspirations. Even though the bright child may fail to reach his goal, he will react realistically to the failure and will not permit it to affect detrimentally his self-concept, as usually happens with the less bright child who reacts to failure so unfavorably that it leads to feelings of inadequacy. The more failures he experiences, the more damaging it is to his developing self-concept (39,89, 257).

Although the *home environment* becomes increasingly less important as a factor in shaping the personality as the child grows older, *family relationships* continue to exert

a marked influence (254). See Figure 6. How the child feels about his parents, how satisfactory or unsatisfactory his relationship with them is, their attitudes toward him, the pattern of home life, and his relationships with his siblings—all play their role in determining what sort of individual he will become.

The child's ordinal position, whether oldest, youngest, or the middle child, has been found to be an important factor in shaping his personality (29,254). Only children, in contrast to those with siblings, sometimes show more dependent behavior and less self-confidence than do children with siblings (45,108).

HAPPINESS IN LATE CHILDHOOD

Late childhood can and should be one of the happy periods in the life span. While it cannot be a "care-free" time, since the child is expected to assume responsibilities in the school and home, successful achievement in these responsibilities, especially if they are prestigious in the eyes of significant people, will add to instead of detract from his happiness.

There are many factors that contribute to an older child's happiness. The child whose *health* and *energy* are normal will find satisfaction in doing what he wants to do when his friends do it. Even though he may have an occasional illness, especially one of the epidemic diseases, he is likely to be ill when his friends are ill, thus sharing an experience with them without missing out on their play.

Because his *skills* have improved greatly, he is no longer in a position of dependency: he can do much of what he wants to do without relying on the help of others. Similarly, *speech* skills have developed to

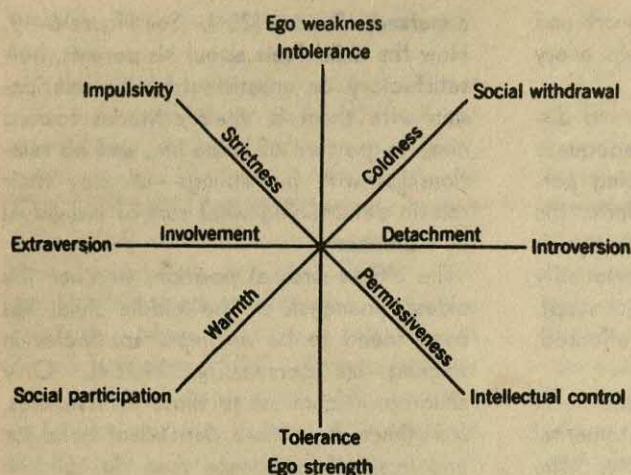


FIGURE 6-19 EFFECTS OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS ON THE CHILD'S DEVELOPING PERSONALITY. (ADAPTED FROM P. E. SLATER: PARENTAL BEHAVIOR AND THE PERSONALITY OF THE CHILD. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1962, 101, 53-68. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the point where he no longer experiences the frustrations of not understanding what others are talking about or not being understood when he communicates with them.

Unless some unusual conditions exist in his family life, he will have ample opportunity for *play* and equipment to play as his peers play. If he enjoys reasonable *social acceptance*, his play can be a source of daily happiness to him. Because play is an important part of the older child's life, his happiness is greatly influenced by how well his play meets his needs.

As *school* begins to occupy an increasingly large part of the older child's time, how he feels about school, but especially about his teacher, his academic achievements, and his classmates, can be a source of *real happiness*. The child who does well academically, who gets along well with his teacher and his classmates, and who enjoys

learning new things, will have an added reason to be happy.

Even though the older child spends increasingly more time outside the home, the *home climate* and the *relationships* he has with different family members are two vitally important factors in his happiness. If he has a warm and affectionate relationship with his family, even though there may be occasional friction and occasional punishments for intentional misbehavior, he will feel that his family loves him and treats him fairly. His happiness will be greatly increased if he enjoys a relaxed, cheerful climate in the home when he is there:

Parents are largely responsible for how happy or unhappy the older child is. *Directly*, they are responsible by seeing to it that his health is good or by taking any illness or defect he may suffer from in a philosophical way so that he will not feel

that they are blaming him for the inconvenience he has caused them.

Since parents are the family members responsible for determining what the home climate will be and for seeing to it that friction is kept to a minimum, they can do much through this to add to a child's happiness. Similarly, they are responsible for disciplinary practices and for creating the impression that every child in the family is treated fairly.

Indirectly, parents are responsible for the older child's happiness through their attitudes toward his achievements, at home, in school, or with his playmates. If they have unrealistically high aspirations for him, expecting him to do better than his peers in whatever he undertakes and minimizing or ignoring any physical or mental handicap he may have, they will encourage the child to feel that he is a failure—a feeling that does nothing but lead to unhappiness.

Parents, through their teaching and through the model they provide in the home for the child to imitate, are indirectly responsible for the social acceptance the child achieves among his peers. If they provide a model of friction or of critical, derogatory speech or if they permit siblings to "fight it out" physically or verbally with no direction or guidance about socially more acceptable ways to achieve the ends they want to achieve, it is understandable that the child would develop habits of behaving in socially unacceptable ways. This will affect his relationships with his teachers and peers.

While happiness in the closing years of childhood will not guarantee happiness for the remainder of the child's life, the conditions that contribute to happiness then will likewise contribute to happiness as he grows older. Even though new values are used in the selection of friends in adolescence

and adulthood, the individual who has learned to be socially acceptable to others when he was young has a foundation on which to build new patterns of behavior to conform to the new values.

Similarly, a child who has learned to see himself realistically and to accept his failures as a challenge to improved methods of reaching his goals or as a justification for lowering the level of his aspirations will, as he grows older, be spared the unhappiness that comes from repeated failures and their accompanying feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. This is just as true for social failures as it is for academic or business failures.

Late childhood is the time when individuals who are unhappy begin to use defense mechanisms in the form of rationalization to explain their shortcomings or of projection of the blame on others, and different escape mechanisms, especially daydreaming and imaginary illness. Although these defense mechanisms may, temporarily, alleviate the child's unhappiness, they are only stopgap measures. Each year, as the child grows older and more is expected of him, he will be less and less able to come up to social expectations unless the causes of his unhappiness are recognized and cured. The defense mechanisms used to alleviate his unhappiness will then have to be used more frequently and with greater strength until, in time, they may, like drugs, lose their effectiveness.

When it is apparent that one or more of the three A's of happiness—acceptance of self, acceptance by others, and affection from others—are not present in a child's life, this should be regarded as a danger signal of future trouble. If an individual is not happy at a time in the life span when conditions are favorable to happiness, it suggests that he is poorly equipped to face

a period in life when conditions are less favorable to happiness.

Puberty and early adolescence, for example, which are literally just around the corner, are almost universally unhappy ages. The older child who is unhappy will find them often so intolerable that he may retreat permanently into a daydream world and become schizophrenic, or he may decide that life is not worth living and attempt suicide.

Recognition of these potential dangers

and constructive measures to cure the causes of unhappiness in late childhood will go a long way toward forestalling future trouble. Of all possible constructive measures, the most important is to encourage children to think realistically about themselves and about other people. By doing so, it will be easier for them to accept themselves and to develop into the type of people who can be accepted and loved by others—regardless of their physical or mental limitations.

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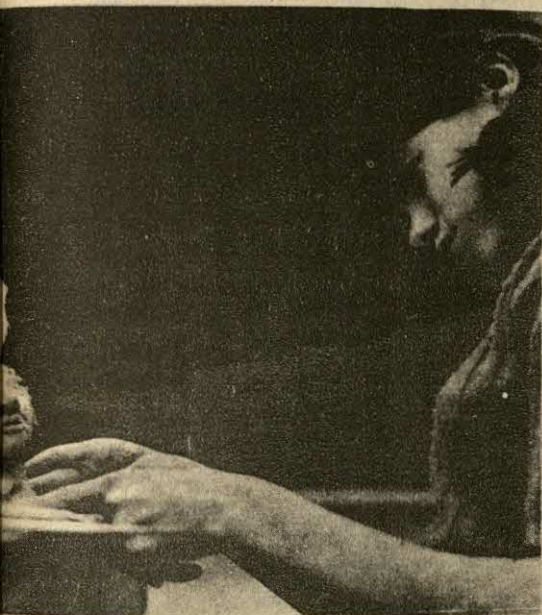
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Puberty is the period in the developmental span when the individual changes from an asexual to a sexual being. The name for this period comes from the Latin word *pubertas* meaning "age of manhood." It is the time when sexual maturity is reached and when the individual is capable of producing offspring.

As the child changes from an asexual to a sexual person, physical and psychological changes take place. As Dunbar (38) has explained:

During this period the developing child experiences changes in body, changes in status including appearance and clothes, possessions and range of choice, and changes in attitude toward sex and the opposite sex, all of which by necessity involve a changed child-parent relationship and changes in the rules and regulations to which the youngster is subjected.

Early Recognition of Puberty

As far back as the time of Aristotle, it was recognized that when boys are about fourteen years old, they begin to "engender seed." When this occurs, there are changes in their physical structure such as the appearance of hair on the body and a marked change in the tonal quality of their voices.

Aristotle also noted that when girls experience their first menstrual flow, their breasts develop and their voices change. Of even greater significance was his emphasis on behavioral changes. He stressed

the fact that at this time girls are irritable, passionate, ardent, and in need of constant surveillance because of their developing sexual impulses.

Among primitive peoples, different rites are observed by different tribes to show their recognition of the fact that the child is emerging from childhood into maturity and is, therefore, reaching the stage where he or she should have the rights, privileges, and responsibilities that accompany maturity (129,135). Among some tribes, the rites of puberty are public and are accompanied by singing, dancing, and tests of strength, power, and skill. In other primitive groups, the rites are familial. The rituals connected with the attainment of sexual maturity serve to arouse in the pubescent child new attitudes toward himself and his status in the tribe and to channel into socially acceptable forms of behavior the new feelings that come with physical changes (122).

While few civilized peoples recognize formally the transition from childhood to adolescence as primitive peoples do in their puberty rites, social expectations serve much the same role in that they inform the pubescent child of what society now expects of him. The force of social approval or disapproval motivates the child to follow these social expectations (14). However, there is a strong tendency among civilized peoples to treat the individual in accordance with his *physical age* rather than his *chronological age*. This is hard on both early and late maturers. In the case of the former, there is a tendency to expect too much, because of his mature body. In the case of the latter, there is a tendency to treat him as a child even when he is mentally capable of behaving in a more mature manner (122).

CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBERTY

Puberty is a unique and distinctive period in development with certain characteristics not found at other times in the life span. Of these characteristics, the following are the most important:

Puberty Is an Overlapping Period

Because it is customary to draw the line between childhood and adolescence at the time when the child reaches sexual maturity, the period of puberty must be regarded as an overlapping period, a time when the child is no longer characteristically a child because of the changes in his body and his behavior, nor is he yet an adolescent. Until he is sexually mature, the individual is known as a *pubescent child* or a *preadolescent*; after he becomes sexually mature, he is known as a *young adolescent*. Figure 7-1 shows how puberty overlaps the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence.

Puberty Is a Short Period

Puberty is relatively short, lasting from two to four years. Approximately one-half of this period overlaps the closing years of childhood, and the other one-half overlaps the beginning of adolescence. (Refer to Figure 7-1.)

Puberty Is a Time of Rapid Change

Puberty is a period of rapid physical and psychological change. It marks the transition from a childish body, a childish outlook on life, and childish forms of behavior to a mature body and to more mature attitudes and patterns of behavior. These rapid changes lead to confusion; feelings of inadequacy and insecurity, and, in many

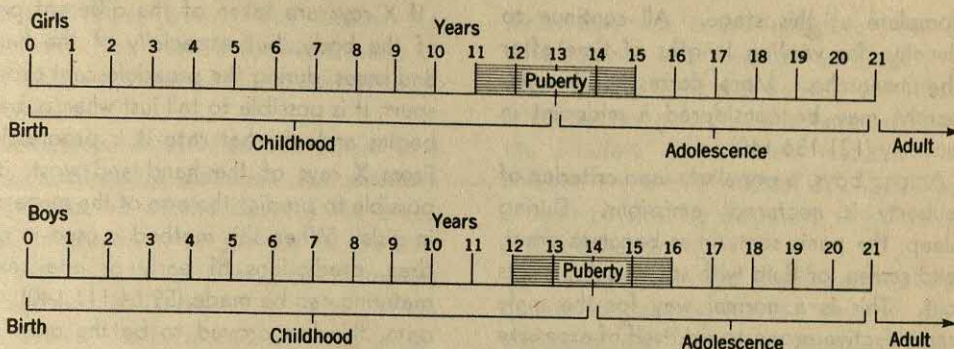


FIGURE 7-1 PUBERTY OVERLAPS THE END OF CHILDHOOD AND THE BEGINNING OF ADOLESCENCE.

cases, to unfavorable behavior. As a result, it is a time of "predictabilities and unpredictabilities" (111).

Puberty Is a "Negative Phase"

Many years ago, Charlotte Bühler labeled puberty the "negative phase." It has been known by this name ever since (19). The term, "phase," suggests a period of short duration in the total life span; "negative" suggests that the individual has taken an "anti" attitude toward life or that he is negating some of the good qualities he had previously developed. There is evidence that negative attitudes and behavior are mainly characteristic of the early part of puberty and that the worst of the negative phase is over when the individual becomes sexually mature.

Puberty Is a Variable Age

Puberty can come at any time from three or four years of age until eighteen or nineteen years. However, as we have seen, the average age for girls to become sexually mature is during their thirteenth year and

for boys, a year later. Because of the marked variations in age of puberty, there are many personal as well as social problems that complicate the growing-up process for both boys and girls.

CRITERIA OF PUBERTY

Because of the practical difficulty in applying a large number of criteria to determine the onset of puberty and the stage of development reached in puberty, attempts have been made to use one criterion. The accuracy of this method, however, is open to speculation. Of the single criteria that have been used to date, the most important are the menarche, nocturnal emissions, chemical analysis of urine, and X rays of bone development.

The *menarche*, or the first menstruation, is a commonly used criterion of sexual maturity among girls. But menstruation means neither the beginning nor the end of the physical changes occurring at puberty. When the menarche occurs, the sex organs and secondary sex characteristics have all started to develop, but none of them are

complete at this stage. All continue to develop for varying lengths of time after the menarche. More correctly, the menarche may be considered a midpoint in puberty (121,136,140).

Among boys, a popularly used criterion of puberty is *nocturnal emissions*. During sleep, the penis sometimes becomes erect, and semen, or fluid with sperm cells, spurts out. This is a normal way for the male reproductive organ to rid itself of excessive amounts of semen. Studies of large groups of boys have revealed that not all boys experience this phenomenon and not all recognize it as such. Furthermore, nocturnal emissions, like the menarche, occur after some puberty development has taken place and cannot, therefore, be used as an accurate criterion of the onset of puberty (90,121).

Chemical analysis of the first urine passed by boys in the morning to determine whether or not semen is present has proved to be an effective technique, although it is difficult to use. Urine has also been analyzed to determine the amount of *creatine* and *gonadotropic hormone (androgen)* present. Creatine is normally found in immature boys. If, therefore, the urine is free of creatine, the boy is sexually mature. Androgen is normally not found in the urine of boys under 12½ years of age. After 12½ years, some test positive, and after 16, all do unless there is a marked retardation in their sexual development (64, 121). Analysis of the girl's urine to see if the female gonadotropic hormone, *estrogen*, is present is used to determine whether she is sexually mature. Normally, the amounts of estrogen are greatly increased after the girl is eleven years old (91,136). The practical difficulty of obtaining specimens of the early-morning urine of boys and girls limits the use of this method.

If X rays are taken of the different parts of the body, but especially of the hands and knees, during the preadolescent growth spurt, it is possible to tell just when puberty begins and at what rate it is progressing. From X rays of the hand and wrist, it is possible to predict the age of the menarche in girls. When this method is used in children, predictions of early or late sexual maturing can be made (59,64,111,140). To date, this has proved to be the most dependable method of determining sexual maturity, though it, like the chemical analysis of early-morning urine, has certain practical difficulties that make its widespread use unfeasible.

CAUSES OF PUBERTY

Until recently, the exact cause or causes of puberty changes were a mystery. It was known that puberty changes occur at a fairly regular and predictable time, that the ages differ slightly for boys and girls, and that the changes follow a prescribed pattern similar for all members of the same sex. It was known that, among boys, there is some relationship between the onset of puberty and the development of the testes because, when boys were castrated, pubic hair did not appear nor was there a change in voice pitch. Not, however, until studies of the *endocrine glands*, or glands of internal secretion, had advanced to the point where the functions of the different glands were known was there any scientific information on the underlying cause of puberty changes.

About five years before the child becomes sexually mature, there is a small excretion of the sex hormones in both boys and girls. This is increased as time passes and eventually leads to the maturing of the structure and function of the sex organs.

About a year and a half before the menarche, girls show a cyclic excretion of the female sex hormone, estrogen (91,121,128,136).

It has been established that there is a close relationship between the *pituitary gland*, located at the base of the brain, and the *gonads*, or sex glands. In this relationship, it is the pituitary that stimulates the gonads to increased activity. When this occurs, the hormones, or chemical secretions from the gonads, bring about the physical and mental changes characteristic of puberty (121,136,152).

Function of Pituitary Gland

The pituitary gland produces two hormones, both closely related to puberty changes. The first is the *growth hormone* which is influential in determining the size of the individual, and the second is the *gonadotropic*, or gonad-stimulating, hormone which acts on the gonads and stimulates them to increased activity. Just before puberty, there is a gradual increase in the amount of gonadotropic hormone from the pituitary gland and an increased sensitivity of the gonads to this hormone. Puberty is thus initiated by these two conditions. After the puberty changes have been completed, the interaction between the gonadotropic hormone and the gonads continues throughout the reproductive life of the individual, gradually decreasing as menopause in women and the climacteric in men occur, thus terminating the reproductive cycle (90,91,121,123).

Function of the Gonads

The gonads are the sex glands of the reproductive system. The male gonads are the *testes* (singular, *testis*), and the female, the *ovaries*. While the gonads are present at

birth, they are in an immature state of development and function until puberty, when their growth and activity are stimulated by the gonadotropic hormone from the pituitary gland. That explains why children are almost neutral as regards sex in their physical development, in attitudes, and in behavior.

With the growth and development of the gonads at puberty, marked physical, psychological, and behavioral changes appear. Not only do the sex organs increase in size and become functionally active, but the *secondary sex characteristics*, or physical traits not directly related to reproduction but which distinguish the male from the female body, develop (90,91,121,123).

Interaction of Pituitary and Gonads

In both boys and girls, the hormones from the gonads, which have been stimulated by the hormones from the pituitary, act in turn on the pituitary and cause a gradual reduction in the amount of the growth hormone. Eventually, the gonadal hormones stop the activity of the growth hormone completely and thus stop the process of physical growth.

If body size is to be normal or near normal, there must be not only reciprocal activity on the part of the gonads and pituitary but also proper timing in this reciprocal activity. When an individual is below average in size at maturity, it means that there has not been enough of the growth hormone in late childhood and early puberty. If, however, the gonadal hormones are not released in adequate amounts soon enough, the individual's growth, particularly the growth of the limbs, continues for too long and he becomes larger than the average adult (90,91,121,123).

Abnormal Functioning

When there is an inadequate supply of gonadal hormones because of subnormal development of the gonads or an insufficient supply of gonadotropic hormone from the pituitary gland, or when there is injury to or destruction of the gonads from a disease such as mumps in boys, removal of the gonads by castration in boys, or the removal of certain areas of the reproductive apparatus in girls, puberty is delayed. Thus normal development of the sex organs and secondary sex characteristics is prevented.

As a result, individuals remain childish in appearance or take on the characteristics of the opposite sex, depending on when these interruptions occur in the developmental cycle. When puberty is markedly delayed, the secondary sex characteristics eventually develop, but boys become somewhat effeminate in appearance, and girls become somewhat masculine in appearance and behavior. Markedly delayed puberty may be accompanied by a temporary obesity, though this generally disappears after puberty sets in (90,91,121,147).

Hyperactivity of the gonads or an excessive supply of gonadal hormones, on the other hand, brings about a precocious development of puberty. This condition is known as "puberty precox." It is caused by an imbalance in the functioning of the pituitary gland and the gonads, resulting from an excessive amount of gonadotropic hormone at an earlier age than usual (121, 123,152,155).

There are medical records of young children who are mature in their sexual development and yet as small in stature as other children of their own age. These children do not pass through a normal puberty, nor do they acquire the secondary sex charac-

teristics in as well-developed forms as those who mature at the usual age, even though their sex glands produce mature reproductive cells. Evidence indicates that puberty precox is caused by the early activation of the pituitary gland (44,88,141,155).

AGE OF PUBERTY

The widely accepted practice today is to subdivide the puberty period into three stages, as follows:

1. The *prepubescent*, or immature, stage when the secondary sex characteristics are beginning to develop but the reproductive function is not yet developed.
2. The *pubescent*, or mature, stage when the secondary sex characteristics continue to develop but are not yet complete and when sex cells are produced in the sex organs.
3. The *postpubescent*, or mature, stage when the secondary sex characteristics are well developed and when the sex organs are functioning in a mature manner (121,152,191).

Approximately 50 percent of all girls mature between 12.5 and 14.5 years, with an average at 13 years for girls of the middle and upper socioeconomic groups and 13.5 for girls of the lower groups. The average age for sexual maturing of boys falls between 14 and 16.5 years, with 50 percent of all boys maturing between 14 and 15.5 years. The remaining 50 percent in each sex group is about evenly divided between those who mature earlier and those who mature later than the average for their sex groups (8,121,136,152).

Between the ages of twelve and fourteen

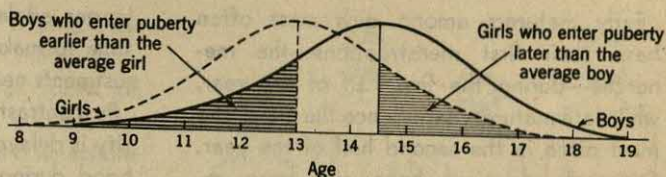


FIGURE 7-2 THERE ARE WIDE VARIATIONS IN AGES OF SEXUAL MATURING AMONG BOYS AND GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM E. L. VINCENT AND P. C. MARTIN: *Human psychological development*. NEW YORK: RONALD, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

years, differences between the sexes are especially marked, with many more mature girls than boys. This difference is reflected in the larger and more mature bodies of the girls and in their more mature, aggressive, and sex-conscious behavior (8,136). It is a time when personal and social damage to the girl can occur, especially if she has matured slightly earlier than the average for her sex group. This will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

Boys and girls who mature a year or more earlier than the average are called "early maturers"; those who mature a year or more after their age-mates are called "late maturers." The greater the deviation from the average age, the fewer individuals there will be. Figure 7-2 shows the distribution of ages of sexual maturing for boys and girls.

There is evidence that boys and girls in America are reaching puberty earlier now than they did in past generations (114,121,140,152). This is true also in England and other countries in Europe, especially the Scandinavian countries (171,172,174). The explanation given for this is better health, better prenatal and postnatal medical care and better nutrition.

It has also been suggested that the difference may not be as great as it appears, the discrepancy coming from comparing

the accurate records of today with the memories of adults who have forgotten just when they matured when asked in retrospect (104,138).

Variations in Age of Maturing

Individual differences are more common than similarities, even in the case of children in the same family. As Johnston has emphasized, "The time clock which governs the developmental process in children is an individual one" (77).

Variations in age of sexual maturing are due to variations in the functioning of the *endocrine glands*, which are responsible for bringing about the changes that occur at this time. These, in turn, are influenced by the *hereditary* factor as well as the *intelligence* and general health condition of the individual (21,35,103,120,124,192).

Children from the *Temperate Zones* mature earlier than those from the *Arctic* or *Tropical Zones*, and those from *urban* environments earlier than those from *rural* areas (47,120,121,152,174,192). A predominately protein *diet* has been found to lead to early maturing among girls, while a diet in which carbohydrates predominate leads to late maturing. In addition to good food, good *social conditions* favor early maturing (36,70,71,94,191).

Early maturers among girls most often have their first menstruations—the menarche—during the first half of the year, while late maturers experience the menarche most often in the second half of the year. *Seasonal variations* have also been reported for urban and rural girls, with girls in urban areas most often experiencing the menarche during the winter months and girls from rural areas, in the summer months (179).

The child who matures early is likely to be large for his age and have a broad *build* with a feminine-type body (broad hips and short legs); those who mature late are smaller than the average child in late childhood and often have a slender build with a masculine-type body (broad shoulders and long legs) (15,16,63,94,103). Obese children have been found to reach puberty about one year earlier than the average (55,57,76,188).

Not only does body build affect age of maturing, but also age of maturing affects adult body size and build. This is illustrated in Figure 7-3. In the case of the late maturer, growth is usually irregular and asymmetrical, with growth of the body dimensions and of the internal organs lagging behind growth in stature. In the early maturer, growth is more regular and there is less organic imbalance (9,15,73,103,169). Age of maturing affects the development of the different body tissues, with early maturers being larger in total breadth of calf and in the breadth of fat, muscle, and bone within the calf than late maturers, (142).

Effects of Variations

The child who is precocious in his sexual maturing has a shorter childhood with its freedom from responsibilities, but he has a

longer adolescence, thus giving him more time to make the social and emotional adjustments needed for a successful adult life.

By contrast, the child whose sexual maturity is delayed has a longer period of childhood during which he is not expected to assume the responsibilities of maturity. But he is handicapped by a shorter period of adolescence when adjustments to adult life are normally made (74,90,91,136,166). This matter will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

TIME NEEDED FOR MATURING

The total time needed for maturing is approximately three years for girls and two to four years for boys. Boys show less uniformity in this process than do girls. Approximately one to two years are required for the preliminary changes from an asexual to a sexual state, the prepubescent stage, and one to two years for the changes to be completed after the individual's sex organs have become mature (152,166,191).

The child who is slow in starting to mature usually matures more rapidly than the average child once he gets started, and often even more rapidly than those whose puberty started earlier than the average. Puberty usually lasts longer for those who begin earlier than the average than for those who begin later than the average (74,140,166,191).

Variations in Rate

There are marked differences in speed in maturing among different children. For some, the pattern of maturing progresses at the normal rate for their sex; for others, it is more rapid or slower. Those whose maturing progresses at a markedly rapid rate are called the "fast" or rapid ma-

turers; those whose maturing is at a slow rate are known as the "slow" maturers.

The fast maturer has greater spurts of rapid growth, his periods of acceleration and stopping come abruptly, and he attains adult proportions very quickly. There is an early development of the sex organs and the secondary sex characteristics, and the osseous development comes earlier than the average.

The slow maturer, by contrast, has less intense periods of acceleration, his growth being more even and gradual, and his growth continues for a longer time. The sex organs and secondary sex characteristics are later than the average in developing, and the osseous development is also later (9,55,116,140,169,173).

Rate of maturing is influenced by *hereditary* factors as well as the general *health* condition of the individual. These, in turn, influence the activity of the different *endocrine* glands which are directly responsible for the rate of maturing (121,152,166). There is evidence that the *body build* of the child has some influence on the rate at which he matures. Mesomorphs have been found to mature at the average rate, though they have a fairly wide range of rates at which they mature. Endomorphs tend to be slow maturers, while ectomorphs tend to be rapid maturers. Both ectomorphs and endomorphs mature at more homogeneous rates than mesomorphs (15, 73,103).

Effects of Rate of Maturing

The more rapidly the child goes through the transformation process at puberty, the more upsetting it is to him both physically and psychologically. The awkwardness, for example, which is a normal accompaniment of this transformation process is often ac-

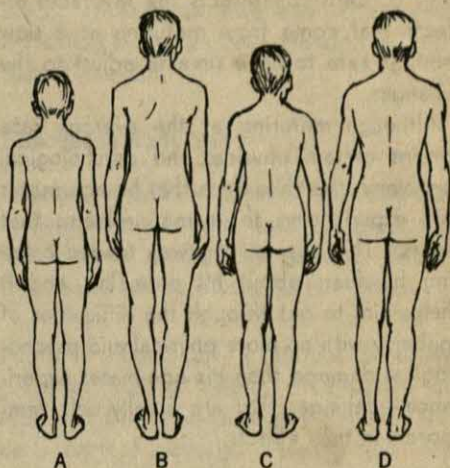


FIGURE 7-3 INFLUENCE OF AGE OF MATURING ON BODY BUILD. BOYS A AND C ARE BOTH THIRTEEN YEARS OLD. BOYS B AND D ARE BOYS A AND C AT SEVENTEEN YEARS OF AGE. NOTE THE DIFFERENCES IN BODY BUILD FOR THE RETARDED AND ACCELERATED BOYS AT THE TWO AGES. (ADAPTED FROM N. BAYLEY: INDIVIDUAL PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT. *Child Develop.*, 1956, 27, 45-74. USED BY PERMISSION.)

centuated to the point where the child withdraws as much as possible from social activities to avoid embarrassment. Similarly, the "negative phase" behavior that all children experience to some extent is accentuated in the rapid maturer.

By contrast, children who mature at a slower-than-average rate are spared some of these problems. Because they have time to become adjusted to the physical changes that are taking place, they have only minor effects on their behavior and attitudes. However, they are often plagued by concern about their normalcy. They wonder if they will ever grow up.

This concern counteracts the favorable effects that come from maturing at a slow enough rate to have time to adjust to the changes.

Although maturing at the average rate brings certain physical and psychological problems, the child finds that his age-mates are experiencing the same problems that he is. This goes a long way toward calming his fears about his normalcy, and it helps him to get through the difficulties of puberty with no more physical and psychological damage than his age-mates experience—damages that are usually only temporary in their effects.

THE PUBERTY GROWTH SPURT

Puberty is one of the two times during the life span when rapid growth in size and marked changes in body proportions occur. The first comes during the prenatal period and the first half of the first postnatal year. The second period of rapid growth is generally referred to as the "adolescent growth spurt." In reality, it is a preadolescent rather than an adolescent spurt because it precedes slightly or comes simultaneously with the physical changes of puberty. This growth spurt lasts for a year or two before the boy or girl becomes sexually mature and for six months to a year afterward. This means that the entire period of rapid growth lasts for about three years.

The growth spurt for girls begins between 8.5 and 11.5 years, with a peak coming, on the average, at 12.5 years. From then on, the rate of growth slows down until it gradually comes to a standstill between 15 and 16 years. The pattern of rapid growth for boys is similar to that for girls except that their growth spurt starts later and continues for a longer time. For boys, the growth spurt starts between 10.5 and 14.5

years, reaches a peak between 14.5 and 15.5 years, and is then followed by a gradual decline until 19 or 20 years, when growth is completed. Increases in height, weight, and strength come at approximately the same time (9,109,166).

Causes of Growth Spurt

The puberty growth spurt is caused by hereditary and endocrine factors and by such environmental conditions as nutrition and health. Of the *endocrine* glands, the pituitary is primarily responsible for rapid growth. As we have seen, the pituitary gland releases a "growth hormone" from the anterior lobe. This is responsible for the rapid growth taking place at this time. Without adequate amounts of this hormone, *dwarfism* occurs; too much of it produces *giantism*. The timing of the release of the growth hormone is more important than its quantity. The gonadotropic hormone, also released by the pituitary, acts on the growth hormone and causes a gradual reduction either in its quantity or in its effectiveness. This results in a slowing down of growth (99,121,123,152).

That *hereditary* factors are important influences may be seen by the fact that the child's pattern of development closely approximates the pattern his parents followed during their growth spurt (7). Children whose parents are large-chested are taller, heavier, and more advanced in their skeletal development than are children of the same age with narrow-chested parents (54). Children with mesomorphic builds tend to reach a peak in the growth spurt a year earlier, on the average, than those of ectomorphic builds (40).

Of the *environmental* factors, nutrition has been found to be the most important. Poor nutrition in childhood causes a dimin-

ished production of the growth hormone. Good nutrition, on the other hand, speeds up the production of the growth hormone (172). When emotional disturbances affect nutrition, they, in turn, affect growth by causing an overproduction of the adrenal steroids which antagonize the growth hormone (149).

"Catch-up Growth"

When the growth spurt at puberty is interfered with by illness, poor nutrition, or prolonged emotional tension, there will be delayed fusion of the bones and failure to reach expected height (36). However, if the causes of the interference with nature's pattern are detected in time and corrected, growth can be speeded up to three to four times its normal velocity and continue at that rate until the child catches up to his hereditary potential (139,173).

When, on the other hand, the cause of delayed growth is undetected or when, if detected, inadequate remedial measures are taken, growth will continue at its slow pace. The ultimate size of the child will then fall below his hereditary potential. "Catch-up" growth can occur only at times when growth normally occurs; it cannot be fostered before or after that time. That is why good health, good nutrition, and a wholesome emotional state are so essential at critical times during growth, and the puberty growth spurt is one of the most critical of all.

BODY CHANGES AT PUBERTY

There are four important physical changes at puberty: changes in *body size*; changes in *body proportions*; the development of the *primary sex characteristics*; and the development of the *secondary sex character-*

istics. After these have been completed, the child's body has been transformed into that of an adult.

Changes in Body Size

Changes in body size come from changes in height and weight, each of which follows its own predictable pattern. Therefore, each will be discussed separately.

HEIGHT The spurt in stature generally precedes that in weight. The period of most rapid increase in height comes in the early part of puberty. Among girls, the average annual gain in the year preceding the menarche is 3 inches, though a 5- to 6-inch gain is not unusual. Two years preceding the menarche, the average increase is 2.5 inches, making a total increase of 5.5 inches in the two years preceding the menarche. After the menarche, the rate of growth slows down (8,9,59,95).

The average height for American girls of today is 63 inches at thirteen years, the time when the average girl becomes sexually mature; at fourteen years, the average girl measures 64 inches, and at fifteen years, 65 inches. From then until eighteen years, there is an increase of only 1 inch, thus making the average girl 66 inches tall. After that, there is little or no gain in height (41,95,173). In one study, it was reported that girls gain, on the average, less than 4 inches after the menarche, with the greatest number gaining between 2 and 3 inches and the next greatest, 1 to 2 and 3 to 4 (53). Height gains after the menarche are shown in Figure 7-4.

For boys, the onset of the period of rapid growth in height comes, on the average, at 12.8 years and ends, on the average, at 15.3 years, with a peak in the velocity of their growth at 14 years. The greatest

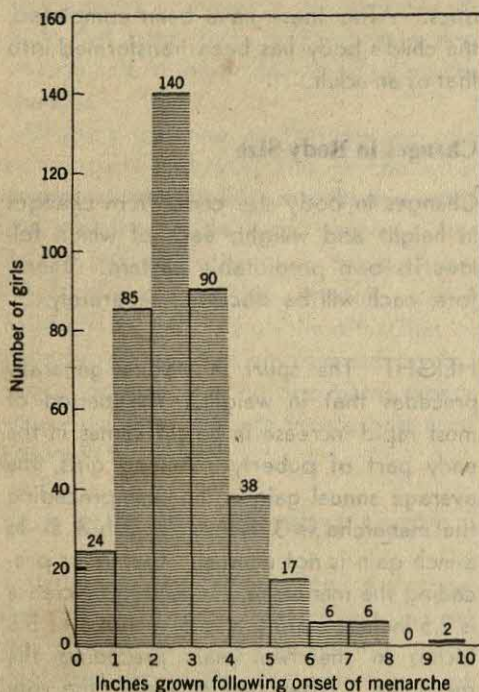


FIGURE 7-4 LINEAR GROWTH AFTER THE MENARCHE. (ADAPTED FROM R. F. FRIED AND E. E. SMITH: POSTMENARCHEAL GROWTH PATTERNS. *J. Pediatr.*, 1962, 62, 562-565. USED BY PERMISSION.)

increase in height comes in the year following the onset of puberty. The average American boy of today measures 62 inches at thirteen years; at fourteen years, he measures 65 inches, and at sixteen years, 67.5 inches. After that, the rate of his growth slows down so that, at eighteen years, the average boy measures 69.5 inches. Boys attain their mature height a year or two later than girls, generally between twenty and twenty-two years (9,59, 95,166).

Age of maturing affects the growth spurt in height. Boys who begin their spurt early

complete it early; those who begin late are late in ending. There is a slight tendency for early developers to have a longer duration than late developers (166). Late-maturing girls continue to grow after the mature height of early-maturing girls has been completed, with the result that they are generally taller at maturity than are the girls who started to mature earlier (81,104, 166). Because growth in height is nearly complete at the time of the menarche, late-maturing girls have a longer time in which to grow (2,8,18).

Because of the marked individual differences in rate of growth and age of maturing, predicting adult stature is difficult until after the puberty growth spurt. While adult stature is affected by many factors, such as hereditary endowment and health conditions, age of maturing seems to play an important role in determining what the ultimate height of the individual will be. The early-maturing child will, as an adult, generally be shorter than would have been anticipated from his height as a child. The child who matures late will probably be taller as an adult than would have been predicted from his childhood height. Children who are slow in the speed of maturing generally grow taller than those whose maturing is at a more rapid rate (8,36,111, 137,183).

Because age of sexual maturity is influenced by an hereditary factor as well as by health and nutrition, it is not surprising that children's height becomes increasingly more like that of their parents' as they approach their adult size. While it is true that some short parents have tall children just as some tall parents have short children, a correlation between the adult height of children and their parents is more usual (7,11,105). Figure 7-5 shows this in the case of both boys and girls.

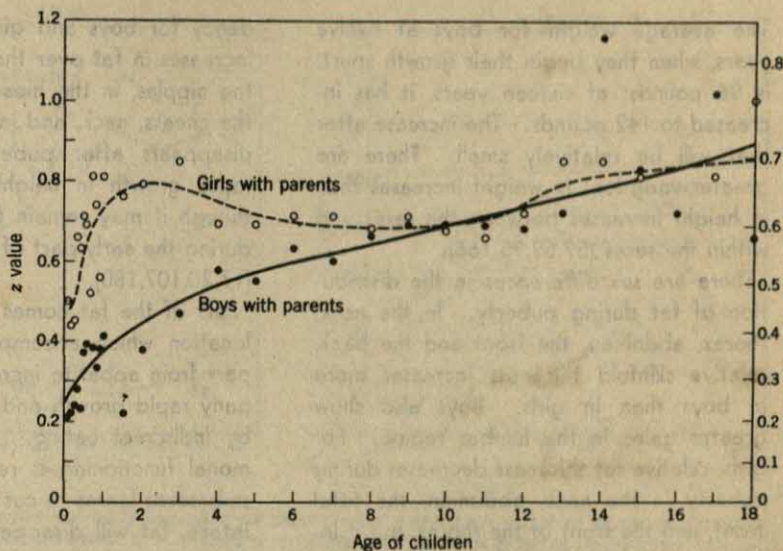


FIGURE 7-5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADULT HEIGHT OF THE CHILD AND THAT OF HIS PARENTS. (ADAPTED FROM N. BAYLEY, RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT: A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1965, 11, 183-208. USED BY PERMISSION.)

WEIGHT Increase in weight during puberty comes not from increase in fat alone but from increase in bone and muscle tissue. During puberty, the bones grow longer and change in shape, proportions, and internal structure. The cartilage and fibrous tissue that made up the bones in childhood are now replaced by a harder tissue created by the conversion of the cartilage into bone. This is brought about by the thyroid hormone. By seventeen years, the girl's bones are mature or nearly mature in size and ossification. For boys, the skeletal development is completed approximately two years later (112,176).

In childhood, the muscles make up approximately one-fourth of the total body weight; at sixteen years, they make up about 45 percent of the weight. The most

pronounced increase in muscle tissue comes between twelve and fifteen years for girls and between fifteen and sixteen years for boys. Thus, even though the weight of the pubescent boy or girl increases rapidly, they often look lanky and scrawny (67,95, 143,166).

The pattern of development of weight differs for boys and girls and is influenced by the age and tempo of maturing. For girls, the greatest gain in weight is just before and just after the menarche. For the average girl maturing at thirteen years, weight increases from 88.5 pounds at the onset of puberty at eleven years to 126.5 pounds at fifteen years. Only slight increases in weight will occur after that.

For boys, the maximum gain in weight comes later, because they mature later.

The average weight for boys at twelve years, when they begin their growth spurt, is 96 pounds; at sixteen years, it has increased to 142 pounds. The increase after that will be relatively small. There are greater variations in weight increases than in height increases between the sexes and within the sexes (57,59,95,166).

There are *sex differences* in the distribution of fat during puberty. In the neck, thorax, abdomen, the front and the back, relative skinfold thickness increases more in boys than in girls. Boys also show greater gains in the lumbar region. For girls, relative fat thickness decreases during puberty in the neck, abdomen, the total front, and the front of the thorax, but it increases in the back of the thorax and the total back (56,57,160).

While boys have more lean body mass than girls, who have more fat, the pattern of development for these two body elements is different for the two sexes. For girls, lean body mass reaches its maximum at some time between fifteen and sixteen years and, for boys, between eighteen and twenty-one years. These patterns of development are shown in Figure 7-6. Boys have larger lean body mass per unit height and girls, a larger fat content per unit weight (48).

Weight increases are greatly influenced by *body build*. Ectomorphs, at every age, are lighter than mesomorphs, with an average difference of between 16 and 23 pounds between the age of thirteen and seventeen years (40). Weight gains come in *cycles*, with the greatest gains coming between June and December and the least, in the latter part of winter (37).

It is not uncommon for both boys and girls to have a *puberty fat period*. Between ten and twelve years, at or near the onset of the growth spurt, there is a ten-

dency for boys and girls to have marked increases in fat over the abdomen, around the nipples, in the hips and thighs, and in the cheeks, neck, and jaw. This fat usually disappears after pubertal maturing and rapid growth in height are well started, though it may remain for two more years during the early part of the puberty period (17,20,107,180).

Part of the fat comes from hormone dislocation which accompanies puberty and part from appetite increases which accompany rapid growth and which are satisfied by indiscreet eating. As balance in hormonal functioning is regained and as the pubescent learns to cut down on his caloric intake, fat will disappear. Approximately 50 percent of all boys and girls experience a puberty fat period (8,58,62,76,187).

Changes in Body Proportions

Although the body is growing larger at puberty, not all parts increase at the same rate. As a result, the disproportions characteristic of childhood remain, but they change in their emphasis. Certain areas of the body, which in the early years of life were proportionately much too small, now become proportionally too big because they reach their mature size sooner than other areas. This is particularly apparent in the case of the nose, feet, and hands. It is not until the latter part of adolescence that the body will have attained its adult proportions in all areas. However, before puberty is over, the most pronounced changes have taken place (113,172,181). Figure 3-9, page 108, shows changes in body proportions.

In the *head* region, only about 5 percent of the growth in circumference remains to be completed after the individual becomes sexually mature (42). Growth in the length

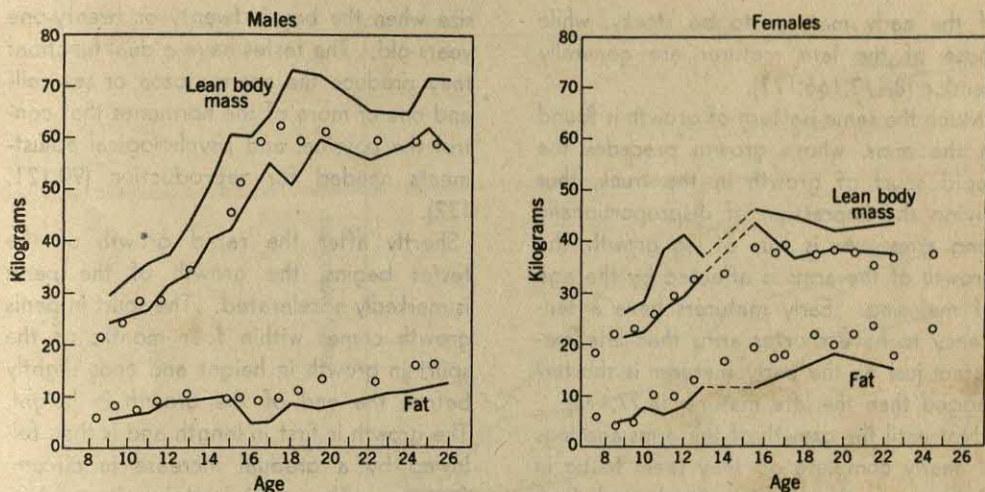


FIGURE 7-6 PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT OF LEAN BODY MASS AND FAT FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM G. B. FORBES: GROWTH OF THE LEAN BODY MASS DURING CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE. *J. Pediat.*, 1964, 64, 822-827. USED BY PERMISSION.)

of the face precedes growth in the width, and growth in the upper part of the face precedes growth in the lower (118).

The forehead becomes higher and wider and the nose longer and wider before the mouth and jaw enlarge proportionally. The result is a temporary period in which the upper part of the face seems to protrude over the lower, giving the appearance of a receding chin. Later, the jaw will protrude, the mouth will become larger, and the lips will fill out. With this growth in facial contour, the boy's face becomes somewhat rugged and angular, while the girl's face is more oval (27, 113, 117).

The thin, long trunk of the older child begins to broaden at the hips and shoulders, and a waistline develops. This appears high at first because the legs grow proportionally more than the trunk. As the trunk lengthens, the waistline drops, thus giving the body adult proportions. Whether

the hips or shoulders will be broader is influenced by the age of maturing.

Boys who mature early usually have broader hips than boys who mature later, and girls who mature later have slightly broader hips than early-maturing girls. The typical masculine figure with slender hips and broad shoulders is characteristic of late-maturing boys. Late-maturing girls have broader shoulders than early-maturing girls. Typically, boys' shoulders are broader than their hips while the reverse is true for girls (8, 166).

Just before puberty, the legs are disproportionately long in relation to the trunk and continue to be so until approximately fifteen years. In late-maturing children, the leg growth continues for a longer time than in early maturers. The result is that the late maturer is a long-legged individual at maturity, while the early maturer is short-legged. There is a tendency for the legs

of the early maturer to be stocky, while those of the late maturer are generally slender (8,113,166,172).

Much the same pattern of growth is found in the *arms*, whose growth precedes the rapid spurt of growth in the trunk, thus giving the impression of disproportionally long arms. As is true of leg growth, the growth of the arms is affected by the age of maturing. Early maturers have a tendency to have shorter arms than late maturers just as the early maturer is shorter-legged than the late maturer (8,27,113).

Not until the growth of the arms and legs is nearly complete do they seem to be in right proportion to the *hands* and *feet*, both of which reach their mature size early in puberty. The spurt in growth of the foot precedes that of the long bones and of stature by six to eighteen months. Growth of the foot is completed 3 years after the maximum rate is reached while stature continues to increase for an average of 4.5 years (5,27,113).

Primary Sex Characteristics

The sex organs during childhood are small and functionally immature. During puberty, the sex organs increase in size and become mature in functioning. Because the pattern of development is different for members of the two sexes, the characteristic pattern for boys and for girls will be discussed separately.

MALE PRIMARY SEX CHARACTERISTICS The male gonads or *testes*, which are located in the *scrotum*, or sac, outside the body, are only approximately 10 percent of their mature size at the age of fourteen years. Then there is rapid growth for a year or two, after which growth slows down, and the testes reach their mature

size when the boy is twenty or twenty-one years old. The testes have a dual function: they produce the spermatozoa or sex cells and one or more of the hormones that control the physical and psychological adjustments needed for reproduction (90,121,132).

Shortly after the rapid growth of the testes begins, the growth of the *penis* is markedly accelerated. The spurt in penis growth comes within four months of the spurt in growth in height and ends slightly before the end of the growth in height. The growth is first in length and is then followed by a gradual increase in circumference. The penis attains its mature length sooner than its mature girth. (145,166).

When the male reproductive organs are mature in function, *nocturnal emissions* generally occur. Nocturnal emissions usually occur when there are dreams of sex excitement, or from a full bladder, constipated bowels, tight pajamas, or from being too warmly covered. The frequency of nocturnal emissions will be influenced by the frequency of the stimulating circumstances, though an average of four a week is common. Many boys are unaware of what is taking place until they see the tell-tale spot on the bedclothes or pajamas (90,145,166).

FEMALE PRIMARY SEX CHARACTERISTICS Because the female reproductive apparatus is mostly inside the body, its growth is barely perceptible, except for the enlargement of the abdomen. As the bony framework of the girl's body enlarges, the space within which the reproductive organs are lodged also enlarges, with the result that the abdomen flattens out.

Although all parts of the female reproductive apparatus grow during puberty,

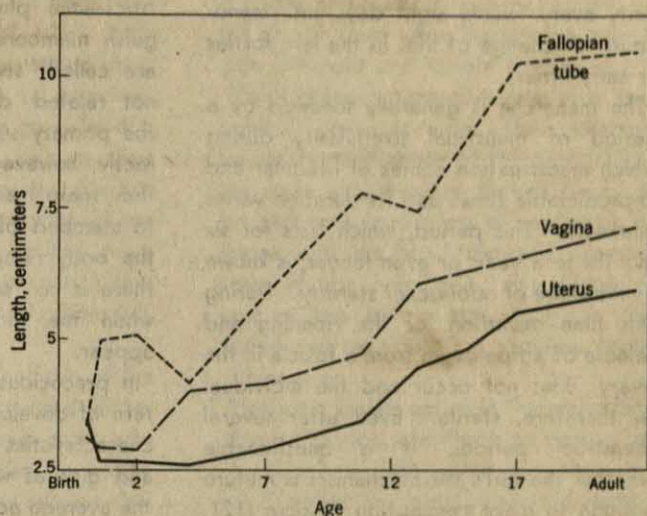


FIGURE 7-7 DIFFERENCES IN RATES OF GROWTH FOR THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE FEMALE REPRODUCTIVE APPARATUS. (ADAPTED FROM A. MONTAGU: *Prenatal influences*. SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: CHARLES C THOMAS, 1962. USED BY PERMISSION.)

they do so at different rates. The *uterus*, for example, weighs on the average 5.3 grams when girls are eleven to twelve years old; by the time they are sixteen years old, the average weight is 43 grams. The Fallopian tubes and vagina likewise grow rapidly at this time (91,113,121,136). Figure 7-7 shows the differences in rate for the growth of the different parts of the female reproductive apparatus during puberty.

When girls are twelve years old, their ovaries are approximately 40 percent of their mature weight. From then until sixteen or seventeen years, there is an acceleration in growth, but they do not reach their mature weight and size until the girl is twenty or twenty-one years old, though they are functionally mature in approximately the middle of the puberty period.

The primary function of the ovaries is to

produce ova (singular, ovum) or germ cells necessary for reproduction. In addition, they produce *theelin* and *progestin*, regulatory hormones which initiate and bring to a completion the period of pregnancy, the *follicular* hormone, and the *corpus luteum*. The female sex hormones are responsible for bringing about the development in structure and function of the female reproductive organs with their characteristic menstrual cycles and the secondary sex characteristics of the female body (91,113,136,146).

The first real indication a girl has that her reproductive mechanism is becoming mature is the *menarche*, or first menstrual flow. This is the beginning of a series of periodic discharges of blood, mucus, and broken-down cell tissue from the uterus that will occur with varying degrees of regu-

larity every twenty-eight days until *menopause*, or change of life, in the late forties or early fifties.

The menarche is generally followed by a period of menstrual irregularity during which menstruation comes at irregular and unpredictable times and its duration varies markedly. This period, which lasts for six months to a year, or even longer, is known as the *stage of adolescent sterility*. During this time *ovulation*, or the ripening and release of a ripe ovum from a follicle in the ovary, does not occur and the individual is, therefore, sterile. Even after several menstrual periods, it is questionable whether the girl's sex mechanism is mature enough to make conception possible (121, 136). In primitive tribes were premarital sex relations are approved and in countries where marriage coincides with the menarche, as in rural India, few pregnancies occur, suggesting that the girls are sterile at that time (170). There is evidence that the stage of adolescent sterility is shorter in the case of girls who are late maturers than is true of the early maturers (49).

Frequently, headaches, backaches, cramps, and abdominal pain, accompanied by fainting, vomiting, skin irritations, and even swelling of the legs and ankles, occur in the early menstrual periods. As a result, the girl feels tired, depressed, and irritable at the time of her periods. As menstruation establishes itself as a regular function, its irregularity decreases, as do the physical and psychological disturbances which accompany its early appearances (91, 113, 121, 136).

Secondary Sex Characteristics

As puberty progresses, boys and girls become increasingly dissimilar in appearance. This change is caused by the gradual development of the *secondary sex character-*

istics—the physical features that distinguish members of the two sexes. They are called "secondary" because they are not related, directly, to reproduction as the primary sex characteristics are. Indirectly, however, they are related because they make members of one sex appealing to members of the other sex. So long as the body remains childish in appearance, there is no "sex appeal": this is changed when the secondary sex characteristics appear.

In precocious sex development, the pattern of development of the secondary sex characteristics remains the same in boys and girls as when development comes at the average age, though the characteristics appear earlier than average. Similarly, in retarded maturing, the timetable remains constant, though each characteristic appears at a later time than in the boy or girl who matures at approximately the average age.

Because the secondary sex characteristics of boys are very different from those of girls, they will be discussed separately.

IN BOYS *Pubic hair* first appears about 1 year after the testes and penis have started to increase in size. Prepubescent or lightly pigmented, straight hair first appears between the thirteenth and fourteenth years, with a median at 13.6 years. At a median age of 14 to 14.5 years, pubescent hair which is more luxuriant in growth and slightly pigmented appears. Six months to a year later, the characteristically kinky twist and greater pigmentation are present. For the average American boy, pubic hair is well developed around the age of 15 years (67, 145, 166).

Axillary and facial hair begin to appear when pubic hair has almost completed its growth. Like pubic hair, axillary and facial

hairs are lightly pigmented, fine in texture, and few in numbers at first. Few boys have enough facial hair to necessitate shaving before they are sixteen or seventeen years old. In addition, most boys develop relatively heavy growths of hair on their arms, legs, shoulders, and chests. Far less universal among boys is the change of the hairline at puberty from a bowl-like curve to a curve with two wedge-shaped indentations over each lateral frontal region (60, 145, 166).

The delicate, soft, transparent skin of the child gradually becomes coarser and thicker at puberty, owing to an increase in the subcutaneous tissue. The transparency of the child's skin then gives way to a sallow coloring. The pores become larger, thus giving the skin a coarser look.

The sebaceous, or oil-producing, glands become larger and more active at puberty. These are associated with hair follicles which, for a time, are disproportionally small. This causes a temporary maladjustment in the glands' functioning which leads to acne. The apocrine sweat glands, located in the armpits, begin to enlarge shortly before puberty and start to function even before axillary hair appears. The result is axillary perspiration, with its characteristic odor, which increases in quantity as puberty progresses (67, 145, 166).

Soon after growth and maturation of the testes has begun, the muscles of the trunk and limbs increase markedly in size (59). It is this increase that is responsible for giving the lanky arms and legs of the boy some shape, and for producing the broad shoulders characteristic of the masculine build. With growth in the muscles comes increase in strength. There is a close relationship between gains in muscular strength and gains in muscular weight. The peak of

strength increase occurs at that time during the growth spurt when there is the greatest gain in height and weight (25, 67, 166, 172).

Voice changes generally come after some pubic hair has appeared. The median age for the first indication of the deepening of the voice is 13.4 years, though the breaking and conspicuous loss of control do not appear until the boy is between 16 and 18 years of age. Following this, there is a year or two before the change is completed and the youth has acquired control of his voice.

Huskiness usually occurs in the early stages of voice change, and few boys escape this. "Breaking" of the voice, on the other hand, varies in intensity and frequency with the speed of maturing. After the voice changes have been completed, late in adolescence, there is a drop of at least an octave in pitch, an increase in volume, and a pleasanter total quality (32, 67, 90, 166).

Breast knots, or slight knobs around the male mammary glands, appear between the ages of twelve and fourteen years. They last for only a few weeks, then decrease rapidly in number and size. At about the same time, the male mammary glands enlarge in one or both breasts. Like the breast knots, this is only a temporary condition and disappears within a short time, after which the breasts become flat, as in childhood (67, 90, 166).

IN GIRLS The first of the female characteristics to develop are the hips, which increase in width and roundness, caused partly by the enlargement of the pelvic bone and partly by the development of subcutaneous fat. At about the same time, the breasts begin to develop. The slightly elevated nipple of the child begins to elevate further as is true also of the sur-

rounding areola. The *bud stage* of breast development generally occurs between the tenth and eleventh years of girls who mature at the average age. Following this comes the *primary breast stage*, during which there is an increase in the amount of fat underlying and immediately surrounding the nipple and areola, causing the areola to be raised above the level of the chest wall in a conical shape. This development takes place before the menarche. Following the menarche, the breasts complete their development in the *mature breast stage*, when the breasts become larger and rounder with the development of the mammary glands. At this time, the areola is incorporated in the breast itself so that only the nipple protrudes. It takes nearly three years after breast development starts before the nipple protrudes above the rest of the breast structure (132, 136, 146, 169).

Pubic hair does not appear in any considerable quantity until hip and breast development are well under way, though a few unpigmented hairs appear at the beginning of pubertal changes. This scanty development remains relatively unchanged for a number of months when suddenly the hair becomes more pigmented, changes from straight to kinky, and becomes much more luxuriant in quantity.

The first pubic hairs are generally found on the outer lips of the vulva and then gradually spread to a horizontal line across the vulva.

After the pubic hair is fairly well developed, *axillary hair* begins to appear in the armpits. Axillary hair usually, but not always, appears after the menarche. The first axillary hairs are fine, straight, and only slightly pigmented. It takes about a year before there are approximately as

many axillary hairs as found in adults. These become coarser, have a slight kink, and are more pigmented than the early axillary hairs (39, 67, 91).

At the time the axillary hairs begin to appear, there is an appearance of a slight down on the upper lip, following which is the appearance of down on the upper part of the cheeks and then on the sides and lower border of the chin. This down does not become as heavy in texture, as pigmented, or as luxuriant as the hair on the boy's face.

The *skin* becomes coarser and thicker, with a slightly sallow coloring during puberty. The *sebaceous glands* in the skin enlarge and become more active, as do the *apocrine sweat glands* in the armpits. The former are responsible for the appearance of adolescent acne, while the latter cause armpit perspiration which, with its characteristic odor, is especially heavy during the premenstrual and menstrual portions of the menstrual cycle (39, 67, 91).

Just before or just after the menarche, there is a change from the high-pitched, childish voice to one with a fuller and more melodious tone. Because the voice change in girls is much less pronounced than in boys, there is rarely a period of huskiness in the early part of the period or a breaking of the voice in the latter part of the period of change (32). For girls, the most pronounced increase in *muscle tissue* comes between twelve and fifteen years, in the middle and end of puberty. As a result of this increase, which is far less than in boys, the shoulders broaden and the arms and legs take on a definite shape. Hair also develops on the arms and legs late in the puberty period (63, 67, 91, 136). Figure 7-8 shows some of the important changes in boys and girls during puberty.

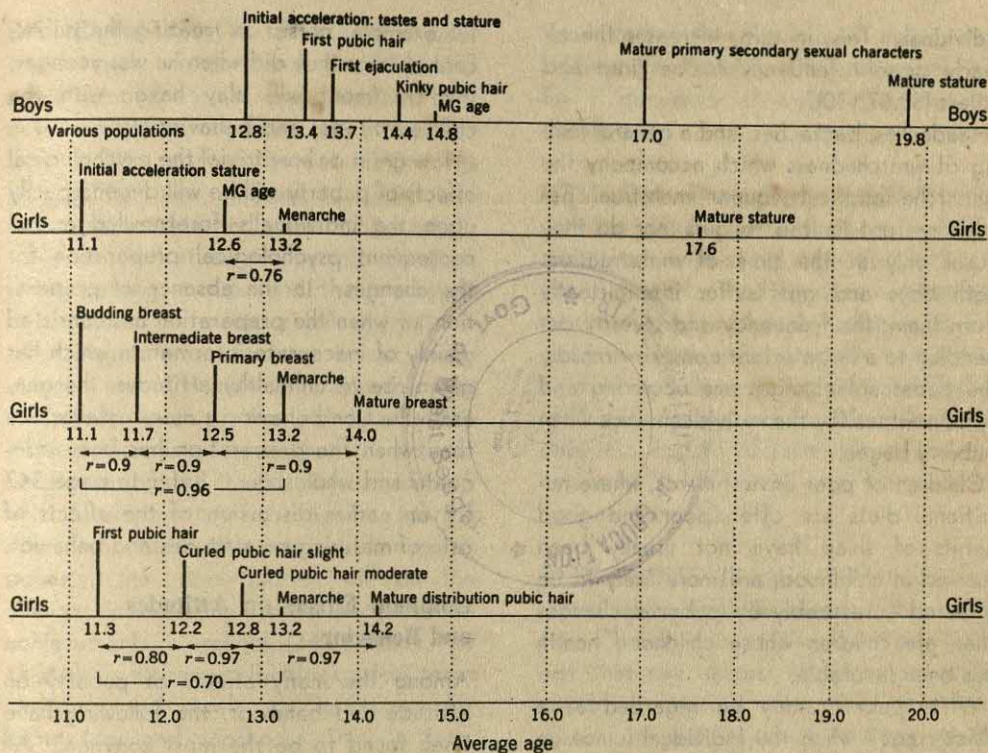


FIGURE 7-8 TYPICAL SEQUENCE AND INTERRELATION OF EVENTS IN THE PROCESS OF SEXUAL MATURING OF BOYS AND GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM F. K. SHUTTLEWORTH: THE ADOLESCENT PERIOD: A GRAPHIC ATLAS. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develpm.*, 1949, 14, NO. 1. USED BY PERMISSION.)

EFFECTS ON BEHAVIOR

Rapid growth and bodily changes are likely to be accompanied by fatigue, listlessness, and other unfavorable symptoms. At puberty, this condition is frequently exaggerated by the increase in duties and responsibilities placed upon the individual just at the time when he is least able to shoulder them successfully.

Because he is now larger in stature, his parents assume that he can carry more of the burdens of the home than he did when he was younger. In much the same spirit,

the school piles work on shoulders not yet broad enough or strong enough to carry them. Fatigue invariably predisposes the individual to nervousness, irritability, and general emotionality.

Digestive disturbances are frequent and appetite is finicky. The prepubescent child is upset by glandular changes and changes in the size and position of the internal organs. These changes interfere with the normal functions of digestion. Anemia is frequent at this period not because of marked changes in blood chemistry but because of the erratic eating habits of the

individual. This, in turn, increases the already present tendency to be tired and listless (58,67,130).

Headaches, backaches, and a general feeling of wretchedness which accompany the menarche and subsequent menstrual periods are not limited to girls, nor do they occur only at the time of menstruation. Both boys and girls suffer intermittently from them, the frequency and severity depending to a large extent upon how rapidly the pubescent changes are occurring and upon how healthy the individuals were when puberty began.

Children of poor environments, where nutritional diets are often poor and good habits of sleep have not usually been formed in childhood, are more likely to be affected unfavorably by pubertal changes than are children whose childhood health has been favorable.

While puberty may be regarded as a "sickly age" when the individual is not up to par, there are relatively few diseases characteristic of this age (151,178). See Figure 4-3, page 141. If the pubescent child were actually ill, he would be treated with more sympathy and understanding than he usually is; less would be expected of him; and, much of his unsocial behavior would be understood and tolerated, as it rarely is (38,51,58).

The changes in attitudes and behavior that occur at this time are more the result of social than of glandular changes, though the latter unquestionably play some role through their influence on body homeostasis (38,122). The less sympathy and understanding the pubescent child receives from parents, siblings, teachers, and peers and the greater the social expectations at this time, the greater the psychological effects of the physical changes. If mothers,

for example, persist in treating the pubescent child as they did when he was younger, this treatment will play havoc with the child's attitudes and behavior (10).

How great or how trivial the psychological effects of puberty will be will depend partly upon the individual's foreknowledge and consequent psychological preparation for the changes. In the absence of preparation, or when the preparation has consisted mainly of inaccurate information which has given rise to unhealthy attitudes, the general effect on behavior is more unfavorable than when the preparation has been adequate and wholesome. Refer to page 347 for an earlier discussion of the effects of rate of maturing on attitudes and behavior.

Common Effects on Attitudes and Behavior

Among the many effects of puberty on attitude and behavior, the following have been found to be the most common. All of these, in one way or another justifies the name "negative phase."

DESIRE FOR ISOLATION As early as babyhood, there is a craving for the companionship of others. This desire reaches its peak in the "gang age" of late childhood. Then, in a relatively short time, sometimes within a week or even over a weekend, the child loses interest in his playmates, withdraws from the group, and spends his time alone in his room with his door shut.

This withdrawal from the group is frequently accompanied by quarreling with former friends and the consequent breaking off of many childhood friendships. There is also a sudden and marked withdrawal from family activities, usually between twelve and thirteen years (51,58).

DISINCLINATION TO WORK The child who formerly was constantly on the go and never seemed to tire from work or play now seems constantly tired. As a result, he does as little work as he can. Home responsibilities are allowed to slide, and school studies are neglected. As a result, many an "A" student slips into the just-barely-passing group, and the previously poor student turns into a failure (133).

The disinclination to work is not willful laziness, nor is it due to changes in the intellectual level of the individual (133). Instead, there is evidence that it is a direct outgrowth of the rapid physical growth and development which sap his energy. The more sudden the physical changes at puberty, the more sudden will be the changes in the child's schoolwork and his achievements in school (34). When the child shirks his responsibilities or does them carelessly and slowly, he is blamed for being lazy and slipshod. This, in turn, builds up antagonisms and resentments which result in even less desire on the child's part to do what is expected of him (50,51,58).

INCOORDINATIONS The onset of puberty, with its rapid and uneven growth, is accompanied by a temporary retardation in certain types of coordination, balance, and agility. After rapid physical growth slows down and after the boy or girl has adjusted to changes in body proportions, incoordinations begin to show a marked decrease (45).

Motor incoordinations tend to be more pronounced in rapid than in normal and slow maturers. Most boys and girls, however, show less awkwardness and better control over their bodies if they have developed good muscle skills during child-

hood than if they have been awkward as children (58,158,163). Refer to page 272 for a discussion of awkwardness in late childhood.

BOREDOM The pubescent child is bored with the play he formerly enjoyed, with his schoolwork, with social activities, and with life in general. And he does not hesitate to show this boredom by refusing to engage in activities he formerly enjoyed or by criticizing them as "stupid" and "babyish." When reproved for this attitude, he sinks into a state of sullen gloom and develops an "I don't care" or a "no one loves me" attitude (58,122).

RESTLESSNESS Because his interests are changing, as his body changes, the pubescent child has not yet discovered new interests that can absorb his attention as his childhood interests did. He, therefore, goes from one thing to another, never completely satisfied with one and always on the search for something that he can enjoy as he previously enjoyed his childhood experiences.

Restlessness has a physical basis too. Rapid and uneven growth give rise to tensions which find their outlet in restlessness. The pubescent child finds it difficult to sit or stand in one position for any length of time and, therefore, is constantly squirming or twitching.

Some of his restlessness is rooted in his heightened emotionality. It is an outward expression of internal tension caused by emotions which do not always get complete expression in overt acts. The more the pubescent child tries to keep his emotions under control, the more tense and, in turn, the more restless he will be (34,51,58).

SOCIAL ANTAGONISM The pubescent child goes around with a chip on his shoulder and a snarl on his face. Not only does he seem to resent the happiness of others, but he seems to go out of his way to spoil their fun by being as disagreeable, as uncooperative, and as antagonistic toward their wishes as he can be.

At home, he is jealous and critical of his siblings, calling them names, picking fights for no reason at all, and intentionally antagonizing them. The mother is generally the butt of his severest criticisms. He will argue endlessly, just to stir up trouble, and he will do all he can to stir up trouble among his siblings (14,93).

He behaves outside the home in much the same manner, picking fights with his friends and quarreling over the most trivial matters, calling them names and trying to hurt their feelings. This often results in the breakup of former friendships (51,58,161, 166.) Figure 7-9 shows the ratings on social behavior at puberty, emphasizing how unfavorably the pubescent child's behavior is regarded by others. As puberty progresses, the child becomes more mature in his social behavior, showing a friendlier, more cooperative, and more tolerant attitude toward others (33,122,162).

RESISTANCE TO AUTHORITY Conflicts of boys and girls with their parents generally reach a peak at around thirteen years. There are more conflicts with the mother than with the father because of the closer association in the home with the mother than with the father. As mothers become less restrictive, there is a decrease in conflicts (10,26,93,100). The pubescent child tries to resist all authority. When he discovers that his attempts at resistance are blocked, he becomes sullen and resent-

ful, or he tries to alibi himself out of a situation he knows will lead to punishment for disobedience. Most of the *misdeemeanors*, or misbehavior of a minor sort, so common at this age come from the pubescent's attempts to resist authority.

Typically, the pubescent child does nothing so wrong that he can be classed as a juvenile delinquent. But he is troublesome, and frequently he seems to be so intentionally with the hope of irritating people. Whispering, inattentiveness, carelessness, tattling, resentfulness, suspiciousness, tardiness, insubordination, rudeness, impatience with restrictions, self-assertiveness, and avoidance of members of the opposite sex are the most frequently reported *misdeemeanors* at this age (167). These *misdeemeanors*, which reach their peak of intensity and frequency when boys and girls become pubescent, decline as pubescent development continues and as the individual's sexual development is completed (26,106).

SEX ANTAGONISM Open hostility between the sexes is common at this age, with girls, as a rule, showing a stronger aversion toward boys than boys toward girls (58,65). This antagonism is intensified by the girls' resentment of the physical disturbances maturing imposes upon them, especially menstruation, as contrasted with the less severe burden sexual maturing places upon boys.

No longer do boys and girls show their antagonism toward one another simply by withdrawing from each other as they did during childhood. Now there is open hostility between the two sexes, expressed in constant criticisms and disparaging comments. These are not limited to their contemporaries but are aimed at any and all members of the opposite sex, regardless of

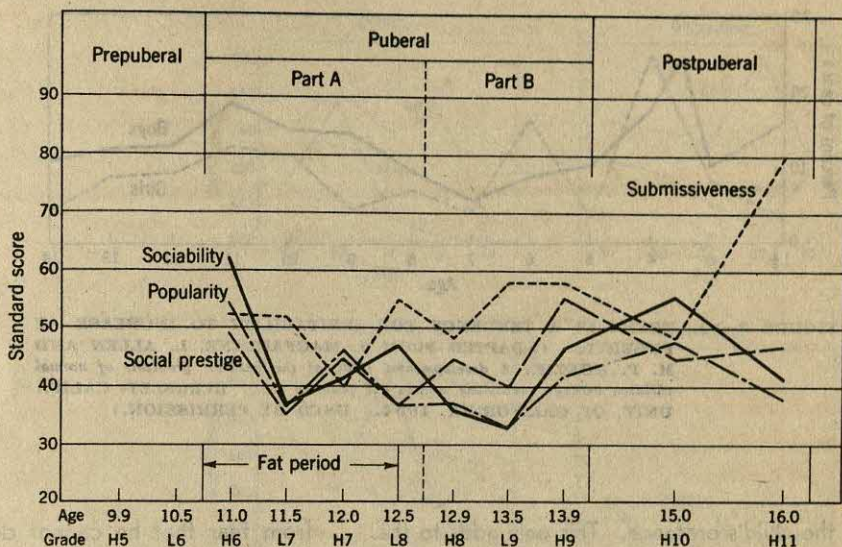


FIGURE 7-9 RATINGS ON SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF A BOY AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF SEXUAL MATURING. (ADAPTED FROM H. R. STOLZ AND L. M. STOLZ: *Somatic development of adolescent boys*. NEW YORK: MACMILLAN, 1951. USED BY PERMISSION.)

their age, their kinship to the pubescent child, or how pleasant their former relationship has been. Girls are generally greater offenders in this respect than boys (51,58,65,93).

HEIGHTENED EMOTIONALITY Moodiness, sulkiness, and a tendency to burst into tears at the slightest provocation are characteristic emotional states of the pubescent child. Little pleases them, anything or everything said about them or to them is likely to be taken as a criticism, feelings are constantly being hurt and prides offended (38,110,122).

Typically, the pubescent child is touchy and irritable, especially with his siblings, and engages in much verbal fighting with them. He regards his younger siblings as "pests" or "spoiled brats" and is jealous of

his older siblings (51,58,75,93). Figure 7-10 shows how irritability, which had subsided after a peak at four years, rising again to another peak between eleven and twelve years. Note that irritability, at this time, is greater in boys than in girls.

Puberty is a time of worries or imaginary fears. While both sexes worry, boys worry more about personal and social adequacy and girls more about their families, their homes, and their schoolwork. There is a significant rise in the number and intensity of worries up until the time the child becomes sexually mature, after which there is a decline in worrying (6,115).

There is such a marked and noticeable change from the general good humor that characterized the latter period of childhood that this pubescent moodiness is frequently commented upon by the adults in

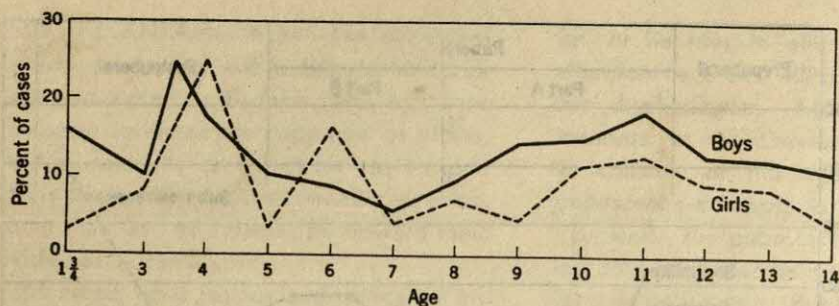


FIGURE 7-10 THERE IS A TENDENCY FOR IRRITABILITY TO INCREASE AT PUBERTY. (ADAPTED FROM J. MACFARLANE, L. ALLEN AND M. P. HONZIK: *A developmental study of the behavior problems of normal children between twenty-one months and fourteen years*. BERKELEY, CALIF.: UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA, 1954. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the child's presence. This only adds to the chip he already carries on his shoulder and increases his belief that no one loves him and the whole world is against him (58).

Semihysterical states of crying are common among girls at this age, while boys are more likely to experience their resentment toward the world in melancholy silence, in sulkiness, or in temper outbursts that are reminiscent of the preschool years. As the child becomes mature physically, he becomes more mature emotionally. As a result, he is less tense and more relaxed, making him an easier and pleasanter person to live and work with (34,50,51).

LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE The child who was formerly self-assured to the point where he felt that he could stand his ground in any and every circumstance and who boasted openly about his achievements now passes through a stage where his self-confidence crumbles literally overnight. This lack of self-confidence, intensified by worries about his personal and social adequacy, is sometimes hidden behind a cloak of cocksureness or rebellion. His refusal to do things expected of him often stems

from fear that he cannot do them, or he may boast of his abilities and then give alibis when he does not carry through his boasts (34,51,190).

This generally poor concept of himself may and sometimes does lead to juvenile delinquency. The pubescent child, in an attempt to bolster his ego, will do things he knows are wrong and will get into trouble with parents, teachers, and law-enforcing officers (101). Figure 7-11 shows the generally poor concept of self which many pubescents develop.

Lack of self-confidence comes partly from lowered physical resistance which makes every molehill look like a mountain, partly from constant social pressures on the child to do more than he formerly did and to "act his age," and partly from the criticisms of his elders and of his contemporaries about the way he does things or the fact that he does not do them. Many girls and boys emerge from puberty with so little self-confidence left that regaining it during the adolescent years is one of the major problems they must face. As a general rule, those children who seemed most capable and most confident of their abili-

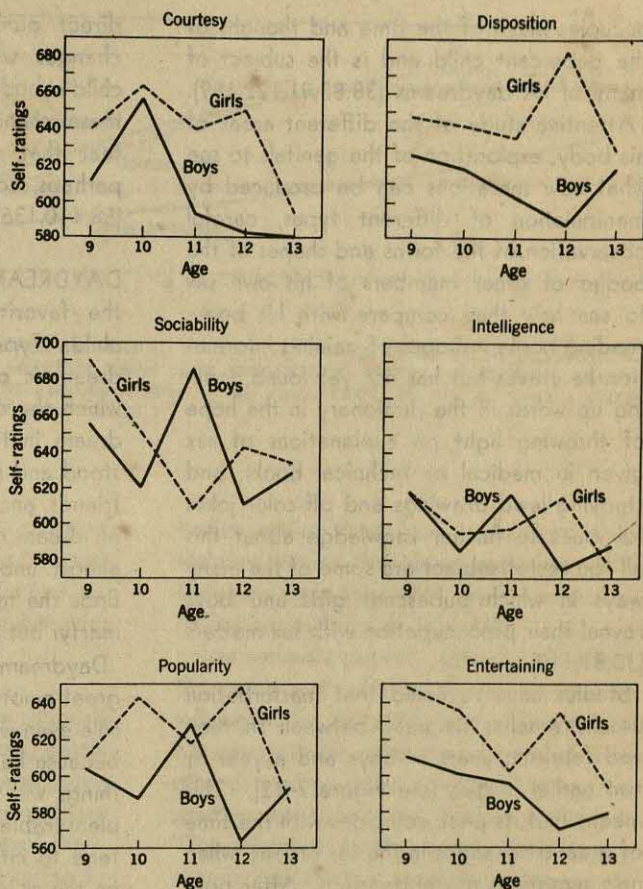


FIGURE 7-11 THERE IS A TENDENCY FOR PUBESCENTS TO HAVE POOR OPINIONS OF THEMSELVES. (ADAPTED FROM SISTER M. AMATORA: DEVELOPMENTAL TRENDS IN PREADOLESCENCE AND IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE IN SELF-EVALUATION. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1957, 91, 89-97. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ties in late childhood are hit hardest in this area by puberty, primarily because more is expected of them than of children who were formerly timid and unsure of themselves.

PREOCCUPATION WITH SEX The growth and maturing of the sex organs with the

new sensations that accompany these changes and the development of the secondary sex characteristics all focus the pubescent child's attention on sex matters. Interest is not in pregnancy or childbirth but in sex life itself and how it affects the child personally. Interest in sex frequently becomes so strong during puberty that it

occupies much of the time and thought of the pubescent child and is the subject of many of his daydreams (38,83,91,122,189).

Attentive study of the different areas of his body, exploration of the genitals to see what new sensations can be produced by manipulation of different types, careful observation of the forms and shapes of the bodies of other members of his own sex to see how they compare with his body, reading books in hopes of gaining information he craves but has not yet found, looking up words in the dictionary in the hope of throwing light on explanations of sex given in medical or technical books, and studying lewd drawings and off-color jokes for clues to further knowledge about this all too secret subject are some of the many ways in which pubescent girls and boys reveal their preoccupation with sex matters (30,51,110).

Studies have revealed that masturbation usually reaches its peak between thirteen and fourteen years in boys and a year or two earlier in girls (see Figure 7-12). This means that its peak coincides with the time of greatest changes in the sex organs, when new sensations are appearing. After boys and girls become sexually mature, there is normally a decline in masturbation, especially among those who are making good heterosexual adjustments (90,91,189).

EXCESSIVE MODESTY Both boys and girls at puberty are likely to be terror stricken at the thought of having to undress even partially when they have a medical examination. They turn their backs to their classmates when changing clothes in the gymnasium dressing rooms, and they become angry if any member of the family enters the room while they are undressing or bathing. This excessive modesty, which develops quite suddenly at puberty, is a

direct outgrowth of the rapid physical changes which are taking place in the child's body. He is self-conscious about these changes and tries to hide them in fear that others will observe them and, perhaps, comment unfavorably upon them (58,110,136).

DAYDREAMING Daydreaming is one of the favorite pastimes of the pubescent child. Typically, the pubescent child's daydream is of the "suffering-hero" type in which the dreamer sees himself in his daydream in the role of a martyr, misunderstood and mistreated by parents, teachers, friends, and society in general. Then, when his dream reaches a point where things are almost unbearable, the dreamer suddenly finds the tables turned. No longer is he a martyr but a hero.

Daydreaming of this type is a source of great emotional satisfaction. He enjoys his role even when he is suffering great agonies because he knows full well that, in the end, things will turn out in his favor. However pleasurable such daydreams may be, they tend to intensify an already-present belief on the child's part that "nobody loves me." The more frequently the child revels in such daydreams, the more out of step with reality he is and the poorer his social adjustments will be (27,58,75,83).

Variations in Effects on Behavior

Although all children show some of the behavior patterns described above, these are more marked before they become sexually mature, or during the period known as the negative phase (51,58,110,166). In discussing this matter, Macfarlane *et al.* (110) have explained that

There is an increase in tension in the year or so preceding menarche. This tension

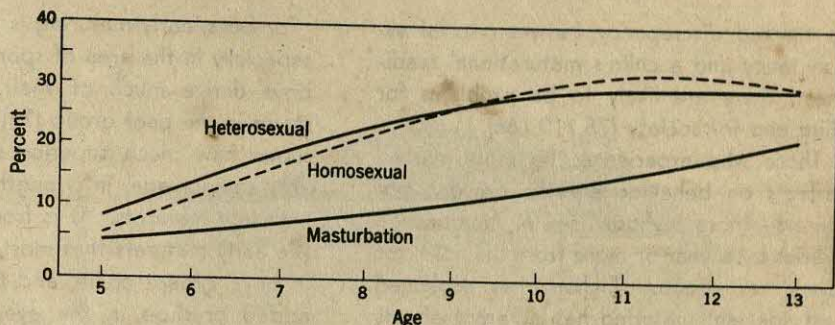


FIGURE 7-12 TYPES OF SEXUAL ACTIVITY ENGAGED IN BY PUBESCENT GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM C. B. BRODERICK: SEXUAL BEHAVIOR AMONG PRE-ADOLESCENTS. *J. soc. Issues*, 1966, 22, NO. 2, 7-21. USED BY PERMISSION.)

may be due to the physiological changes, to social aspects of maturing, or more probably to both of these factors.... There is a drop in these forms of behavior after menarche.

Girls, as a general rule, are more seriously affected by puberty than are boys, partly because girls mature, on the average, more rapidly than boys and partly because there are more social restrictions on their behavior just at the time when they are trying to free themselves from these restrictions (38, 75). In discussing the reason why boys are not as greatly affected by puberty changes as girls, More (122) has explained that, for them,

Puberty appears to have been a more gradual affair. It did not burst on them with the rapidity of development that the girls experienced. The impulses aroused may have been just as strong or stronger for the male but he had more chance to adjust to them as they grew.

Because of their earlier puberty, girls have been found to show signs of disruptive be-

havior earlier than boys. However, they stabilize earlier than boys and then show behavior consistent with their earlier behavior just as boys do later (10).

How seriously puberty changes will affect the pubescent's behavior will be greatly influenced by his ability and willingness to communicate his concerns and anxieties to others so as to get a new and better perspective on them. As Dunbar explained, "The affective reaction to change is largely determined by the capacity to communicate.... Communication is a means of coping with anxiety which inevitably accompanies stress" (38). Pubescents who find it difficult or impossible to communicate with others experience more negative phase behavior than those who can and will communicate.

As we have seen, the psychological effects of puberty are also complicated by the social expectancy of parents, teachers, and other adults. A boy or a girl of a given chronological age is expected to act according to standards for that age. When the developmental pattern approximates the group mean, such adjustments will be relatively easy. When, however, there is

a marked discrepancy between social expectancy and a child's maturational readiness, there are likely to be problems for him and for society (75,110,166).

Those who experience the most marked effects on behavior are the *deviant maturers*—those whose sexual maturation varies by a year or more from the norm for their sex group. Eichorn has explained why deviant maturing has different effects on the pubescent's behavior when it is markedly earlier or later than that of the norm for the sex group (41):

Adults and peers may react first to the physical appearance of the early-maturer and give him tasks and privileges ordinarily reserved for older individuals. Often he is able to meet the challenge, and in so doing he confirms their impression, increases his own skill, and derives personal satisfaction. If he was also larger than his age-mates before puberty, this circular process may have been recurring for some time. . . . Conversely, the late-maturer's feelings of inferiority and dependency have a realistic basis for many years. He is less able physically and has greater need for succorance from others. If he feels resentment at the childish status and treatment, he may express it in rebellious, impulsive behavior. Much of the exuberance and impulsivity of the late-maturer, however, may simply be that which is characteristic of most young animals. . . . Unfortunately, these patterns and attitudes, while perhaps appropriate and successful coping devices during childhood and early adolescence, may be maintained when they are no longer adaptive. Attitudes and behavior which were once a function of ability and status have become habitual and now reduce performance and status.

For boys, early maturing is advantageous, especially in the area of sports, from which boys derive much of their prestige and status in the peer group (78). Figure 7-13 shows how much superior early maturers are, age for age, in strength as compared with late maturers. It is from the ranks of the early maturers that most of the leaders in boys' groups come, and this gives them added prestige in the eyes of girls also (23,28,46,61,81,126). As Weatherley (182) has emphasized:

The early attainment of the physical attributes associated with maturity serves as a social stimulus which evokes from both peers and adults a reaction of respect, acceptance, and the expectation that the individual concerned will be capable of relatively mature social behavior. Such a reaction from others serves to support and reinforce adaptive, "grown-up" actions and contributes to feelings of confidence and security in the early-maturing boys.

By contrast, boys who are late maturers tend to be restless, tense, rebellious, and attention-seeking. Because of these unsocial patterns of behavior, they are less popular with both peers and adults and are far less often selected for leadership roles by their peers than are early maturers (13, 24,96,182). In commenting on the disadvantages of later maturing for boys, Weatherley (182) has pointed out the following problems:

The later maturer must cope with the developmental demands of the junior high and high school period with the liability of a relatively small, immature appearing physical stature. His appearance is likely to call out in others at least mild

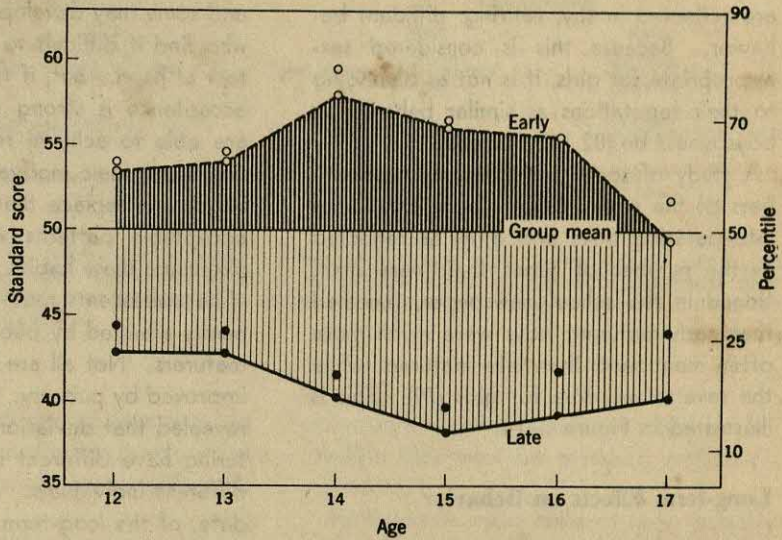


FIGURE 7-13 STRENGTH COMPARISONS OF BOYS WHO WERE EARLY AND LATE MATURERS. (ADAPTED FROM M. C. JONES: THE LATER CAREERS OF BOYS WHO WERE EARLY AND LATE MATURERS. *Child Developm.*, 1957, 28, 113-128. USED BY PERMISSION.)

reactions of derogation and the expectation that he is capable of only ineffectual, immature behavior. Such reactions constitute a kind of social environment which is conducive to feelings of inadequacy, insecurity and defensive "small-boy" behavior. Such behavior once initiated may well be self-sustaining, since it is likely to only intensify the negative environmental reactions which gave rise to it in the first place.

Early maturing is less advantageous to girls than it is to boys. Early-maturing girls are more grown up and sophisticated in their behavior, but their appearance and actions may lead to a reputation of being "fast" and "not nice." In addition, early-maturing girls are more out of step with their peers than are early-maturing boys. This increases the social problems they meet

(46,110,116,122,141). In commenting on the social problems the early-maturing girl is confronted with, Jones and Mussen (82) have pointed out that:

The early-maturing girl quite naturally has interests in boys and in social usages and activities more mature than those of her chronological age group. But the males of her own age are unreceptive, for while she is physiologically a year or two out of step with the girls in her class, she is three or four years out of step with the boys—a vast and terrifying degree of developmental distance.

Girls who are late maturers are less damaged psychologically than are boys. They are less likely to engage in status-seeking behavior than are boys, though they do have concerns about their normalcy, which

are reflected in shy, retiring, diffident behavior. Because this is considered sex-appropriate for girls, it is not as damaging to their reputations as similar behavior in boys would be (82,110,122,182).

A study of social attitudes among members of the peer group toward early- and late-maturing boys and girls, as reflected in the number of times they were mentioned in the school newspaper, revealed that early-maturing boys were much more often mentioned than late maturers, while the reverse was true for girls (79). This is illustrated in Figure 7-14.

Long-term Effects on Behavior

Most of the effects of sexual maturing on behavior, just described, are temporary. As the pubescent begins to feel better, he reverts to the characteristic patterns of behavior he learned in childhood. Social pressures to be popular, to do things with the peer group, and to acquire socially approved patterns of behavior provide him with a motivation to overcome patterns of behavior that militate against social acceptance and to replace them with patterns of a more social type (157).

The two types of pubescents most likely to be permanently damaged by the patterns of behavior characteristic of puberty are the slow maturers and the deviant maturers. In the case of the slow maturer, damage comes from having a longer-than-usual time to develop into habit patterns of behavior that are unsocial and undesirable. However, the habitual patterns of behavior they develop need not necessarily be permanently handicapping to them.

Some, it is true, may develop into habitual daydreamers; some may develop a hypercritical, frictional attitude toward people;

and some may develop into restless people who find it difficult to concentrate on any task at hand. But, if their desire for social acceptance is strong enough and if they are able to achieve reasonable social acceptance, their motivation to break these habits and replace them with more socially acceptable patterns will enable them to overcome these habits.

The pubescents most likely to be permanently affected by puberty are the *deviant* maturers. Not all are damaged: some are improved by puberty. Recent studies have revealed that deviations in the age of maturing have different long-term effects on different individuals. Although studies, to date, of the long-term effects on behavior have been limited to boys, evidence from these studies and knowledge of the effects of reinforcement through repetition enable us to hazard a guess concerning what the long-term effects on girls might be.

Early-maturing boys normally become socially active and popular, holding leadership roles in the peer group. They have assets that are valued in the peer group which, through repetition, develop into habitual patterns of behavior. Follow-up studies into the mid-thirties and early forties have shown these patterns of behavior to be persistent. As a result, the early maturers are more successful vocationally and socially as adults, just as they were during adolescence. Their success stems from the fact that they make better impressions on others than do the normal or later maturers. This is shown in Figure 7-15.

By contrast, later maturers as middle-aged men were found to cling to their "little-boy" patterns of behavior which caused them to be unpopular when they were younger. As a result, they were less active

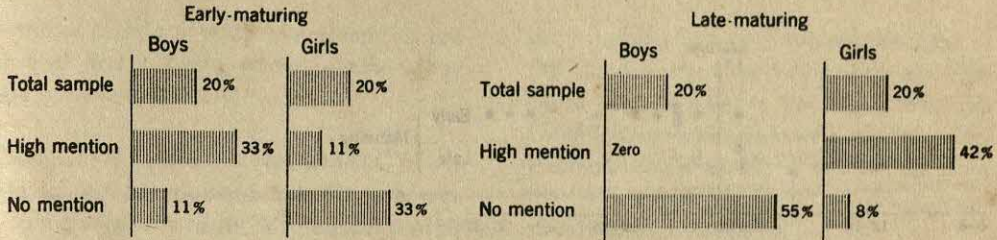


FIGURE 7-14 SOCIAL RECOGNITION AMONG BOYS AND GIRLS WHO WERE EARLY AND LATE MATURERS. (ADAPTED FROM M. C. JONES: A STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1958, 93, 87-111. USED BY PERMISSION.)

socially, less successful in business, and less likely to be selected for leadership roles than their abilities might have justified (4, 78,80).

Speculation about the long-term effects of deviant maturing on girls leads one to believe that early maturers who were embarrassed about being larger than their contemporaries and who often developed aggressive patterns of behavior to attract the attention of boys would continue to show similar patterns of behavior as adult women. Late maturers, by contrast, who were better adjusted personally and socially in adolescence would likely continue to be so during the years of adulthood, unless conditions unrelated to sexual maturing interfered with this pattern (157).

SOURCES OF CONCERN

One of the developmental tasks of growing up is the acceptance of the newly developed body and the recognition that nature produces foundations, limited in size and shape, which the individual can then change to fit his ideals. Many children enter puberty with childhood ideals of what they will look like when they are grown up. Because these ideals rarely take into

consideration the foundations laid by heredity, they must be markedly revised (3, 33,66,162).

Furthermore, most children enter puberty with little foreknowledge of the time needed to mature or the pattern that maturing takes. The result is that they are deeply concerned as they watch their bodies change, often so slowly that they wonder if they will ever grow up (4,97,165).

Concern about his developing body is heightened for the pubescent by the growing realization of how important a role appearance plays in social acceptance. As Eisenberg (43) has emphasized:

The sensitivity of the adolescent to the good opinion of his peers and the dependence of his sense of identity upon the attainment of competence in an adult role render him psychologically vulnerable to variations in physiological development, such as precocious or delayed growth, facial acne, obesity, enlarged mammary glands in the male, or inadequate or overabundant breast development in the female. These deviations from the expected pattern of maturation... may lead to major psychological trauma if not offset by sensitive guidance.

has been brought up on the tradition that "ladies have small hands and feet." She shows how great this concern is to her by wearing shoes too small for her feet, by wearing high heels, and by holding her hands in her pockets or behind her back so that no one can see them (12,22,85,87).

The temporarily too large nose sends both boys and girls into states of depression every time they look into the mirror. Long and lanky arms and legs, too small shoulders, and a tendency for the chin to recede are likewise very disturbing. Not realizing that such disproportions are temporary, the pubescent child is convinced that he will never look like a "normal" person (52,127,136,153).

When uneven growth is accompanied by awkwardness, and when it is especially pronounced because of rapid maturing, the pubescent child is disturbed and embarrassed. Having acquired skills in childhood which made him master of his body, it is not surprising if he wonders what is wrong with him when he bumps into furniture, trips over rugs and his own feet, or drops things he formerly was able to hold without any difficulty. If his awkwardness is met with ridicule, this increases his embarrassment. Reproof adds to his feeling of inadequacy and his concern about his normalcy (3,52,67,136,166).

Few pubescent children, or even their parents, are aware of the pattern of development of the *secondary sex characteristics*. The slow and irregular development of hair on the body and face, of skin changes, of the muscle and voice changes, and changes of the hips and breasts are the focal points of concern. Girls are sure their breasts are going to be abnormal because of their early conical shape, and they are worried that their hips will be too large for the rest of their bodies. They

are disturbed by the appearance of down on their faces and wonder if it will develop into a beard or moustache (6,52,58,67,136).

The secondary sex characteristics which disturb boys most are facial hair which comes in so slowly in comparison with body hair that they worry about ever having enough to shave, the huskiness and cracking in the early voice changes, and the slow development of their muscles, which retards the development of the strength associated with normal males (58,67,166).

Of all the sources of concern that lead the pubescent child to wonder if he is normal, perhaps differences in *age of maturing* and in *rate of maturing* are the most serious. Children and young adolescents interpret being different as being inferior. Deviations from the norm of the group in appearance are therefore even more serious to the child than deviations in other areas, because these physical deviations are constantly visible to the group.

A slight deviation from the average age of sexual maturing among members of a group is not a great handicap to any child. But, as we have seen, when maturing is markedly accelerated or delayed, the effects on both boys and girls are more serious. Those who mature earlier than their classmates feel like misfits among their former friends (78,122,126,166). Children, on the other hand, who are slow in maturing, feel embarrassed because of their small, undeveloped bodies and they feel out of things when they cannot bring themselves to be interested in the things which are so absorbing to their more mature classmates. If their maturing is markedly delayed, they worry for fear that they will remain little boys or girls for the rest of their lives (6,78,81,122).

Because girls mature a year or more ahead of boys, they become interested in

boys, in dates, and in dressing up to attract the attention of boys sooner than boys become interested in girls. Many girls, not understanding why boys are not interested in them, wonder if they are normal when they are unable to attract the attention and win the favor of boys. Boys, in turn, wonder if they are normal when they have no interest in girls or dates, especially as they observe older or sexually mature boys setting a pattern of behavior they would like to imitate.

CONCERN ABOUT SEX APPROPRIATENESS From their attendance at movies, from watching television, reading comics and books, and from their observations of the body builds and behavior of adults they admire, the pubescent child has a clear concept of *masculinity* and *femininity* in appearance and behavior (29,87,89,136).

With these ideals as sources of comparison for their own bodies, children are concerned when they observe discrepancies between their ideals and reality. And, because they are usually unaware of how long it takes for their bodies to complete their development, they judge according to the present state of development and then worry because their bodies fall short of their ideals (3,6,175).

The sudden *increase in size*, due to the pubertal growth spurt, is likely to disturb girls because they are afraid they will become so large that boys will not want to date them. When boys see girls of their own ages literally towering over them, it is not surprising that they are disturbed. Even when they know that girls normally outstrip boys in size for several years, it is hard for them to be objective about the matter and not worry for fear that they will remain small for the rest of their lives.

Excessive *fat* which frequently comes in

the early part of puberty, is a source of great concern. In our culture, fat is considered unattractive and, therefore, it disturbs the individual who does not conform to social expectations. Girls who have a prototype of female beauty based on moving-picture heroines, glamour girls in society, and cover girls on magazines are very distressed when they look at their own bodies.

For a boy, fat is considered sexually inappropriate, especially when there is an accumulation of fat on the thighs, around the waist, and in the mammary region. While this generally disappears as puberty progresses, it may affect personality development unfavorably for many years after the somatic stigma has passed.

There is a widespread belief that small genitalia mean lack of normal sexual development. When the boy's *penis* is developing, he is greatly concerned by its thinness. And, because growth in circumference follows growth in length, the boy feels that he has a sexually inappropriate sex-organ development. How concerned he is about this is seen in the fact that many boys add artificial padding to their supporters to create the impression that their penises are sexually appropriate.

Until the breasts become curved and filled out by the development of the mammary glands and subcutaneous tissue, the girl worries about her unfeminine breasts. Broad *hips* are regarded as sexually inappropriate for both sexes, but especially so for boys. Therefore, boys and girls during the early stages of puberty, especially if they experience a period of fatness, feel that they are doomed to resemble an asexual person.

The same is true of fat over the *abdomen*, which is common among both boys and girls in the early part of puberty. Excessive

fat is considered unattractive in our present culture, but fat in the wrong places is considered sexually inappropriate.

The *secondary sex characteristics* that are late in developing are likely to be the sources of greatest concern. For the most part, these are the ones that differentiate the two sexes most clearly. In the case of boys, *hair* on the face, large *muscles* in the shoulder and arm regions, and *voice changes* come late in the puberty period. As the boy watches hair develop in other areas of his body but not on his face, he naturally wonders if he will continue to have the smooth-faced look of a girl or whether he will look masculine. The *breast knots*, which develop early in puberty and then gradually disappear, add to his concern about his sex appropriateness.

Typically, a feminine woman is supposed to have a beautiful complexion. As puberty progresses, *acne* usually gets worse rather than better, and *hair* is darker and more profuse than in the early stages of puberty. Facial hair frequently alarms the girl because she is afraid she may have to shave like a boy.

Girls become *voice-conscious* at puberty. Like the boy who is afraid he will never have a truly masculine voice with its deep pitch, the girl is concerned about whether she will go through life with the high-pitched voice of a child instead of the lower-pitched, more melodious voice of the adult woman (6,90,91,122,136,166,175).

UNHAPPINESS AT PUBERTY

One essential of happiness is self-acceptance. It is difficult for a pubescent to be self-acceptant when he is anxious and concerned about his changing body and when he is dissatisfied with the image of himself he sees reflected in the mirror.

Furthermore, the realization of the in-

creasingly important role appearance plays in social acceptance adds to the pubescent's dissatisfaction with his changing body. The more concerned the pubescent is about his social acceptance, the greater will be his concern about his appearance (87,159). Girls tend to be more concerned about their appearance than boys, because they realize that appearance plays a more important role in their social acceptance than it does in boys' (28,51,156).

Because they are unhappy about their appearance and fear that it will be a handicap to social acceptance, many pubescents would like to change their appearance by changing the physical features they consider unattractive or sex-inappropriate (3, 12,162,186).

Studies of how pubescents would like to change their bodies have emphasized where the greatest concerns lie. Girls, for example, want to have a "good figure" to conform to the cultural stereotype of a feminine girl. Boys want to be tall because the cultural stereotype of a male emphasizes height; girls want to be shorter than they are to conform to the stereotype for their sex. Boys want to be heavier than they are; girls want to be lighter. Boys want broader shoulders and thicker arms and legs, while girls want smaller hips and waists, thinner arms and legs, and larger busts. Boys are usually dissatisfied with their chins—they want more prominent chins—while girls and boys both wish their noses were less prominent and better shaped (12,22,87). As Calden *et al.* have pointed out, "Females desire changes from the waist down and wish for smallness and petiteness of body parts (except for bust). Males are dissatisfied with body dimensions from the waist up, desiring bigness of body parts" (22).

How unhappy they are about their bodies

and how anxious they are to improve them has been shown by the fact that many pubescents *wish* they could do something to improve their looks and some go to doctors to have features that are especially disturbing to them corrected. They are willing, for example, to endure the discomfort of braces on their teeth in the hope that this will improve their mouths; they submit to plastic surgery to have the size and shape of their noses changed; and girls have estrogen therapy to speed up the onset of the menses when they are concerned about their excessive height (22, 121, 136, 184).

Concern about appearance is not the only cause of unhappiness during puberty. The pubescent child's behavior is so unsocial that parents, teachers, siblings, and peers—the most significant people in their lives—react by rejecting them. In addition, their achievements usually fall far short of their potentials, and they feel guilty about not doing what they are capable of doing. Even worse, their temper outbursts and restlessness creates the impression that they are not "acting their ages"—an impression that adds to their lack of social acceptance.

Because they do not like themselves, because they are aware of the fact that they lack the acceptance and affection of others, and because they are ashamed of their poor achievements, the three essentials of happiness are lacking. Therefore, puberty could not be a happy age.

As has been pointed out, unhappiness is greater among deviant maturers than among those whose maturing follows more closely the pattern of their peers. They must face all the adjustment problems and anxieties the normal maturer faces *plus* anxiety about whether they are normal and the social problems deviant maturing gives rise to.

The early maturer has, to be sure, some advantages, especially in the case of boys. But there is the constant anxiety arising from the fear that he is being judged as "stupid" because he looks so much older than his classmates and from the realization that people accuse him of not "acting his age." The late maturer is plagued with the fear that he is "not normal."

Much the same is true of the slow maturer: he constantly wonders if something is wrong when he sees his age-mates growing up at a faster rate than he is. For the rapid maturer, there are all the anxieties of normal maturing, but the problems he faces are exaggerated by the speed of his maturing. He seems to lack energy even more than his peers do, and his work, as a result, falls even below theirs in quality and quantity. He is more awkward than they, and this makes him conspicuous and self-conscious. His skin breaks out in acne of a more pronounced type, and this disturbs him because he fears it will jeopardize his social acceptance. In a study of the effects of acne on personality, it was found that early and rapid maturers showed higher neuroticism than did those who matured at more nearly the average age and rate (108).

Not all puberty is unhappy to the same degree: the early part—the "negative phase"—is usually the most unhappy. After sexual maturing occurs and growth slows down, the pubescent has more energy. This results in better achievements and better social relationships. Furthermore, he is less concerned about his appearance because he realizes that many of the conditions that worried him were only temporary. As he more closely approximates his ideal and as he becomes more sex-appropriate in appearance, some of his anxiety wanes. Even more important, he

learns that there are aids to improving his appearance which he, as a child, was unaware of. This gives him hope that he can improve his looks as an aid to improved social acceptance.

Control of Unhappiness

Because unhappiness at any age is serious, especially when it persists long enough to become habitual, it is important to try to control the unhappiness of the pubescent so as to keep it down to a minimum. There are three important solutions to this problem. The *first* is to increase the pubescent's knowledge of the normal pattern of sexual maturing and to emphasize the fact that any deviation from this pattern is usually only temporary. Few pubescents have this knowledge: their sex education has serious gaps in this area (97,165). Those who do have reasonable knowledge of what is happening to them are more philosophical in their attitudes and, consequently, less concerned and unhappy.

The *second* thing that can be done to reduce unhappiness at puberty is to acquaint the pubescent with the fact that there are many things that can be done to change or to camouflage physical characteristics he does not like. This is especially important for those whose disregard for appearance and disdain for clothes in childhood make them unaware of the existence of "beauty aids." While it is true that the adolescent will, unquestionably, learn in time about ways to improve his appearance, it may not be until the habit of being unhappy about his appearance has become habitual.

The *third* solution to the problem is for adults who live and work with pubescents—whether they be parents, teachers, or athletic directors—to realize that rapid growth and change are *always* accompanied by fatigue, loss of energy, and certain physical disturbances, such as digestive troubles, headaches, acne, or anemia. If they would, then, lighten the pubescent's work load and overlook temporary drops in the quality of his work, it would go a long way toward counteracting any feeling the pubescent might have that he was a "failure"—a feeling that can lead only to unhappiness.

Even more important, if they would overlook his temporary moodiness and orneriness—as they do when a person is convalescing from an illness—it would eliminate much of the feeling of martyrdom that most pubescents develop. This, in turn, would eliminate the feeling that he was rejected and unloved—a feeling that cannot fail to lead to unhappiness.

Much of the happiness with which the child anticipates the time when he will be "grown up" could be maintained if steps were taken to prevent unhappiness from developing. This is important for the pubescent's mental health but, even more important, it serves as a means of increasing his motivation to learn adult patterns of behavior. The developmental tasks of adolescence are difficult, and learning them is a long, laborious task at the best. A strong motivation to do so, resulting from happy anticipation of achieving an adult status in society, will go a long way toward easing the burden these tasks impose on the adolescent and toward guaranteeing a successful end result.

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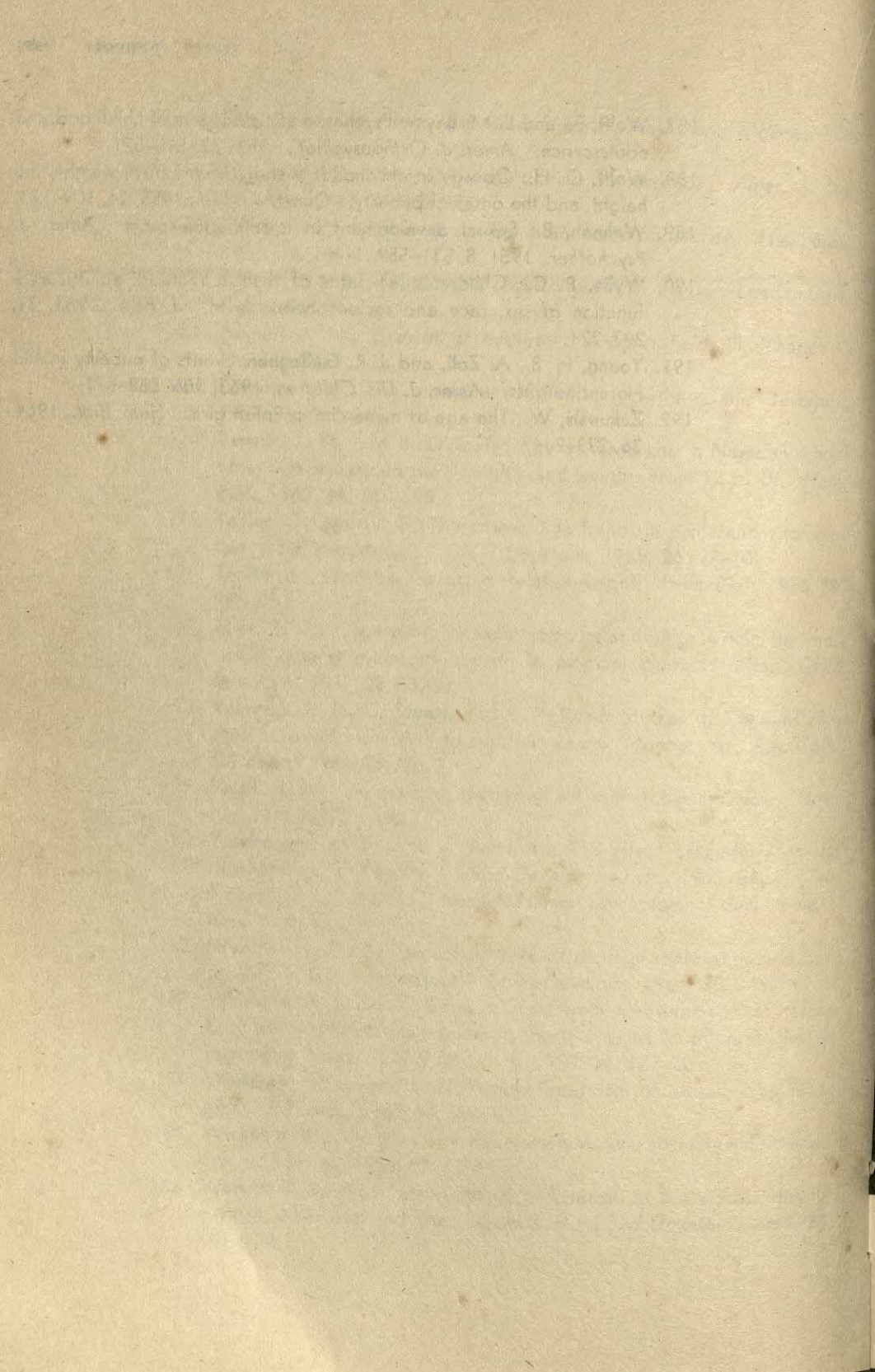
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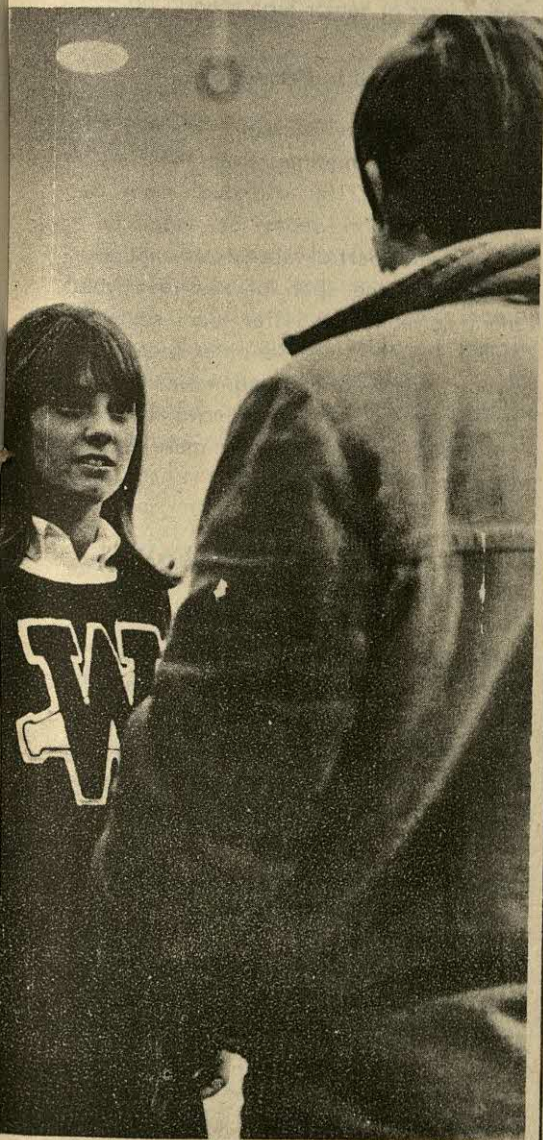
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The term "adolescence" comes from the Latin word *adolescere*, which means "to grow" or "to grow to maturity." Among primitive peoples and in earlier civilizations, puberty and adolescence coincided. The child was considered an adult when he was capable of reproduction. As the term "adolescence" is used today, it has a broader meaning and includes mental, emotional, and social as well as physical maturity. Legally, in American society, maturity is reached when the individual is twenty-one years old.

Adolescence is a time when the individual is expected to prepare for adulthood by replacing childish attitudes and behavior patterns with those of an adult type. This point of view was emphasized by the Hechingers (11'6) when they said:

The task now is to make it clearly understood that adolescence is a stage of human development, not an empire or even a colony. The mission of the adult world is to help teen-agers become adults by raising their standards and values to maturity rather than by lowering adulthood to their insecure maturity. The task for the adult world is to make adolescence a step toward growing up, not a privilege to be exploited.

Length of Period

Until recently, adolescence was regarded as a period in the life span which begins when the individual becomes sexually mature and ends when he reaches legal maturity, at twenty-one years of age in our culture.

Recent studies of the changes in behavior throughout adolescence have revealed not only that these changes are more rapid in the early than in the latter part of adolescence, but also that the behavior and attitudes of the individual in the early part of the period are markedly different from those in the latter part of the period. As a result, it has become a widespread practice to divide adolescence into two periods, *early* and *late* adolescence.

Early adolescence begins when the individual becomes sexually mature. For the average girl of today, early adolescence begins at thirteen years and, for boys, approximately a year later. The dividing line between early and late adolescence is placed around seventeen years, the age when the average American boy or girl of today enters the senior year of high school. He then is recognized by his parents to be nearly grown up, on the verge of entering the adult world of work or ready to go away to college or some professional training school. His status in the school likewise makes him feel responsibilities he never before was expected to assume. As a result of this new and formally recognized status, both at school and at home, he has an incentive to behave in a more mature manner.

Because boys mature, on the average, later than girls, they have a shorter period of early adolescence. As a result, they frequently seem more immature for their age than do girls. However, as they are accorded, along with girls, a more mature status in the home and school, they usually "settle down" quickly and show a maturity of behavior which is in marked contrast with that of the younger adolescent (182).

It is this change in patterns of behavior, so characteristic of the last year of high school, which is taken as a dividing line be-

tween the early and the late part of the adolescent period. Roughly, then, early adolescence extends from thirteen to sixteen or seventeen years, from the end of junior high school to the beginning of the senior year of senior high school.

Names Applied to Period

Early adolescence is usually referred to as the "teens," sometimes even the "terrible teens" (25,200,215). Although many people use the term "teens" or "teen-age" to refer to that part of late adolescence which falls within the span of the teen years, more correctly the latter teens should be called "youth" and the older teen-ager a "young man" or "young woman." The differences in attitudes and behavior in early and late adolescence make this distinction justifiable.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

There are several outstanding characteristics of the early adolescent years that distinguish them from childhood years and from the closing years of adolescence. Following is a discussion of the most important of these characteristics:

The Young Adolescent's Status Is Ambiguous

The young adolescent's status in our modern society is vague and confused. At one time, he is treated as a child, and when he acts like a child, he is reprimanded and told to "act his age." When he attempts to act like an adult, he is often accused of being "too big for his britches." This ambiguous status presents a dilemma for the teen-ager. As Duvall (78) has pointed out,

The teen years represent a fundamental dilemma of life—to grow and mature, or to stay and be secure. The young person takes two steps ahead and one back through the teen years. . . . This is a decade of dilemmas for parents, too. They are torn between their desire to let their teen-age sons and daughters grow up, and the urge to keep their beloved children close and safe.

The ambiguous status of the young adolescent in the present-day American culture can be traced to a number of causes: the affluence of the family which makes it possible for the adolescent to remain a dependent instead of becoming a wage earner; child labor laws which force him into a state of dependency long after his body has become that of an adult; and the need for longer schooling to prepare for the type of work available in the more complex economic structure of today (25, 66, 116).

Early Adolescence Is a Period of Change

That physical changes are inevitably followed by psychological changes has been emphasized by Ausubel (13) when he pointed out that:

Adolescence in our culture can be described as a time of transition in the bio-social status of the individual. It is a period during which marked changes occur in duties, responsibilities, privileges, and relationships with others. . . . Under such conditions, changed attitudes toward self, parents, peers, and others become inevitable.

How important a role social pressures play in changes that occur during early

adolescence has been shown by attitudes of parents and teachers. They not only expect but *demand* a release from such inconveniences as noise, untidiness, shirking of duties, teasing younger children, and general nuisance behavior. Recognition of the unfavorable social attitudes toward his behavior motivates the adolescent to replace childish behavior with more mature behavior.

Studies of adolescents in recent years have revealed that it is during the early part of adolescence, when physical changes are taking place very rapidly, that changes in attitudes and behavior are most rapid. As physical changes slow down, so also do changes in attitudes and behavior.

Early Adolescence Is a Period of Heightened Emotionality

At the turn of this century, G. Stanley Hall reported that adolescence was a period of extremes in behavior, marked by emotional "storm and stress." Explanation of this characteristic emotional tension will be taken up later in this chapter.

The Young Adolescent Is Unstable

At this age, instability is extreme. From tears to laughter, from self-confidence to self-depreciation, from selfishness to altruism, and from enthusiasm to indifference—all are common reactions of young adolescents. One minute the young adolescent is up in the clouds, and the next he is in the depths of despair.

This instability is very apparent in his social relationships. There are marked fluctuations in his friendships, especially with members of the opposite sex, and in the qualities he likes or dislikes among others. Instability in aspirations, notably in vocational aspirations, is so common that

planning for the future is very difficult. In general, the young adolescent is an unpredictable person, even to himself.

This instability is largely the result of feelings of insecurity. The physiological and psychological changes which accompany sexual maturity come so quickly that the individual is unsure of himself, of his capacities, and of his interests. The greater demands placed on him by home and school add to his feelings of insecurity and intensify his instability.

Added to this is the ambiguous treatment given him by both parents and teachers. One minute he is told he is too young to drive a car and the next he is given a responsibility usually assumed by an adult (118). As Luchins has pointed out, the young adolescent must "learn to dance in harmony with many different tunes while still attempting to maintain some degree of harmony with himself" (167).

The Young Adolescent Has Many Problems

For the young adolescent, problems *seem* more numerous and more insurmountable than at other ages. In childhood, parents or teachers helped him with his problems. Now he feels that his parents and teachers are "too old" to understand and to help him. Many of the problems that confront a young adolescent relate to areas of life, such as heterosexual relationships, in which he has had no previous experience. As a result, he often feels at a loss to know how to meet them (28,97,127,140). As Landis has pointed out, "In our day of a self-sufficient society and unchaperoned paired relationships, teen-agers are called upon to make more decisions before they are 20 years of age than their great grandparents made in a lifetime" (153).

TYPES OF PROBLEMS Studies of the problems of young adolescents have revealed that the problems are numerous and, for the most part, center around physical appearance and health, social relationships in the home and with outsiders, relationships with members of the opposite sex, schoolwork, plans for the future—including education, choice of vocation, and selection of a life mate—sex and moral behavior, religion, and finances (1,2,15,18).

Problems about the future are more serious to boys, while girls are more concerned about parent-child relationships and social problems such as making friends and knowing the correct thing to do. On the whole, girls have more problems that disturb them than have boys during early adolescence (97,225,244,266).

The number and seriousness of problems at this age vary from individual to individual within the sex groups. If childhood discipline has been too authoritarian, the adolescent is unprepared to make decisions and face responsibilities for his choice. This makes his problems seem greater than they do to the adolescent from a more democratic home who is better prepared to meet his problems (97,153,192).

All problems the adolescent must face are increased when the home situation is unsatisfactory or when the home is broken by death or divorce. This is especially true of financial, personal, and family-relationship problems. In general, bright adolescents have fewer problems and concerns than adolescents of average intelligence, suggesting that bright children make better adjustments to adolescence than do those of average intelligence (97,221,266).

SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS Problems decrease in seriousness for the adolescent (as we found true for the child) when he feels

free to discuss them with parents or teachers. However, many adolescents are unwilling to discuss their problems with their parents or outsiders. They fear that their problems will not be understood or that in discussing them they will reveal their inability to meet their own problems and that they will lose their independence if they seek help from others. The more serious the problem, the less willing is the adolescent to seek help in solving it (74,97, 118). Figure 8-1 shows some of the problems young adolescents find easy or difficult to discuss with their parents.

Until the adolescent has solved his problems to his satisfaction, he will be preoccupied with himself and with his problems. Furthermore, he will suffer from feelings of inadequacy and inferiority which, in many cases, he will try to hide by a cocky self-assurance. This attitude will, in turn, be interpreted by his parents to mean that he displays a better opinion of himself than is justified or than he actually has (91,118).

If the adolescent is able to deal with these problems without too much inner turmoil, he will develop self-confidence and feelings of adequacy; if not, he will develop feelings of frustration and inadequacy which may leave permanent psychological scars (270). As Frank (91) has pointed out, in discussing the problems adolescents must face and solve:

The schools should not try to prepare them for future living by specific instruction and training for tasks they will meet later, but help them to meet their present adolescent problems. . . . Here, as in all other ages, the best preparation for tomorrow is to live adequately today, to deal with today's requirements so as to be able to go forward without too much "unfinished business."

Unfavorable Social Attitudes toward Early Adolescence

Adults whose responsibility it is to guide and supervise the lives of these young people find early adolescence a "problem age" for them. One of the most troublesome aspects of this age is the obstinacy of the young adolescent. He will not listen to reason but does just the opposite of what he is asked to do, or he just "moons" around (192,221).

Young adolescents realize that they are subjected, as a group, to condemnation, criticism, and general devaluation by adults. They are aware of the stereotype of a "teen-ager" as a sloppy, irresponsible, unreliable individual who is inclined toward destructiveness and antisocial behavior. This stereotype has been strengthened by the widespread publicity given, through the mass media, to juvenile gangs, juvenile delinquency, use of drugs, petting, necking, and the sexual irregularities of some adolescents today (25,102,200,215). As Hess and Goldblatt have pointed out, "It is generally assumed that the attitudes of the society toward its teen-age members are characteristically depreciatory and often hostile" (118).

The belief on the adolescent's part that adults have a poor opinion of him makes the transition to adulthood difficult for him, leads to much friction with his parents, and places a barrier between the adolescent and his parents which prevents him from turning to them for help in meeting his problems. As Hess and Goldblatt have further emphasized, "With the possible exception of old age, no other phase of individual development is so clearly marked by negative connotations and lack of positive sanctions" (118).

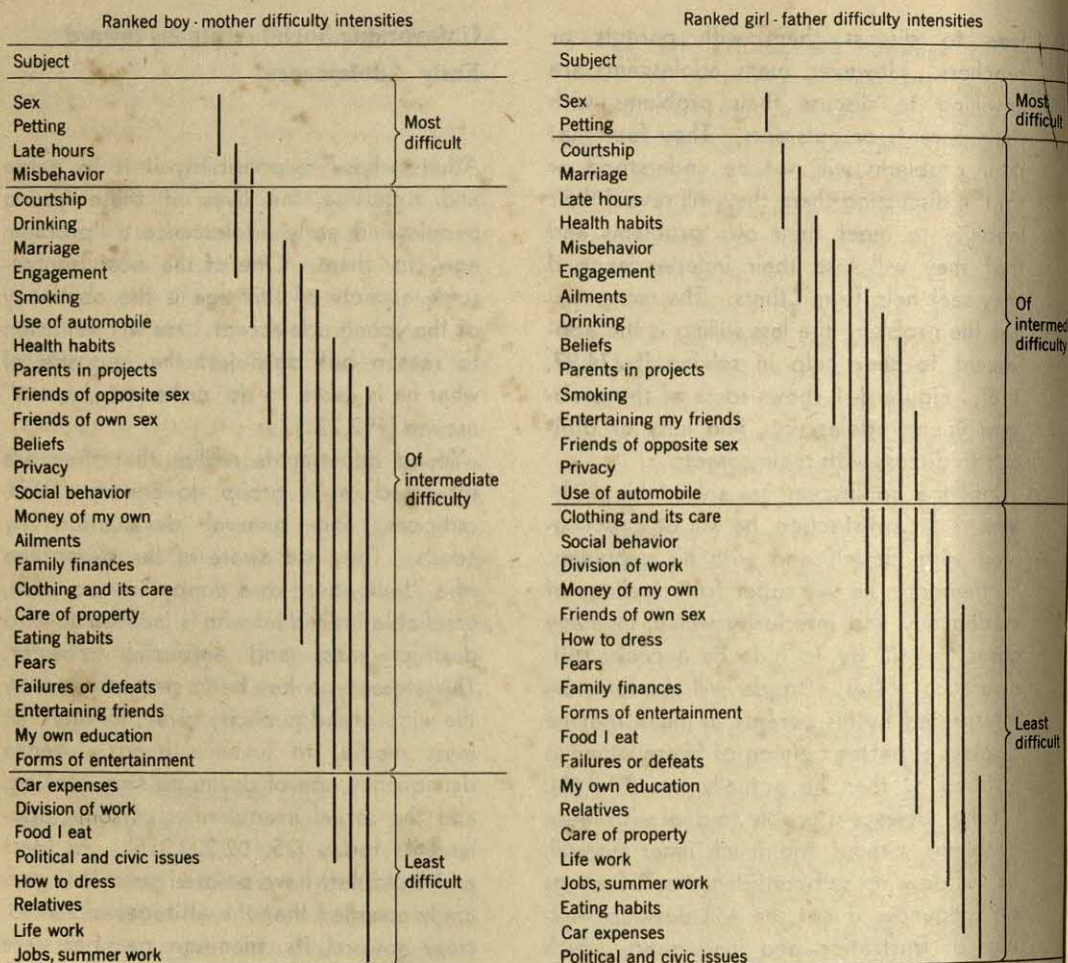


FIGURE 8-1 SOME OF THE PROBLEMS YOUNG ADOLESCENTS FIND EASY OR DIFFICULT TO DISCUSS WITH THEIR PARENTS. (ADAPTED FROM M. C. DUBBE: WHAT PARENTS ARE NOT TOLD MAY HURT. *Family Life Coordinator*, 1965, 14, 51-118. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Early Adolescence Is a "Critical" Age

Early adolescence is the time when the individual, sheltered and protected throughout childhood, "breaks the cocoon" and reaches the "border of the unknown external world" (235). Normally, as the young

adolescent begins to feel more adequate to cope with his problems, adulthood will seem more attractive (172).

However, an adolescent who has not, as a child, been prepared for the new roles he will be expected to play will be tempted to regress to the security of childhood (201.

215). That is what makes early adolescence a "critical" period in the individual's life. As Eisenberg (81) has explained:

Adolescence is a "critical period" in development in being both a time of rapid and profound change in the organism and a time providing the necessary—but not sufficient—conditions for full maturation in manhood. Optimal development in adolescence depends on successful accomplishment of the developmental tasks in infancy and childhood. Thus, clinical experience has indicated that adolescence is likely to be particularly stormy, prolonged, and sometimes poorly resolved if it follows a childhood marked by severe deficit.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

The developmental tasks of early adolescence are all focused on putting away childish attitudes and behavior patterns and learning to be an adult (66,115,172, 235). See page 15 for a complete list of the developmental tasks of adolescence. The developmental tasks of adolescence require a major change in the child's habitual attitudes and patterns of behavior. Consequently, few boys and girls can be expected to master them during the years of early adolescence. This is especially true of the late maturers. The most that can be hoped for is the laying of foundations on which the older adolescent can build the mature attitudes and behavior patterns expected of an adult.

A brief survey of the important developmental tasks of adolescence will serve to illustrate how major a change must be made. It will, thus, emphasize why the

major part of adolescence—not early adolescence alone—is needed.

Accepting one's physique is difficult if the adolescent has, from earliest childhood, had a glamorized concept of what he wanted to look like when he grew up. It takes time to revise this concept and to learn ways to improve the physique so that it will be more in harmony with the glamorized concept of childhood.

Acceptance of the adult-approved sex role is not too difficult for boys: this they have been encouraged to do since early childhood. But for girls who, as children, were permitted or even encouraged to play an equalitarian role, learning what the adult-approved feminine role is and accepting it is often a major task which requires many years of adjustment.

For the adolescent who, as a child, scorned members of the opposite sex, learning new relationships with them literally means starting from scratch to discover what members of the opposite sex are like and how to get along with them. Even developing new relationships with age-mates of the same sex is not easy if the adolescent, as a child, was accustomed to treating them as most children treat their playmates.

Achieving emotional independence from parents and other adults would seem, for the independence-conscious adolescent, to be an easy developmental task. However, emotional independence is not the same as independence of behavior. Many adolescents who want to be independent want and need the security that emotional dependence on their parents or some other adults gives. This is especially true for adolescents whose status in the peer group is insecure or who lack a close tie with a member of the peer group.

Economic independence cannot be achieved until an occupation is selected and the time needed to prepare for it is completed. Should the occupation selected require a long period of training, there can be no assurance of economic independence until the individual reaches adulthood. Even then, he may have to remain an economic dependent for several years until his training has been completed.

Schools and colleges put emphasis on developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence. However, few adolescents are able to use these skills and concepts in practical affairs. Those who are active in the extracurricular affairs of their schools and colleges get such practice, but those who are prevented from active participation, because of pressure of after-school jobs or lack of acceptance by their peers, are deprived of this practice.

Schools and colleges, likewise, try to build conscious values in harmony with those held in adult life; parents contribute to this development. When, however, the adult-fostered values clash with peer values, the adolescent must make the choice of accepting peer values if he wants peer acceptance. And, because his social life depends on peer acceptance, he has little choice but to accept values which are not in harmony with those of the adult world he is preparing to enter.

Closely related to the problem of developing values in harmony with adult values is the task of developing and achieving socially responsible behavior. Most adolescents want to be accepted by their peers, but this acceptance often is at the expense of behavior that adults consider socially responsible. If, for example, it is the thing to do to cheat or to help a friend in trouble by giving him help in an examination, the adolescent must choose

between adult and peer standards of socially responsible behavior.

The gradual relaxing of strict social taboos relating to sex behavior has gone a long way toward preparing adolescents of today for the sexual aspects of marriage. However, little is done to prepare them, either at home, in school, or in college, for the other aspects of marriage and even less, to prepare them for family life. In the absence of this preparation and with the constant emphasis on the glamour of marriage and family life depicted in mass media, this developmental task is one of the major aspects of "unfinished business" which the adolescent carries into adulthood.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Growth is far from complete when puberty ends. It is not entirely complete at the end of early adolescence. However, there is a slackening of the pace of growth, and there is more marked internal than external development. This cannot be so readily observed or identified as growth in height and weight or the development of the secondary sex characteristics.

The girl reaches her mature *height* at the close of early adolescence if she has matured at the average age. Slow-maturing girls, on the other hand, do not reach their mature size until early in the late adolescent period. Even though boys mature sexually later than girls, they catch up to and begin to outdistance girls in height during early adolescence (145,175,205,243). Much the same pattern is followed in *weight* increases, though there are more marked individual differences in weight among members of each sex because of differences in body build and patterns of eating (145,175,243).

Gradually, disproportions, so characteristic of the growth years, right themselves and reach one by one their mature level of development. Whether *adult proportions* will be attained before the end of early adolescence will depend mainly on age and rate of sexual maturing. The *sex organs*, while not completely mature in size and functioning, have reached a stage of maturity that makes procreation possible. Most of the *secondary sex characteristics* are at a mature level of development. By the end of early adolescence, boys and girls resemble men and women in size and general appearance more than they resemble children (175,185,205,243).

Internal Development

Internal growth is marked during early adolescence and is closely correlated with growth in height and weight. There is a change in the relative size of the organs of the *digestive system*. The stomach becomes longer and less tubular than it was in childhood, thus increasing its capacity. The intestines grow in length and circumference, and the muscles in the stomach and intestinal walls become stronger and thicker. The liver increases in weight and the esophagus becomes larger.

In the *circulatory system* there is an increase in the size of the heart and in the length and thickness of the walls of the blood vessels. Growth in the size of the heart is relatively greater, however, than growth in the diameter of the veins or arteries. As a result, a large heart must pump blood through small arteries. Tension in the arteries, resulting from disproportions in the size of the heart and of the arteries, causes much of the restlessness that is characteristic of the young adolescent.

After puberty has been completed, there is little increase in *lung* size. In adolescence, as a result of the increased size of the lungs, breathing is slower than it was in childhood though the volume of inhaled and exhaled air is greater. Up to the age of fourteen years, there is not much difference between the two sexes in lung capacity. After that, boys surpass girls to a marked degree.

Because of the increased activity of the gonads at puberty, there is a temporary imbalance of the whole *endocrine system* during early adolescence. The glands which during childhood were dominant now take a less prominent position in the endocrine system, and those which were formerly less prominent now become dominant. In both boys and girls, there is a temporary rise in the basal metabolic rate early in adolescence, and then this sinks again. The sex glands develop rapidly at that time and become functionally active. They do not, however, reach their mature size until late in adolescence or early in adulthood (145,175,180,185,186,205).

Motor Development

Development of muscular power follows growth in muscle size. At no time is motor development that is below the level of his contemporaries more serious to the individual than it is during adolescence. Unless his muscular skills are on a par with those of his friends, the young adolescent cannot take part in the games and sports they enjoy. This has serious impact on his social adjustments and on his concept of himself (60,64).

Tests to measure agility, control, strength, and static balance show the greatest increase in ability for boys after fourteen years of age. For girls, improvement

comes up to fourteen and then lags, owing more to changes in interests than to lack of capacity. Speed of voluntary movement increases continually from the beginning of early adolescence to the end of the period, but at a progressively slower rate of increase. A thirteen-year-old, for example, has six-sevenths as much speed as a seventeen-year-old (64,132).

Among boys, physical *strength* doubles between the ages of twelve and sixteen years. There is a relationship between strength and age of maturing, with early-maturing boys significantly stronger than late-maturing boys of the same age. This superiority continues until seventeen or eighteen years of age (64,132,193).

Among girls, the pattern of development of muscular strength differs markedly from that of boys. Early-maturing girls show a rapid increase in strength up to the age of twelve years; after which there is a slow rate of increase. Late-maturing girls are relatively retarded in strength development, though in time, their level of strength reaches that of girls who mature earlier. In both early- and late-maturing girls, the greatest increase in strength comes near the time of the menarche (132,205).

At all ages after puberty, boys surpass girls in strength, and this superiority increases with age. The reason for this difference is that the muscles of girls do not develop as much as do those of boys during adolescence. Girls generally attain their maximum strength at about seventeen years of age, while boys do not attain their maximum strength until they are twenty-one or twenty-two years old (175,185,186,243).

Health Conditions

After the puberty changes are, for the most part, complete, the adolescent's health begins to improve. The ailments he

experienced at puberty, none of which was severe enough to invalid him, gradually clear up, and the young adolescent feels better with each successive month. True, he frequently experiences digestive upsets, caused by indiscreet eating, and colds, caused by carelessness or lack of proper precautions. But, for the most part, these are mild and of short duration (280). Refer to Figure 4-3, page 141 for a graphic illustration of common illnesses during early adolescence. Relatively few young adolescents die from illnesses: accidents are a more common cause of death at this age than are illnesses, and this is far more true of boys than of girls (242).

Few adolescents, however, are free from minor ailments. Defective teeth, eye troubles, stomach upsets, headaches, earaches, and asthma are a few of the common disorders the young adolescent experiences occasionally or chronically. Many of these disorders are carry-overs of conditions that existed in childhood and have become progressively worse with time. Carious teeth, for example, frequently become worse in adolescence because of neglect or crowding the diet with starches and sweets (98,200).

One of the most common physical defects of young adolescents of today is obesity. This may be the result of faulty eating habits carried over from childhood, or it may come from underactivity. The adolescent who, as a child, was an avid television watcher, has not developed the habit of using up energy in strenuous activities. Even in play, he expends less energy than is needed to play well (46,209). As Mayer has pointed out, when fat girls play tennis, they tend to remain motionless about 50 percent of the time. As he explained, "If the ball comes near them, they whack it. If it doesn't, they don't run after it" (200).

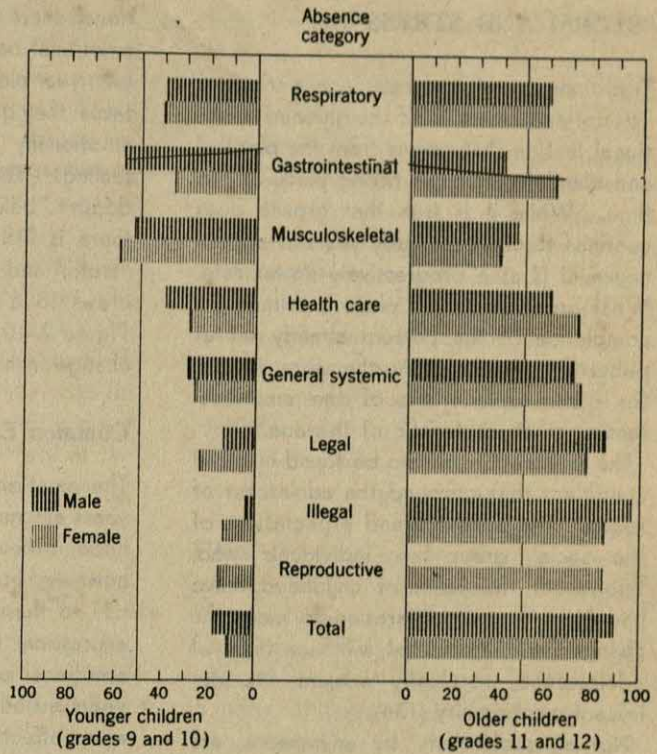


FIGURE 8-2 ABSENCE FROM SCHOOL FOR IMAGINARY ILLNESS (ILLEGAL) INCREASES MARKEDLY DURING EARLY ADOLESCENCE AMONG BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS. (ADAPTED FROM K. D. ROGERS AND G. REESE: HEALTH STUDIES—PRESUMABLY NORMAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. II. ABSENCE FROM SCHOOL. *Amer. J. Dis. Children*, 1965, 109, 9-27. USED BY PERMISSION.)

This is true also of obese boys: their overweight condition is more a result of inactivity than of overeating (265).

Typically, the young adolescent has little interest in his health. Only those who have poor health or some physical defect that handicaps them are enough interested in their health to take ordinary precautions (9,217,225). However, some young adolescents discover that using health as an ex-

cuse for not doing things they do not want to do or for which they feel inadequate "works." As a result, they develop into *imaginary invalids*. Girls, for example, often use their menstrual periods as an excuse for not going to school even when they feel well enough to do so. School absence for imaginary illness becomes more frequent as adolescents grow older (230). This is illustrated in Figure 8-2.

"STORM AND STRESS"

Traditionally, adolescence is a period of "storm and stress," of heightened emotional tension that comes from the physical and glandular changes taking place at this time. While it is true that growth does continue through the early years of adolescence, it is at a progressively slower rate. What growth is taking place is primarily a completion of the pattern already set at puberty. It is necessary, therefore, to look for other explanations of the emotional tension so characteristic of this age.

The explanations are to be found in social conditions that surround the adolescent of today. The pressures and expectations of the social group on individuals who, throughout the years of childhood, have had little if any preparation to meet the changed conditions that will face them at adolescence, are chiefly to blame for adolescent emotionality (134).

Not all adolescents, by any means, are subject to storm and stress of an exaggerated sort. True, most of them do experience emotional instability from time to time. This is logical because the adolescent is making adjustments to new patterns of behavior and to new social expectations. Even more important, there is no evidence that heightened emotionality is symptomatic of mental illness. Analysis of the behavior of young adolescents has revealed that "The relatively healthy adolescents, although they may be in turmoil, did not show symptoms that simulate a psychiatric illness and differed quite distinguishably from those with psychiatric illness" (176). Prolonged and continuous emotional tension, on the other hand, is symptomatic of poor adjustments (75,95).

While adolescent emotions are often intense, uncontrolled in expression, and irra-

tional, there is generally an improvement in emotional behavior with each year. Fourteen-year-olds, for example, are often irritable; they get excited easily and "explode" emotionally instead of controlling their feelings. The sixteen-year-old, by contrast, doesn't "believe in worrying." As a result, there is little evidence of the traditional "storm and stress" as early adolescence draws to a close (98,171,216). Refer to Figure 7-10, page 364, for the pattern of change in irritability.

Common Emotional Patterns

The emotional patterns of the adolescent years are much the same as those of childhood. They differ from childish emotions, however, in the type of stimuli that give rise to these emotions and in the form of expression they take. The most important emotional patterns of the early adolescent years include anger, fear, worry, jealousy, envy, affection, joy, and curiosity.

ANGER The adolescent is made angry when he is teased, ridiculed, criticized, or "lectured," when he feels that he or his friends are unfairly treated or punished by parents and teachers, when privileges he considers fair are refused, when he is "treated like a child," when people impose upon him, or when people are bossy and sarcastic. In addition, he becomes angry when things do not go right, when he is unable to accomplish what he sets out to do, when he is interrupted at times when he is busy and preoccupied, or when his private property is encroached upon by parents or siblings (98,128).

The young adolescent experiences many frustrations or feelings of helplessness when he is blocked in doing what he wants to do. In his desire to achieve independence, he

finds himself constantly blocked by parents, teachers, or others in authority (147,158,166). Then, too, there are many *annoyances*, or things that irritate him. Sometimes they relate to the way people act, sometimes they come from things that he dislikes, and sometimes from his own behavior (128,147).

Although many young adolescents do fly off the handle in a temper tantrum, the more common form of angry response is sulkiness or being generally disagreeable. The sulky individual refuses to talk or to do what he is expected to do. Any overt response he may make is generally in the form of talking. He calls people names; he makes extravagant statements about "hating" them, himself, and life in general; and he often swears at or tongue-lashes the person who has made him angry.

Instead of trying to get his revenge by hitting and kicking, as a child does, the adolescent frequently substitutes belittling or ridiculing the person he would like to fight with. Frequently young adolescents throw things, stamp their feet, hit, kick, and, in the case of girls, cry when they are angry. Gradually, however, the adolescent comes to realize that such overt expressions are regarded as signs of immaturity, and he learns to control them (128,147,304).

In addition to verbal fighting, the young adolescent often leaves the room, slamming the door behind him, and then locks himself in his room, refusing to speak to anyone or come out until his anger subsides. By fifteen years, however, most adolescents abandon this form of response as infantile and merely show their feelings when angry by "stony glances," glaring at the person who has angered them, or muttering under their breath. Control over anger responses is so well developed by the latter part of early adolescence that only occasionally do

sixteen-year-olds "blow up," shout, slam doors, or cry when they are angry (98).

How the adolescent will react when angry, however, depends upon the social class with which he is identified. Those of the lower socioeconomic groups, or those who belong to a minority group, are likely to be more aggressive when angry than are those from higher socioeconomic groups. This is especially true of boys. It is not unusual for adolescents who have acquired control over their angry responses to show hostility toward a parent, usually the mother, and treat her as the scapegoat for their pent-up anger. They plan revenge, but this is rarely more than a fantasy (113,116).

FEAR By the time the child has reached adolescence, he has learned from experience that many of the things he formerly feared are not dangerous or harmful. As a result, his former fears vanish. However, in place of fears of childhood come new fears related to his more mature experiences, such as fears of being alone in the dark, being out alone at night, being in social situations when larger numbers are present or when he is with strangers, and fears of school and school subjects (10,45,157,204).

Because social situations are more important to an adolescent than to a child, he has more fears related to that area of his life. Similarly, with the broadening of his social horizons come new experiences, and the adolescent is likely to fear things that are new and different. Fears usually reach their peak of frequency and intensity around twelve years of age and then decline. By sixteen years of age, many adolescents claim that they have "no fears" (26,98,239).

The young adolescent is very shy in the presence of all but his most intimate

friends. He wants to make a good impression on strangers, on adults, and on members of the opposite sex, but he lacks confidence in his ability to do so. The resulting fear makes him shy and ill at ease—an almost universal characteristic of young adolescents (98,171).

Closely related to shyness is embarrassment—an emotional reaction of mild fear resulting from feeling inadequate and of being judged unfavorably by others. The adolescent is embarrassed, for example, when he is awkward because he wants to look and act like an adult; he is embarrassed by not knowing what to do in social situations or when he shows bad manners because he wants to create the impression that he is sophisticated; and he is embarrassed by clothes that are inferior to those of other members of the group because he knows that clothes are an important status symbol (121,239).

The typical fear response in adolescence is rigidity of the body, accompanied by paling, trembling, and perspiring. Unlike the child who runs away and hides when he is frightened, the adolescent infrequently responds in this way because he knows it would be a socially unacceptable form of behavior which would label him a "fraidy cat." However, he does run away before the situation that might give rise to fear occurs. In other words, he *avoids* such situations. He then finds some justifiable excuse and thus rationalizes his avoidance of a situation that he is afraid to face directly.

WORRY Worry is a form of fear that comes from imaginary rather than real causes. The young adolescent works himself up into a state of fear about what *might* happen, though he may have little reason for believing that these happenings

are possible or even probable (62,98,204, 218).

Among young adolescents, schoolwork is the most common source of worry. Tests and examinations in school are the chief source of worry connected with schoolwork. Young adolescent girls worry also about their appearance, about lack of understanding between themselves and their parents, about boy-and-girl relationships, difficulties in making friends, suitable places for recreation, vocational choice, religion, health problems, clothes, money, and such personal problems as personality weakness and lack of emotional control. Boys worry more than girls about ability and money. Some young adolescents worry because they feel they are not worrying enough or because their friends worry more than they do (73,98,217).

There are differences in the worries of adolescents of different socioeconomic groups. These differences are in quality, or things worried about, rather than in quantity. In the case of school worries, for example, boys from the lower socioeconomic groups worry more about the teacher and stage fright when called on to recite in class, while boys from the upper classes concentrate their worries on getting into college, especially the college of their choice (10). See Figure 8-3.

In their worries about social relations, girls of the lower classes are more concerned about their reputations, popularity, dates, and marriage, while girls of the upper class are least concerned about their reputations and more concerned about popularity, dates, and their boy friends. Girls of the lower-class groups are more concerned about their clothes and appearance than are girls of the upper groups, and far more so than are boys (10).

There are two common emotional re-

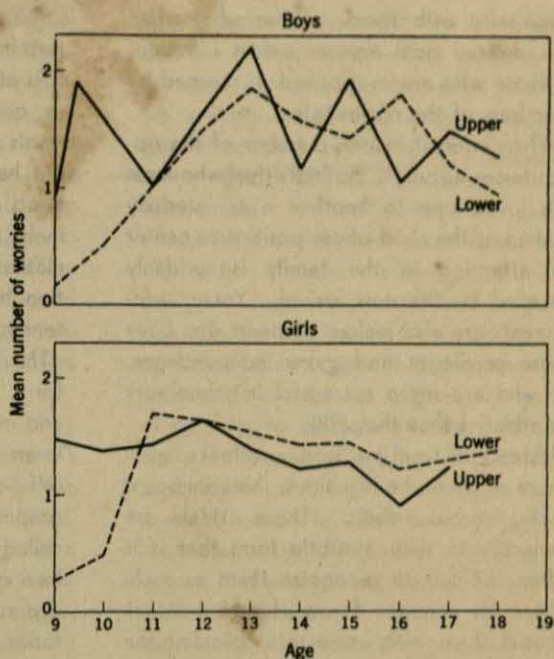


FIGURE 8-3 SCHOOL WORRIES OF YOUNG ADOLESCENTS FROM HIGH AND LOW SOCIOECONOMIC GROUPS. (ADAPTED FROM H. ANGELINO, J. DOLLINS AND E. V. MECH: TRENDS IN THE "FEARS AND WORRIES" OF SCHOOL CHILDREN AS RELATED TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND AGE. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1956, 89, 263-276. USED BY PERMISSION.)

sponses to worry. The *first* consists of verbalizing worries to peers and teachers in the hope of gaining their sympathy and help. The *second* is to go around with a worried and harrassed look, showing a pre-occupation with something and a disregard for the present situation. This worried look almost always prompts someone to ask the adolescent what is the matter, and this gives him an opportunity to verbalize his concerns.

Frequent and prolonged worry often lead to *anxiety*, a *generalized* state which comes

from imaginary fears rather than real fears. Like worry, most of the young adolescent's anxiety is socially oriented; he is anxious about things which have high value in the social group with which he is identified (182,235).

JEALOUSY Although jealousy is commonly thought of as an infantile emotion, it appears in an intense and well-camouflaged form during early adolescence. The young adolescent is interested in members of the opposite sex en masse and craves

popularity with them. Those who attain this desired goal arouse jealous reactions in those who are overlooked or scorned by members of the opposite sex.

When interest in one member of the opposite sex appears, the individual who loses the loved one to another is as intensely jealous as the child whose position as center of attention in the family is suddenly usurped by the new arrival. Young adolescents are also jealous of peers who have more privileges and more independence, or who are more successful in schoolwork or athletics than they (98).

Instead of making bodily attacks upon those of whom he is jealous, the adolescent makes verbal attacks. These attacks are generally in such a subtle form that it is often difficult to recognize them as such. The most common forms of verbal attack consist of sarcastic comments, ridiculing the individual, preferably in the presence of his parents or friends, and making derogatory comments about the person behind his back.

Regression to infantile forms of behavior is far less common among adolescents than among children. Girls sometimes, however, do whine and cry when their feelings are hurt or when they feel that they have been neglected. Emotionally immature boys rarely engage in this infantile type of behavior, though they may make bodily attacks upon the individual who has aroused their jealousy, just as they did when they were children.

ENVY Envy is a form of *covetousness* which is rarely found in any marked degree among children because children lack the ability to appreciate the true value of material objects. So long as a child has material possessions similar in outward appearance to those of his friends, any inferiority

there may be in their quality does not disturb him.

To an adolescent, however, quality as well as quantity is important. He not only wants as many things as his friends have, but he also wants his possessions to be as good as theirs. The size of his home, the make of the family car, the quality of his clothes, and the number and type of vacation trips his family can afford are important to him (9,203).

The typical envy reaction is verbal in form. The envious adolescent may criticize and make fun of possessions superior to his in an unconscious attempt to convince himself—as the fox did in the fable about the grapes he could not reach and therefore called "sour"—that they are not worth having. More likely, however, envy will express itself in complaining about the inferiority of the quality of his possessions, in exaggerating to his parents the number and superior quality of the possessions of others, and in saying that he is going to "get a job and have the things his friends have." These verbal expressions are a bid for sympathy and attention.

AFFECTION The adolescent's affections are concentrated on people with whom he has a pleasurable relationship and who have made him feel secure and loved. As a general rule, the affectional relationship with members of the family is less strong among adolescents than it is in childhood, owing to the strained family relationships that typically exist at this time (31,128).

The number of people for whom the adolescent has a strong affection is small. As a result, his emotional reaction toward these few individuals is strong (138). Adolescent affection is an absorbing type of emotion that drives the adolescent to seek constantly the companionship of the individual

or individuals for whom his affection is strongest. When he is away from them, he tries to keep in constant touch by telephone calls and letters. In addition, the adolescent tries to do everything he can to make the loved one happy, whether it be helping him with his schoolwork, planning forms of entertainment he will enjoy, or giving him presents. He reveals his affection by watching and listening to the loved one with rapt attention and by smiling constantly when in the presence of the loved one (128).

JOY Joy comes from the adolescent's good adjustments to his work and to the social situations with which he is identified, from his ability to perceive the comic in a situation, from a release of pent-up emotional energy following worry, fear, anger, or jealousy, and from feelings of superiority which result from successful achievements on the adolescent's part.

The characteristic joy response differs little from one individual to another. The entire body, as well as the face, is relaxed. There is a tendency to smile, and, if the situation warrants it, smiling is followed by laughter. Giggling frequently accompanies the joy emotion in girls, while boys are more likely to laugh so uproariously that their whole bodies shake (98,128).

CURIOSITY By the time the individual has reached adolescence, his natural curiosity has been suppressed by environmental restraints. Furthermore, there is not much, by this time, that he has not already explored. As a result, there are fewer things to stimulate his curiosity than there were when he was younger.

There are, however, new things entering the young adolescent's life, and these are a source of curiosity to him. Members of

the opposite sex present new experiences, and the whole matter of sex and the relationships between the two sexes stimulate his curiosity. New areas of knowledge are opened up through his studies in junior and senior high school and the broader social relationships in the community likewise arouse his desire to learn more about them.

Then, too, there is the ever-present interest in the constant changes that are taking place in the adolescent's own body. The new physical sensations that accompany the maturation of the sex organs are sources of curiosity to the young adolescent, especially in the case of boys. Although direct exploration of the things that arouse his curiosity occurs in adolescence, the *major* responses in curiosity consist of talking with anyone and everyone, asking questions, and making comments. From this, the adolescent learns new facts and acquires points of view which he might not otherwise have if his exploration were limited to questioning.

Learning Emotional Control

The young adolescent discovers that unbridled emotional expressions, whether they be expressions of happiness or of some unpleasant emotion, such as anger, jealousy, or envy, create an unfavorable impression in the minds of others. He finds that such expressions counteract the desire he has to be judged as grown up. (98,128).

This gives him a strong motivation to keep his emotions under control. However, he discovers that when strong emotions are driven underground, they often flare up at inopportune times and places—often with an intensity out of proportion to the situation that gave rise to them.

Partly through trial and error and partly through guidance from parents and

teachers, the young adolescent discovers that the control over the overt expressions of his emotions can best be achieved if he uses some method of getting rid of the pent-up emotional energy that comes with control over the overt expressions of his emotions. Getting rid of pent-up emotional energy—"emotional catharsis"—he discovers can be achieved by strenuous play, by work, or even better, by talking over the things that have disturbed or worried him with someone who can help him to gain a better perspective on his problems (26,113).

Many adolescents, unfortunately, do not learn to use emotional catharsis because they lack confidants—either peers or parents in whom they are willing to confide—or because they feel so insecure that they are literally afraid to confess their feelings to others, believing that this will further jeopardize what security in their social relationships they have been able to achieve (74,135,299). Adolescents from religious groups where self-disclosure is part of the ritual have less difficulty in talking about their problems than have adolescents for whom this is not part of the ritual of their religions (135).

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

One of the most difficult of the developmental tasks the adolescent must master relates to social adjustments. These adjustments must be made to members of the opposite sex in a relationship that never existed before and to adults outside the family and school environments.

A good foundation of social adjustments, established during the early years of life, will go a long way toward helping the young adolescent to adjust successfully to the new social demands placed upon him.

Many young adolescents are so incapable of meeting these new demands successfully that they abandon the attempt and regress to earlier forms of social relationships, or they develop compensatory forms of behavior to replace the normal social behavior of their contemporaries.

Of the many new adjustments the young adolescent must make in his social life, the most important and, in many respects, the most difficult are the adjustments he must make to increased influence of the peer group, to changes in social behavior, to new social groupings, to adolescent friendships, to social acceptance or rejection, and to leaders and leadership.

Increased Influence of the Peer Group

As childhood advances, the individual spends increasingly more time outside the home and less time in the home. This is illustrated in Figure 8-4. Most of the time he is outside the home is spent with members of the peer group. It is understandable, then, that the peer group has a greater influence on the young adolescent's attitudes, interests, values, and behavior than the family has (25,33,200).

This does not mean, of course, that the family's influence is usurped by that of the peer group. Which has a greater influence will depend, to some extent, upon how the adolescent regards them as competent guides. When his problems are related to life in general, the young adolescent regards his parents as more competent; when they are related to the present and specific situations, his peers are regarded as better able to advise and guide him (38, 259,295). As a general rule, urban adolescents are more influenced by the peer group and rural, by the family (93).

The influence of the peer group is intensi-

fied by the adolescent's desire to be an accepted member of the peer group. To achieve this desire, he tries to conform in every way to the patterns approved by the group. It is a form of "protective coloration." When they discover that good grades make them "different," some young adolescents strive to be "one of the crowd" by ceasing to distinguish themselves with good grades. They may even go out of their way to get into trouble, hoping for a public reprimand that will abolish the impression that they are "good students" (60,164,258).

Changes in Social Behavior

The most pronounced shifts in social interests and activities come between the ages of twelve and fourteen years. Of these shifts, the most significant are from variety and instability of interests to fewer and deeper interests; from talkative, noisy, and daring to more dignified, controlled behavior; from an identification with the herd to identification with a small select group; from family status being an unimportant factor in influencing relationships with contemporaries to an increasing influence of the family socioeconomic status in the selection of friends of both sexes; from informal to formal social activities; and from occasional dating to dates with "steadies" (7,33,60,132,200,293).

One of the common shifts in social activities is from childish to adult patterns. To identify himself with adults, the young adolescent wants to do what adults do when they are in social situations. Smoking, drinking, driving a car, using narcotics, and engaging in sexual activities are, to him, symbols of an adult status (263). There is an increase with age in the use of these status symbols, especially among boys (80,

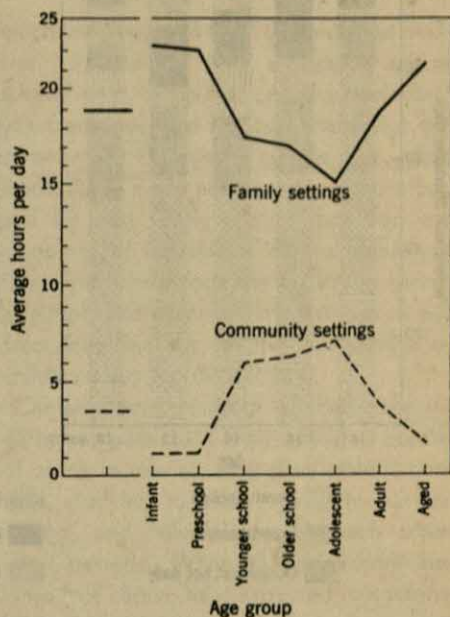
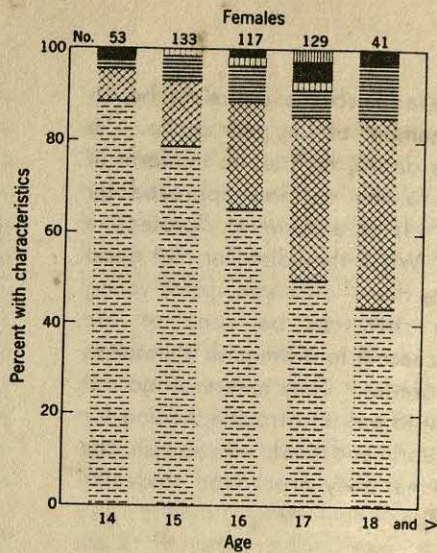
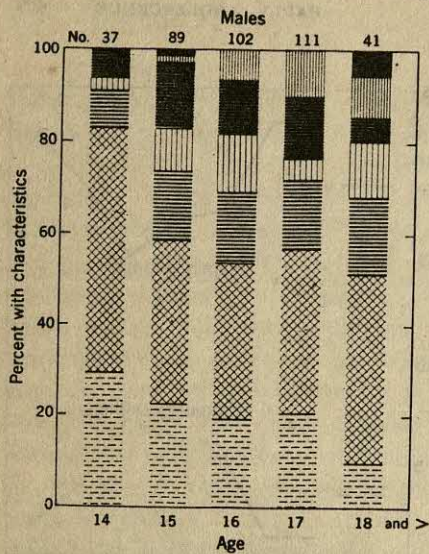


FIGURE 8-4 AVERAGE HOURS PER DAY SPENT IN FAMILY AND COMMUNITY SETTINGS AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM H. F. WRIGHT: PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MIDWEST. *Child Developm.*, 1956, 27, 265-286. USED BY PERMISSION.)

230). Increase with age in smoking and driving a car is shown in Figure 8-5.

Of all the changes that take place in social attitudes and behavior, the most pronounced is in the area of heterosexual relationships. From disliking members of the opposite sex to preferring their companionship to that of members of their own sex is a radical shift in a short period of time. Social activities, whether with members of the same sex or with the opposite sex, reach their peak during the high school age (60,76,200).

Cigarette smoking



Driving a car

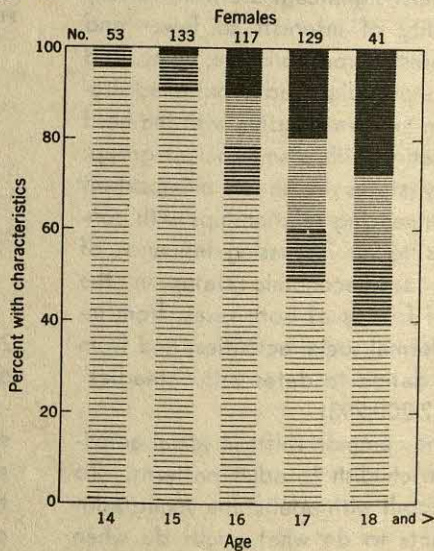
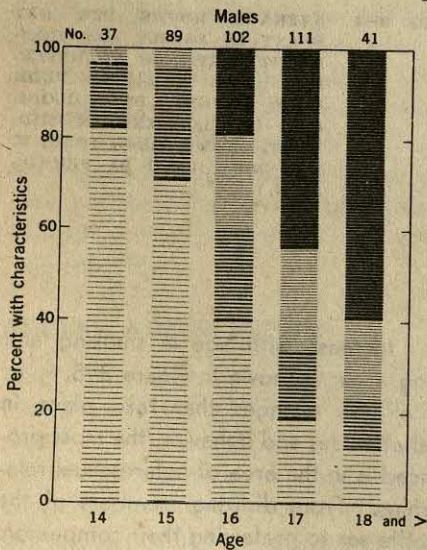


FIGURE 8-5 CIGARETTE SMOKING AND DRIVING A CAR ARE STATUS SYMBOLS FOR YOUNG ADOLESCENTS. (ADAPTED FROM K. D. ROGERS AND G. REESE: SMOKING AND HIGH SCHOOL PERFORMANCE. *Amer. J. Dis. Children*, 1964, 108, 117-121. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Social Groupings

The "gangs" of childhood days gradually break up at puberty and in early adolescence as the individual's interests shift from the strenuous play activities of childhood to the less strenuous and more formal social activities of adolescence. In their place come new social groupings. The social groupings of boys are, as a rule, larger and more loosely knit, whereas those of girls are smaller and more sharply defined (60,76,98,181).

The most common social groupings in early adolescence include chums, cliques, crowds, organized groups, and gangs.

CHUMS The adolescent's closest friends and best friends are his "chums," or, as boys prefer to call them, his "pals." As a rule, shortly after puberty, a girl will select one other girl as her confidante. Much the same pattern is followed by boys. As time goes on, the number of chums may and frequently does increase, but it never is as large as the number of less intimate friends. And because of the satisfaction the adolescent derives from such social relationships, more time is spent with chums than with other friends.

Chums are generally of the same sex and have interests and abilities of a similar sort. Their relationship is so close and so satisfying that it is natural that chums would have a marked influence on each other. While they may disagree at times and may even quarrel bitterly, the bond of friendship between them is so strong that the quarrels are soon patched up and forgotten (60,76,98).

CLIQUEs Cliques are small exclusive social groupings. They are made up of three or four intimate friends who have

much in common in both interests and abilities. Frequently, they are made up of several pairs of chums. As the adolescent years advance and boy-girl friendships become more frequent, cliques are often made up of a girl and her chum and a boy and his pal. Early cliques, however, are made up of individuals of the same sex. Cliques are held together by strong ties of affection and common interests which are frequently lacking in the friendships of childhood (60,76,108,202,211).

Cliques spend as much of their time together as possible. Their activities consist of going to movies, attending athletic contests, studying together, going to parties, talking, and telephoning to each other when parted. When the adolescent belongs to a clique, he is expected to conform to the standards set up by the clique even when these standards differ from home standards. This results in much friction with his parents (33,108,200,202).

CROWDS The largest of the social groupings of adolescence is the crowd. And, because the crowd is larger than other social groupings of adolescence, there is social distance among its members. Typically, it starts with a clique as its foundation. Then new members are added, either single individuals, chums, or other cliques (76,138). Under such conditions, not all members are equally congenial. As a result, social distance or degrees of intimacy are bound to be found. Crowds at first are made up of members of one sex. Later, with the development of interest in members of the opposite sex, the crowd becomes heterogeneous in its membership, with an equal number of members of both sexes (60,76,202). Figure 8-6 shows the different stages in the development of cliques and crowds.

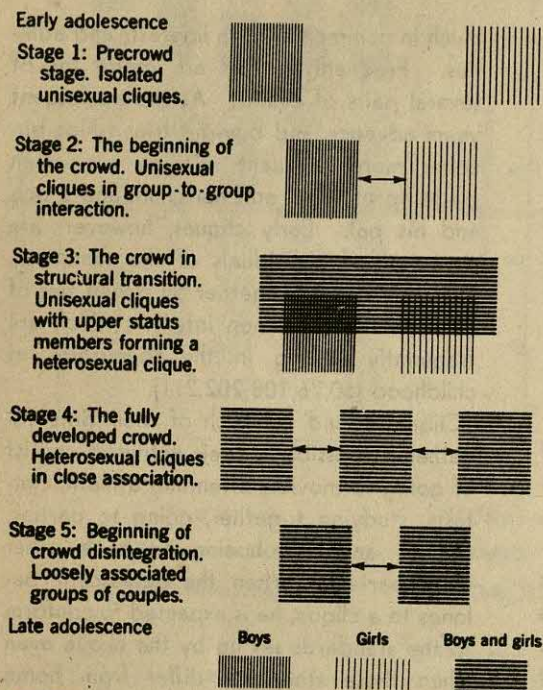


FIGURE 8-6 STAGES IN THE FORMATION OF CLIQUES AND CROWDS DURING THE ADOLESCENT YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM D. C. DUNPHY: *THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE URBAN ADOLESCENT PEER GROUPS*. *Sociometry*, 1963, 26, 230-246. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Crowd activities are predominantly social in character. The major interests center around talking, playing games, listening to records, dancing, eating, going to the movies, and dating. Although many of these activities may seem unexciting and even meaningless, as judged by adult standards, they fulfill the strong need every adolescent has for companionship with his peers.

ORGANIZED GROUPS Unfortunately not all adolescent boys and girls belong to crowds, nor have they close friends. To meet the needs of such adolescents, schools,

churches, and community organizations have, in recent years, established *youth groups*, open to any adolescent (222).

Even though youth groups, organized to provide adolescents with opportunities for social activities they might not otherwise have, unquestionably help to socialize young adolescents and give them opportunities to develop social skills, many young adolescents complain that they feel "regimented" by the adult leaders and are put under too much pressure to "mix in" and to conform. As one girl put it, "I feel organized, frustrated, got-at, expected to conform, keep quiet, take part in ridiculous

discussions, be able to hike." A young boy complained, "You're always expected to do what the others are doing" (192). Because they lack the independence of action enjoyed in cliques and crowds, many adolescents lose interest in organized groups by the time they are sixteen or seventeen years old (192,222).

GANGS There are some boys and girls who are poorly adjusted to school and who have few friends among their classmates. They spend their time hanging around street corners with others who lack social acceptance among the cliques of their class and thus satisfy their need for the companionship of their contemporaries. Sometimes these gangs are made up of members of the two sexes but, for the most part, they are limited to one sex (61,76,160).

Although not all adolescent gangs are made up of individuals who become juvenile delinquents, the majority of adolescent gangs spend their time in antisocial behavior, seeking revenge on those who have not accepted them or on society in general. Should the leader be revengeful in his attitude, he can stir up the other gang members to violence and thus satisfy his personal desire for revenge (100,195,298).

Adolescent Friendships

The young adolescent soon learns that friendships are not established just because individuals happen to be in the same class in school. Now there is a strong element of selection not apparent in the earlier years. To be accepted as a friend, he must conform to the socially approved pattern of his contemporaries and he must have personality traits that they like.

There must also be conformity to the individual's value system, which is markedly influenced by the values of the group with

which the adolescent is identified. What the group admires in childhood will not be the same as what it admires in adolescence. As a result of this change in values, the adolescent's childhood friends will not necessarily be his friends in adolescence.

The problem of friendship selection is complicated by the newly awakened interest in members of the opposite sex. So long as his friends were limited to members of his own sex, the individual knew what was acceptable to them and what was not. Now, however, a new element enters into the problem. He must be acceptable to members of the opposite sex if he is to establish friendships with them. And, because of inexperience in this area of his behavior, he is unfamiliar with what they consider acceptable. As early adolescence draws to a close, there is a preference for friends of the opposite sex to friends of the same sex, though both boys and girls have a few intimate friends of their own sex with whom they associate constantly (27,39,98,137,218).

The adolescent wants to select his own friends and resents adult interference in this matter. As a result of his inexperience, especially in the choice of friends of the opposite sex, he frequently chooses individuals who, at first, seem congenial but who, as times goes on, do not measure up to his standards. As a result, a quarrel ensues and the friendship is broken.

There is a tendency, as adolescence progresses, for friendships to become more stable than they were in the earlier years (255). See Figure 6-9, page 287, and Figure 8-18, page 442. This would suggest that the adolescent, through experience, is learning to evaluate his contemporaries better and to be more selective in his choice of friends than he was when he was younger.

The young adolescent likes to have a large number of friends. This, he feels, is an indication of his popularity. As he grows older, however, he narrows down the number and regards the "right" kind of friends as more important than a large number. What is looked upon as the "right" kind differs from one year to another and within different groups. Childhood friends, selected because they were good play companions, are not necessarily the "right" kind of friends for the young adolescent (60,98, 218).

The adolescent now wants friends who have interests in common with him, who understand him, and who make him feel secure. These goals are best met when friends are from a socioeconomic status similar to his (125,181,202,245).

In spite of the fact that the adolescent wants friends and is unhappy if he has no friends, he treats his friends in a manner which, at any other age, would lead to a break in the friendship. Friendships, especially among girls, are very intense at this age, and there is a great deal of criticism, faultfinding, and quarreling. There is a strong desire on the part of the young adolescent to change his friend's personality and behavior to fit into his ideal of what the friend should be (98,284).

Criticism is usually directed toward those for whom the adolescent has the strongest attachment. He wants his friend to come up to the ideal he has of him, and when an individual on a pedestal is found to have faults, criticism naturally follows. In time, the adolescent comes to accept reality as he finds it and, as a result, he is less critical of his friends (225,226).

Social Acceptance

There are variations in the degree of acceptance different adolescents enjoy, from

very high prestige accompanied by high acceptance, as in the case of the "star," to little or no prestige and acceptance, as is characteristic of the "isolate." Typically, the "star" is more outgoing, more involved with people than with things, more colorful, daring, active, easygoing, and flexible, and shows more leeway in the acceptance of peer standards than does the less accepted individual. Some voluntarily withdraw from social relationships because they find little satisfaction in such relationships. The involuntary isolate, by contrast, wants friends and resents his lack of acceptance by his peers.

Some adolescents are not rejected: they are merely "neglected" because they are so colorless and have so little to offer that they are overlooked. Then, there are the "fringers," who have minimal acceptance and can easily lose what acceptance they have by doing or saying something to antagonize their peers, and the "climbers," who are trying to improve their status by identification with a more prestigious clique (60,174,196).

AWARENESS OF ACCEPTANCE Awareness of how others feel about them—"soci-emphatic ability"—develops rapidly during early adolescence. Most adolescents are aware of how others feel about them by such clues as their acceptance in cliques or crowds, how others treat them, especially if their efforts are applauded and their mistakes excused; the nicknames given to them, or the invitations they receive for parties and group activities (13,85).

The more accepted the adolescent is, the better he can predict his status in the group. Girls, on the whole, are able to perceive their status in the group better than are boys. Those who overestimate their acceptance are less well adjusted than

those who underestimate their acceptance because the former set their aspirations too high and are then disappointed when they fail to get the acceptance they had anticipated (70,103,269). The ability to perceive one's own status develops more slowly than the ability to perceive the status of others (13).

ACCEPTANCE SYNDROME No one trait or characteristic pattern of behavior will bring acceptance. Instead, acceptance depends upon a constellation of traits and behavior patterns, all of which make the individual fun to be with and add to the prestige of the clique with which he is identified.

The socially acceptable adolescent is active, socially aggressive, and extroverted. When he is with others, he cooperates and helps willingly, he is courteous and considerate of others, he assumes leadership in a group, he is truthful and "aboveboard" in his conduct, he controls his temper in annoying situations, he is unselfish with his belongings, he displays resourcefulness and initiative, he is willing and carries out accepted responsibilities, he observes rules and regulations, and he contributes well-considered suggestions to the thinking of the group (4,63,98,138,292,301). In addition, he makes a good appearance, comes from a family with average or above-average socioeconomic status, and possesses enough social insight to be able to adjust quickly and successfully to different people and social situations (41,60,138,190,258,282,302). Clothing is especially valuable as an aid to social acceptance because of its high visibility factor. When the adolescent is dressed like the rest of the peer group, it helps to identify him with the group (292).

Ryan has pointed out that the importance

of clothes to social acceptance varies according to how well the peer group knows the adolescent. According to her (237):

The better known the individual, the less important are his clothes in determining popularity. For example, young adolescents in a small town who have known each other all their lives probably do not judge each other by clothing, and therefore their clothes have little influence on their popularity or feelings of acceptance.

Figure 8-7 shows some of the most important characteristics that lead to social acceptance.

ALIENATION SYNDROME Just as there is no one trait or pattern of behavior that leads to acceptance, so there is no one trait or behavior pattern that alienates the adolescent from his peers. Instead, there is a grouping of traits that make others dislike him and reject him as a friend.

Traits that make young adolescents unpopular include showing off, bullying and antagonizing others, feeling misunderstood or "picked on," carrying grudges, being resentful, using escape mechanisms such as alibis, domineering and bossing others, and being highly nervous, timid, and withdrawing, or stubborn, sullen, and sulky.

Manners also begin to be important at this age. An adolescent whose manners fall below the norms of his contemporaries is likely to be regarded as a "boor" by them. The unpopular adolescent often has unfavorable relationships with his family thus developing unfavorable attitudes which influence his relationships with people outside the home.

Unpopularity may stem from the fact that the adolescent lives too far away from the

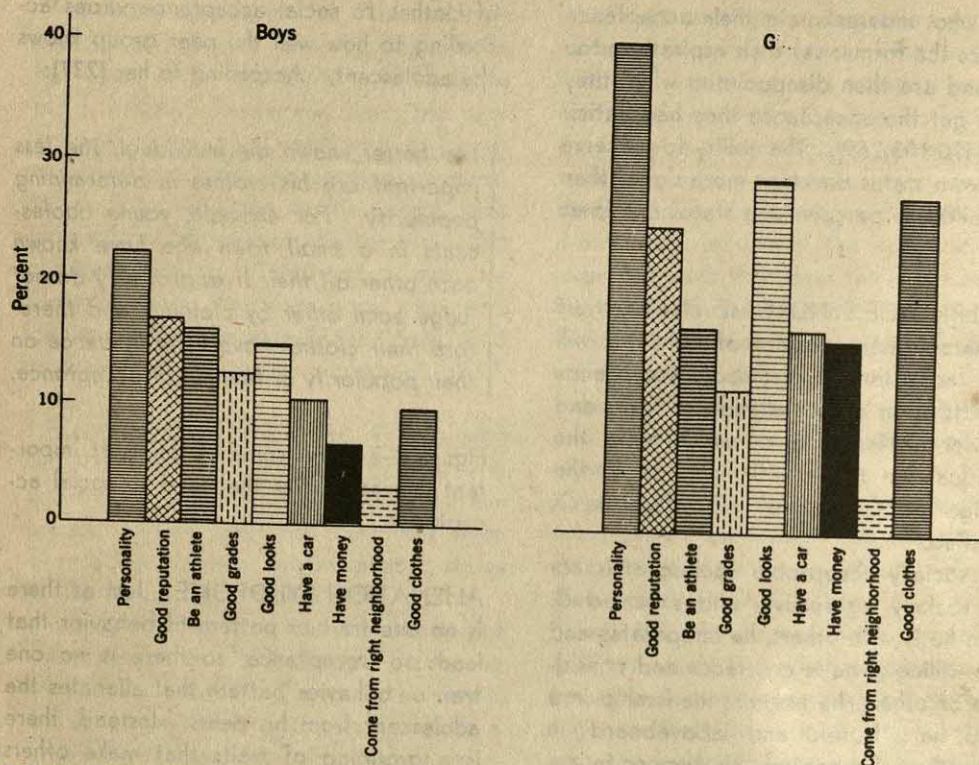


FIGURE 8-7 ATTRIBUTES REGARDED AS IMPORTANT FOR A BOY'S OR A GIRL'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE LEADING SCHOOL CROWD. (ADAPTED FROM J. S. COLEMAN: *The adolescent society*. NEW YORK: FREE PRESS, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

group to be able to participate in group activities (41,60,87).

Should the adolescent belong to a minority religious or racial group, it is likely to militate against his acceptance by adolescents of the majority group. The unpopular adolescent often comes from a lower socioeconomic group than the majority of his classmates, does poor schoolwork, and lacks the knowledge of social skills which adolescents of higher socioeconomic status have acquired (131,190,258,268).

STABILITY OF SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

Few adolescents are satisfied with the de-

gree of acceptance they have in the peer group: most want to improve it. However, improving social acceptance is far from easy, not only because it means literally discarding a whole pattern of behavior and replacing it with another but also, and even more important, it means living down a reputation for being a "drip" or a "square"—something that is difficult and often impossible.

The neglectees—who are overlooked because they are so colorless and seem to have so little to offer—usually have the best chance to improve their acceptance because they do not have to contend with

unfavorable impressions. By getting to know their peers better, they can often establish a more favorable reputation (41).

Studies of groups of adolescents over several years have revealed that the status they have in the group remains stable except at times when group values change, especially between the ages of thirteen and fifteen years. It is then possible for the individual to improve his acceptance, though it is also possible that he will lose his acceptance or have less than he formerly had if his appearance and behavior do not measure up favorably to the new group values. Changing the environment, if it is not suited to the abilities and interests of the adolescent, offers one of the best hopes for improving his acceptance (41,87,206).

EFFECTS OF ACCEPTANCE Acceptance or lack of it plays an important role in the adolescent's attitudes and his behavior. As Feinberg has pointed out, "Unpopularity cannot be lightly dismissed as a 'passing phase'" (87). The popular adolescent feels secure and happy. This gives him the necessary self-confidence to try to develop the characteristics that will add still further to his popularity. Because he feels that he is wanted, he is a more active participant in group activities and more willing to conform to the standards of the group than is the adolescent who feels unwanted (13,103).

The adolescent who is unpopular is often unhappy and resentful toward those who have refused to accept him. He may develop substitute satisfactions, such as friendships with older or younger individuals, daydreaming, or an absorbing hobby. Because none of these is as satisfying as friendships with contemporaries, the unpopular adolescent is likely to develop per-

sonality traits which will detrimentally affect his future social adjustments (60,87).

Leaders

Popularity alone will not guarantee leadership, though it is unusual to have a leader who is disliked by a majority of the group. To be a leader an adolescent must have qualities which are superior to and admired by the members of the group of which he is a leader. And, because the interests and activities of adolescents are more varied than they are during childhood, the qualities that make for leadership in one group may not make for leadership in others (101, 271).

In general, however, leaders are more active than nonleaders in social activities. Whether or not they will be selected as leaders will be markedly influenced by the interest and ability they show in the activity with which the group is concerned. To be an athletic leader, for example, requires a high level of skill in sports, while the leader of a dramatic club must show some ability in acting (69,173,199,298).

QUALITIES OF LEADERS The clothes-conscious young adolescent expects his leader to make a good *appearance*. He must be nice looking, well groomed, and wear stylish, becoming clothes. The characteristic leader of young adolescents will also be slightly above average in *intelligence*, above average in *academic achievement*, and above average in his *level of maturity* (58,60,174).

Leaders, as a rule, come from families of higher *socioeconomic status* than do nonleaders. This not only gives them prestige in the eyes of their peers, but it also makes possible better dressing and grooming, the possession of social know-how, and oppor-

tunities for entertaining (60,98,139,199, 290).

Personality, however, seems to be the outstanding quality that determines whether the adolescent will or will not be a leader. Dependability, loyalty, extroversion, a wide range of interests, self-confidence, speed of decision, liveliness, good sportsmanship, sociability, sense of humor, poise, originality, efficiency, persistence, adaptability, tact, and cooperativeness—these are a few of the qualities an adolescent leader possesses (130,139,199).

Because a leader, characteristically, is a more active participant in social life than a nonleader, he develops *social insight* and *self-insight*. He can judge himself realistically and can size up the interests and wishes of the group he leads. The leader is not "self-bound" in the sense that he is concerned with his personal interests and problems; instead, he directs his energies outward and concerns himself with the interests and problems of the group. By fourteen or fifteen years, girls choose boys for leaders of school activities in preference to girls, whereas boys feel that a boy should be a leader rather than a girl. As a result, leaders in activities where the two sexes are involved are more often boys than girls (76,103,146).

INTERESTS OF YOUNG ADOLESCENTS

New interests develop during the adolescent years as a result of the physical and social changes that take place at this time. However, what interests the adolescent has will depend upon his sex, his intelligence, the environment in which he lives, the opportunities he had for developing interests, the prestige value of different interests, what his peers are interested in, what his

status in the social group is, his innate abilities, the interests of his family, and many other factors.

In the American culture today, there are certain adolescent interests that are fairly universal, though they may vary from one part of the country to another and with the different social classes within each area of the country. All young adolescents possess these interests to a greater or less extent, and they all have certain specific interests that fall within the different categories of interests.

Because the interests of young adolescents are so numerous and so varied, they can be divided into different categories. The most important categories of their interests include recreational interests, social interests, personal interests, vocational interests, interest in school, and religious interests.

Recreational Interests

Although both boys and girls show a change in the recreations they enjoy in adolescence as compared with childhood, the change is more marked for girls than for boys. In general, there is a breaking away from recreations that require much expenditure of energy and a liking for recreations of the amusement type, where the player is a passive spectator. In early adolescence, there is a carry-over of some of the play activities of the early years and the introduction of new and more mature forms of recreation. Gradually, the childish forms of play drop out so that, when early adolescence comes to a close, the individual's recreational pattern is much the same as it will be during the latter part of adolescence and into the early years of maturity (9).

Because of the pressures of schoolwork, home duties, extracurricular activities at

school, and after-school or weekend jobs, most young adolescents have far less time for recreation than they had when they were younger. As a result, they select the types of activities that they enjoy most or in which they excel. This limits the number of activities (222).

The number of recreations the young adolescent engages in is also greatly influenced by how popular he is. Because many of the recreations of adolescents require participants from the peer group, the adolescent who does not belong to a clique and who has few friends is forced to concentrate on solitary forms of recreation (60,98,266).

FAVORITE RECREATIONAL INTERESTS

Interest in *games and sports* which require great physical energy reaches its peak in early adolescence. Of all games, swimming is most popular with both boys and girls at this age. Ice-skating, basketball, football, and tennis rank below swimming in popularity.

A larger percentage of girls than of boys enjoy sports as spectators. Boys, on the other hand, prefer to be active participants in such sports as football, basketball, and swimming. Games of intellect and gambling come into popularity at this age, especially among boys (30,60,98,222,297).

Because of school and home pressures, the young adolescent has less time than the child to *read for fun*. Boys, at this age, prefer science and invention, and girls show a preference for romantic stories. Young adolescents also specialize in the type of subject matter that appeals to them, and they read magazine stories more often than books and paperback editions of the popular novels of the day. Like the child, the young adolescent enjoys reading the comics, either in newspapers or in comic books. Tabloids have an especially

strong appeal to the slow reader at this age (42,98,136,169,297). Changes with age in the different themes in reading are shown in Figure 8-8.

Movies that appeal to young adolescents, as is true of reading, must have a romantic as well as an adventure theme. They also like comedies. Educational pictures, as is true of sex and society themes, have little appeal. Girls, on the whole, prefer pictures with a love theme; the preference of boys is for pictures with an adventure, mystery, or comedy theme. What the adolescent sees, however, depends largely upon what is available in the local theaters (60,98,117,169,297).

In selecting a movie, the most potent factor influencing the choice is the featured actor or actress. Girls prefer actresses, while boys prefer actors, and their choices of movies are motivated by these preferences. Throughout the years of early adolescence, going to the movies is one of the favorite clique activities of both boys and girls (60,76,128,222,266).

Listening to the *radio* and watching *television* have, in recent years, become universal favorites among adolescents in America. One to three hours a day, or even more, is spent by the majority of adolescents on this form of amusement. Many young adolescents listen to the radio while they study, claiming that it helps them to concentrate better. There is an increase in preference for programs of dance and popular music as adolescence progresses. Humorous sketches and plays also have great appeal. Among boys especially, mystery, crime, and detective programs are popular. Both boys and girls like programs of the quiz type and those which feature amateurs (9,19,49,60,98,297).

Although television watching is a favorite form of recreation during the early ado-

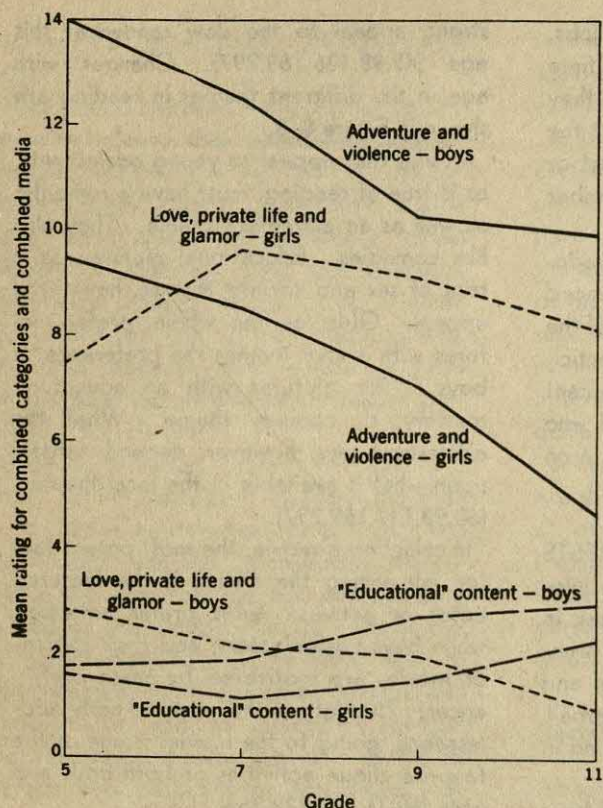


FIGURE 8-8 CHANGES IN INTEREST WITH AGE IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF MASS COMMUNICATION. (ADAPTED FROM P. I. LYNSS: PATTERNS IN THE MASS COMMUNICATIONS TASTES OF THE YOUNG AUDIENCE. *J. educ. Psychol.*, 1951, 42, 449-467. USED BY PERMISSION.)

lescent years, there is a drop in interest around thirteen years of age. This drop is due, in part, to the fact that young adolescents become critical of the type of program available and, in part, to the fact that it is not possible, as with radio listening, to study and watch television at the same time.

How great a drop in time spent on television watching there will be will vary greatly among adolescents. Adolescents

who are bright tend to be more critical of the programs on television than those who are less bright. Popular adolescents prefer recreations with their friends to being at home to watch television. Well-adjusted adolescents use television as a recreation more than do those who are less well adjusted and who enjoy recreations of the escapist type (27,60,98,222). In commenting on this, Himmelweit et al. (120) have pointed out:

Within a given intelligence level, social class, and age group, the amount a child views gives an indication of the degree to which his life is satisfactory; heavy viewing is a symptom of unsatisfactory adjustment or of inadequate environmental opportunities.

Listening to records is a present-day recreational fad among young adolescents. The popularity of this form of recreation can be traced to the fact that adolescents can control what they listen to, as is impossible in radio listening and television watching, and that it offers an opportunity for being with members of the peer group or for dancing (49). Another recreational fad of the present time is carrying around *transistor radios* and listening to popular music or other program preferences while walking, riding on buses, or even when studying in school (27,98,222,225).

Much of the adolescent's time that might be spent more profitably on his homework or other duties is spent in *daydreaming*. The characteristic daydream of early adolescence is that of the conquering hero in which the dreamer sees himself as the hero he would like to be in the type of setting that appeals most to him, whether it be on the football field, in the classroom, or on the dance floor. The theme and the setting of the adolescent daydream are often influenced by the movies that the adolescent has seen (29,60,128,149).

While daydreaming is, unquestionably, a waste of time that might be spent more profitably in other activities and while it often leads to an unrealistic concept of self on the part of the dreamer, it also serves as an outlet for pressures that might not otherwise be met satisfactorily by the adolescent. In this respect, daydreaming serves much the same purpose as movies

do in the lives of young adolescents (27, 53,98,225,253,266).

Social Interests

After a period of little interest in any form of social activity, during puberty, the young adolescent becomes markedly interested in all forms of group activities, as well as activities with one or more intimate friends. These interests do not, however, develop overnight. Rather, they grow gradually, the rate depending to a large extent upon the satisfaction the adolescent derives from such activities and the opportunities he has to engage in them.

TYPES OF SOCIAL INTERESTS What type of social interests the adolescent will develop will depend partly on what opportunities he has to develop them and partly on how popular he is with members of the peer group. An adolescent whose family socioeconomic status is low, for example, will have fewer opportunities to develop an interest in parties and dancing than will adolescents from more favorable home backgrounds. Similarly, an adolescent who is unpopular will have a limited repertoire of social interests.

However, there are certain social interests that are almost universal among young American adolescents of today. During the junior high-school age, interest in *parties* with members of the opposite sex first begins to manifest itself because young adolescents like to be with members of the opposite sex and to play games or dance with them. At this age, girls are more interested in parties than are boys. They even go so far as to try to train the boys to dance and to be their party escorts. Left to their own devices, boys would not become interested in parties until a year or

two later than girls because of their later sexual maturing. Even in the high school groups, more girls than boys attend the school parties (35,60,111,131,132,225,266).

Drinking, at parties or on dates, is becoming increasingly popular among high school students. Boys usually begin to drink with their clique members, often to celebrate some athletic victory. By the junior year in high school, however, they drink at parties and on dates. Girls, for the most part, start to drink at parties or on dates, rarely with their clique members.

Some adolescents begin to drink at home, if this is part of the pattern of family life, but most begin outside the home, as part of the pattern of social life. Frequently, drinks are served at parties in the homes by the junior year in high school. When drinking is done outside the home, it is usually at a roadhouse or out-of-town tavern (60,200,225).

Conversations are one of the favorite forms of social activities. Just getting together in a group and talking about the things that interest them or disturb them gives young adolescents a feeling of security that goes a long way toward helping them to puzzle out problems that have been a source of concern. Even after seeing his friends at school, the adolescent is hardly in the house before he calls up one of his intimate friends on the telephone (27,60,225, 266).

The favorite topics of conversation among young adolescents differ for the two sexes. Girls talk mostly about parties, dates, jokes, books, movies, movie stars, ball games, and teachers. The favorite topics of conversation among boys include ball games, dates, movies, and politics. A shift of interest in conversational topics has been observed among high school boys as they progress from freshman to senior year. The younger

boys talk mostly about sports, girls, school, teachers, and studies, while the older boys concentrate mostly on conversation about girls, sports, social activities, dates, and sex (62,98,131,266).

The young adolescent is sincerely interested in *other people*, especially those who he feels have been misunderstood, mistreated, or oppressed. This interest is shown by active participation in school and community affairs which are planned to help the less fortunate and by championing the causes of these people in arguments and discussions. The young adolescent also begins to show an interest in *government* and *politics*, and even in *world affairs*. For the most part, this interest is expressed mainly by reading and discussions (98,266).

Interest in others becomes so strong among many adolescent boys and girls that they bend their efforts to *reforming* their families, their friends, and even their schools and communities. The young adolescent is very free in offering suggestions and in attempting to force his ideas and suggestions on others.

Criticisms of parents and attempts to reform them are characteristic of almost all young adolescents, but especially of girls. The junior and senior high schools likewise come in for a large share of the adolescent's criticisms and attempts at reform. Most of the criticisms are of a destructive rather than of a constructive sort, and suggestions offered for reforms are more often impractical than practical (3,62,98,155,225, 266).

Personal Interests

Interest in themselves is the strongest interest young adolescents have. This interest comes partly from the realization that social acceptance is markedly influenced by

the general appearance the adolescent makes and partly from the realization that he is judged by the social group by what he has in the way of material possessions; independence, school and social affiliations, or money to spend as he chooses. These are "status symbols"—the cues or visible signs of something invisible which suggest to others qualities about him—that will enhance his prestige in the eyes of his peers and, hence, increase his chances for greater social acceptance (73,110,134,203).

AREAS OF INTEREST With the awakening of interest in members of the opposite sex, interest in *appearance*, in *dress*, and in *personal adornment* increases. Interest in appearance covers not only clothes and personal adornment but also every aspect of appearance. Hair, body size, facial features, skin, and nails are all focal points of interest to the young adolescent. Any feature that does not come up to standard is likely to be the source of great concern. Both boys and girls discover, even before childhood is over, that *clothes* go a long way toward covering up undesirable physical features and toward enhancing good features. They make use of this knowledge during early adolescence when personal appearance becomes important to them (27,42,132,244,287).

High school girls regard right clothes as necessary to happiness. Wrong clothes can lead to uneasiness in social situations, while a good appearance can be an aid in building self-confidence. They select clothes that appeal to boys rather than to girls when their interest in boys appears. Becomingness of color and style is more important to girls than is usefulness.

Because the adolescent's happiness and self-confidence depend upon his contemporaries' attitudes toward his clothes, he is

anxious to conform to what the group approves of in the matter of dress. As Ryan has pointed out, "One of the primary requirements of clothing for the young adolescent is that their clothing meets the approval of the peer group" (237). Williams and Eicher (292) have further emphasized this when they said:

To adults, clothing and appearance may seem unimportant or, as emphasized by teen-agers, indicative of superficial and shallow values. However, if peer acceptance is important to an individual, dress and grooming can loom as crucial variables in the process of making friends and keeping them.

While boys claim not to be interested in clothes, grooming, or appearance, their behavior indicates that their interest is greater than they will admit. Like girls, they recognize the fact that appearance plays an important role in social acceptance. As a result, they try to make as attractive an appearance as possible, especially when they become interested in members of the opposite sex, in parties, and in dates (60,128,229,237,286). In discussing boys' interest in appearance, Friedenberg (92) has pointed out:

Boys seem to me usually more concerned with their appearance than girls and also to have more idea what they actually look like and how other people will respond to the way they look.... Boys are often very vain.... They bask in physical regard like alligators on a log.

A strong desire for independence develops in early adolescence. It is as if an overwhelming urge were released among these young adolescents to assert their in-

dependence, to explore new and thrilling kinds of relationships with one another, and to proclaim their rights of self-expression as individuals. Lower-class families are more permissive and give more independence to adolescents than do those of the middle and upper classes who supervise the adolescent's behavior more carefully (27,62,219).

Resistance to adult authority is most pronounced in early adolescence when the individual is trying to establish himself socially. This leads to many clashes with parents and other adults in authority. Because girls are expected to conform more to parental wishes than are boys, they rebel more than boys against home restraints. Much of the *radicalism* of young adolescents can be traced to their attempts to think and act independently (60,73,211,219).

To achieve independence, money is essential. This leads to a heightened interest in money, not only from the point of view of the size of their allowances and the freedom with which they can spend their money, but also from the point of view of how they can earn money to supplement their allowances (77,98,168). There is a marked increase in the number of adolescents working part time from freshman to senior year in high school in order to increase the amount of money they have to spend—not for living expenses, but for *material possessions*, such as clothes, cars, costume jewelry, cosmetics, hi-fi records, sports equipment, and transistor radios. They find these good status symbols because they are readily manifest, and their interest in money is increased (9,67,291,292,297). As the Hechingers have explained, "In a society which judges prestige very largely by outward appearance, what an adolescent owns automatically

turns into a yardstick of the entire family's place in the sun" (116). Figure 8-9 shows how adolescents spend their money. Note how much of it is spent for material possessions and other status symbols and how both boys and girls use their money for expenditures that are prestigious in the eyes of the peer group.

Vocational Interests

When girls and boys reach the high school age, they begin to think seriously about their futures and the kind of vocation they want to make their lifework. Whether or not they can plan ahead depends partly on the economic stability of the family, partly on whether they belong to a social-class group where planning ahead is encouraged, and partly on their sex. On the whole, adolescents from middle-class families are encouraged to plan ahead more than are those from the lower classes who, as a rule, are "present-oriented" (105,210,272).

Girls plan ahead less than boys because the time of marriage is unpredictable. This encourages them to live more from day to day. Boys, for the most part, are more seriously concerned about the problem of vocational choice because, to them, it will be a life career, while for most girls, a job is just a stopgap until they marry (98,105).

The unrealistic vocational aspirations of childhood give way to a more realistic concept of what certain lines of work require in the way of ability, education, and training, and of what the individual's capacities actually are. Adolescents recognize that they are likely to follow the pattern of their fathers in their occupational selection unless circumstances make it possible for them to attain a higher education and thus move into a higher vocational bracket (105,225,275,279).

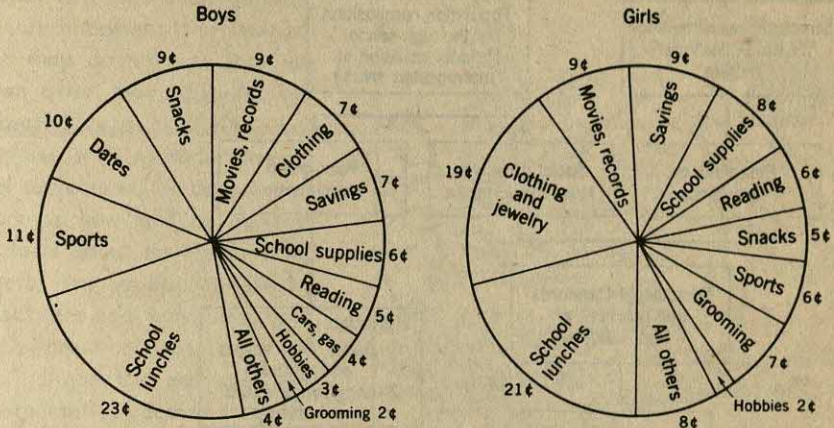


FIGURE 8-9 HOW YOUNG ADOLESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS SPEND THEIR MONEY. (ADAPTED FROM DATA COMPILED BY EUGENE GILBERT FOR *Life Magazine*, MAY 13, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

While many adolescents aspire to jobs above the occupational level of their families, they are realistic about their chances of getting them. Most follow in the occupational footsteps of their fathers and go into lines of work characteristic of the socioeconomic class to which their family belongs (66).

Because of the early unrealistic attitude toward vocations, it is not surprising that most adolescents are changeable in their vocational selections, at least for a few years. This instability gradually decreases as adolescents grow older. Girls, as a rule, are more stable in their vocational choices than are boys (66,82,142,210,275).

Boys, typically, want jobs that have glamour and excitement, regardless of the ability required or the chances that such jobs will be available for them. They also want jobs with high prestige, even if these jobs pay less than those with lower prestige. Many boys from low-status families hope to achieve higher social status through high-status occupations. Girls, as a rule,

show a preference for occupations with greater security and less demand on their time. In their vocational choices, they stress, for the most part, service to others, such as teaching or nursing (256,272,275, 279,297).

Interest in School

Typically, the young adolescent complains about school in general and about restrictions, homework, required courses, the food served in the school cafeteria, and the way the school is run. He is critical of his teachers and the way they teach. This is the "thing to do." The young adolescent who wants to be popular with his peers must avoid creating the impression that he is a "brain." This is even more true of girls than of boys, because of the lower prestige associated with scholastic achievements on the part of girls than of boys (30,60). In spite of their pose of not liking school, most adolescents get along well both academically and socially and actually like school (40,97,98,128,144,225).

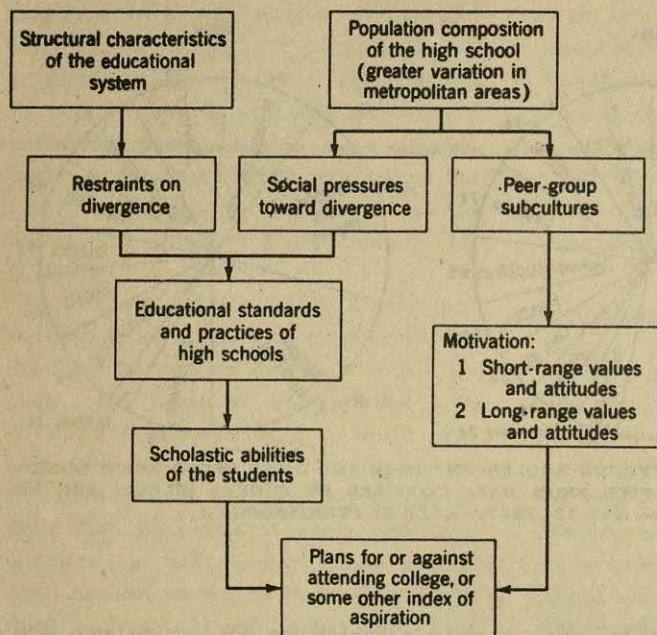


FIGURE 8-10 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE ADOLESCENT'S ASPIRATIONS TO GO TO COLLEGE. (ADAPTED FROM R. P. BOYLE: THE EFFECT OF HIGH SCHOOL ON STUDENTS' ASPIRATIONS. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1966, 71, 628-639. USED BY PERMISSION.)

The major reason for their liking school is that it is a stepping stone to achievements—a way of improving their status in life. Through academic achievement and social contacts they hope to be accepted by the "right" crowds and be prepared for an occupation that will enable them to move up the social ladder (22,252).

This is well illustrated by their attitudes toward going to college. When the adolescent's peer group is college-oriented, he is much more likely to decide to go to college than when the peer group is work-oriented (34). Figure 8-10 shows the influence of the peer group on the adolescent's plans for attending college.

In addition, there is a strong motivation

to achieve adult status from going to college. As McDill and Coleman have pointed out, young adolescents see college and intellectualism as "quite distinct entities: college promises adult status, but scholastic achievement carries the connotation of acquiescence and subordination to adults." Thus, they conclude that it is apparent that the non-intellectual sources of motivation are "far stronger than the intellectual one" (179).

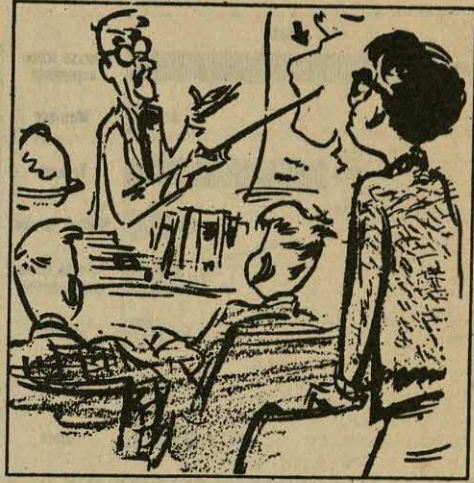
Peer pressures on the adolescent's attitudes toward school are reinforced by parental attitudes. When lower-class parents want to have their child improve his status in life by going to college, they start to urge him to be college-oriented even

during childhood. At this time, parental attitudes are more important than peer attitudes, though they do not lose their effectiveness even after peer attitudes become more powerful forces (9,22,40).

The young adolescent's attitudes toward different school subjects will be determined by such factors as how well he does in them, how he feels about his teachers for different subjects, how sex-appropriate he thinks the subjects are and, most important of all, how much "practical" value they will have for him. Boys, for example, like science and mathematics because they are both practical and sex-appropriate (9,266, 297). This point of view is illustrated in Figure 8-11. Studies that have the reputation of being "hard" or "impractical" are viewed unfavorably by most adolescents and, as a result, they tend to do poorly in them (266).

When adolescents develop unfavorable attitudes toward different school subjects, they develop into *underachievers*—working below their tested abilities. Their unfavorable attitudes may stem from the school situation, such as poor grades, reading difficulties or dislike of teachers, or from unfavorable home situations, especially pressures from parents to do better work than they are doing. Adolescents, for example, who do not achieve what they had hoped for in school develop negative attitudes toward school. These negative attitudes are reflected in the quality of their school work (89,123,190,273).

Some adolescents become specific underachievers, in the sense that they work below their capacities in only a few of their school subjects. But most underachievers are general underachievers in the sense that they work below their capacities in all school subjects and often in their extracurricular activities (231,249,273).



"I can guess YOUR question, Bvine. How can the study of ancient conquests help you make a buck?"

FIGURE 8-11 FOR MANY YOUNG ADOLESCENTS, INTEREST IN SCHOOL SUBJECTS IS INFLUENCED BY HOW USEFUL THEY ARE PERCEIVED TO BE. (ADAPTED FROM GEORGE CLARK: "THE NEIGHBORS," *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, DEC. 6, 1965. COPYRIGHT © 1965 BY CHICAGO TRIBUNE-NEW YORK NEWS SYNDICATE. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Many adolescents who are *truants* or *dropouts* are motivated more by social than by academic reasons. When they are not accepted in the cliques and have few friends, or when they are overage for their grades because they have had to repeat a grade or two in their earlier school careers, their attitude toward school becomes unfavorable; and this affects the quality of their work. As a result, they become discouraged and resentful toward their teachers and toward school in general.

Many believe that they will solve their social problems by leaving school, getting jobs, and having the money necessary to buy the status symbols they associate with social acceptance (55,71,83). The reasons

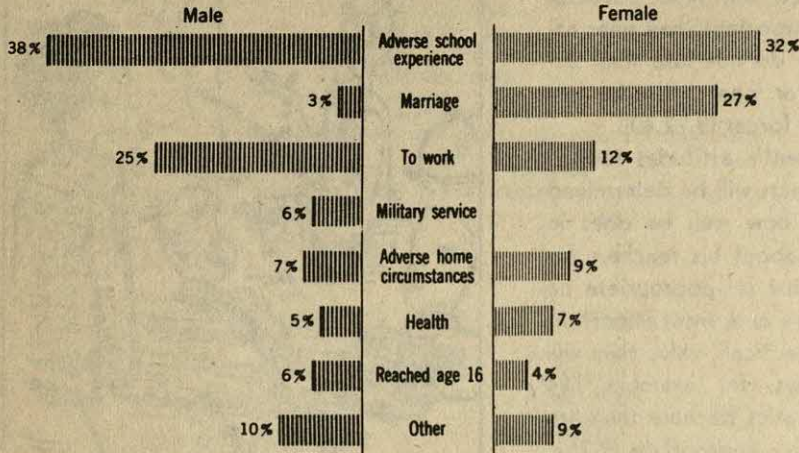


FIGURE 8-12 COMMON REASONS FOR DROPPING OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL. (ADAPTED FROM DATA BASED ON A NATIONAL SURVEY BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, 1966. USED BY PERMISSION.)

high school students give for dropping out of school before completing their studies and getting their diplomas are shown in Figure 8-12.

Religious Interests

For most American boys and girls, adolescence is a time of *religious awakening*—a time when childish religious beliefs are examined critically, evaluated, and then revised to meet their new and more mature needs. All of this takes time.

At first, the young adolescent faces his childish beliefs in a critical way, often dogmatically rejecting many or all of them. This, as a rule, begins around the thirteenth year, the time when, in many religious faiths, attention is focused on religion in preparation for the adolescent's joining the church of his family's faith (98,183,220).

In addition, discussions of religion with his friends and a comparison of their beliefs with his brings religion to the foreground and motivates the adolescent to examine his

own beliefs more critically than he did when he was a child (132,266). Figure 8-13 shows how talking about religion to their friends increases as adolescents grow older, especially among girls. This tends to confuse the adolescent and makes him question his own beliefs (62,165,225).

BEGINNINGS OF DOUBTING Critical examination of his childhood beliefs is often followed by doubting. This, typically, follows a predictable pattern. The adolescent first becomes skeptical of religious *forms*, such as prayer, formal church ritual, or home religious observances. Later, doubts are more likely to center around religious *content*, such as the nature of God and man, sin, life after death, and what heaven and hell really are (23,165,177,262). While both boys and girls experience religious doubts in varying degrees of severity, girls, as a group, are less subject to religious doubt than boys (14,150,272).

Doubting is intensified, as the adolescent

grows older, by encouragement in school to think independently and by courses in science which often give him facts in direct contradiction to his earlier religious beliefs. Furthermore, adolescents want reasons for what they are expected to do or believe. This encourages a skepticism and refusal to accept on faith any teachings, whether they relate to religion or some other area of knowledge (98,183,272).

At any age, doubting is accompanied by emotional tension. During early adolescence, this emotional tension is intensified by the adolescent's feelings of insecurity and inadequacy and by feelings of guilt because he is doubting what he pledged himself to accept when he joined the church of his family's faith. In general, the more dogmatic the religious teaching in childhood, the greater will be the emotional accompaniment of doubting and the more intense the adolescent's feelings of guilt (13,44,150,152,281).

Absence of religious doubt is an unhealthy sign. It means either that the adolescent has an intellectual level too low to question beliefs that proved to be satisfactory to him when his intellectual development was on a lower level, or it means that the religious teaching of his home or church has been so dogmatic and so threatening that he is afraid to doubt for fear of possible evil consequences. In discussing the wholesome effects of religious doubting during adolescence, Strang has pointed out that a person "who does not have the courage to doubt may not acquire the wisdom to believe" (266). Before their high school days are over, most adolescents have made some revision in their childish concepts of God, of heaven and hell, of sin, of life after death, of miracles, and of the meaning of prayer (57,150,225). See Figure 9-10, page 495.

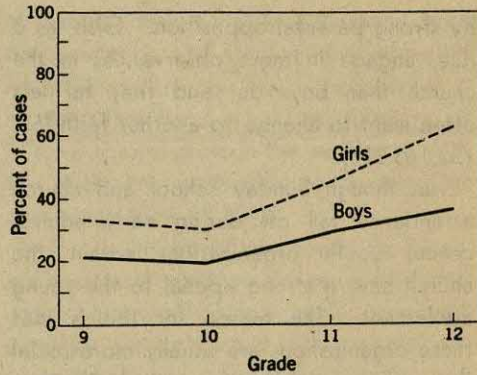


FIGURE 8-13 THE YOUNG ADOLESCENT'S INTEREST IN RELIGION IS SHOWN BY TALKING ABOUT IT. (ADAPTED FROM M. C. JONES: A COMPARISON OF THE ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS OF NINTH-GRADE STUDENTS OVER TWO GENERATIONS. *J. educ. Psychol.*, 1960, 51, 175-186. USED BY PERMISSION.)

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES While the young adolescent is trying to revise his religious beliefs to meet his more mature needs, he tries to shun the former religious observances he associates with childish religious beliefs. This does not mean that he is irreligious or that he feels no need for religion. Rather, it means that he is trying to find a religion whose observances are more in keeping with his present needs.

Many young adolescents, for example, revolt against going to Sunday school unless the teaching is reasonably liberal and against accompanying their parents to church when they feel the minister is too dogmatic or the service too formal and "boring." To show that his revolt is against the type of religious observance, not against religion, the adolescent often wants to change to another faith which he believes will be more to his liking than the family faith. This desire is usually thwarted

by strong parental opposition. Girls, as a rule, engage in more observances in the church than boys do, and they far less often want to change to another faith (62, 152, 163, 225).

Even though Sunday school and church attendance fall off during early adolescence, youth organizations within the church have a strong appeal to the young adolescent. The reason for this is that these organizations are usually more social than religious in function. As such, they meet the needs of the adolescent better than do the religious teachings of the Sunday school and church (62, 98, 150, 152, 225).

The religious aspects of home religious observances have little appeal to the young adolescent, though the social aspects of such observances still are important to him. He enjoys the holiday celebrations with their festivities and gifts, and the vacation from school. The strictly religious home observances, such as reading the Bible, saying grace before meals, or participation in family prayers, have little appeal for him (31, 150, 163).

Individual prayers may continue in early adolescence, more from force of habit than because they give the adolescent any personal satisfaction. Only under unusual circumstances, such as at the time of important examination, will most young adolescents engage in prayer as a meaningful personal experience. As an offshoot of religious doubt, they often develop a skeptical attitude toward the value of prayer (44, 62, 152, 225, 266).

MORALITY IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE

One of the important developmental tasks the young adolescent must master is learning what the group expects of him and then

being willing to mold his behavior to conform to these expectations without the constant guidance, supervision, proddings, and threats of punishment he experienced when he was a child. He is expected to replace the specific moral concepts of childhood with general moral principles and to replace behavior controlled from without with internal controls (115, 165, 272).

If firm foundations of morality have been established during childhood, they will stand up under the strain; if not, they will break and the adolescent's behavior will fall far short of social expectations. It now becomes his responsibility to assume the control which formerly was assumed by parents and teachers. Believing that the adolescent learned, when he was a child, the major principles of right and wrong, parents and teachers frequently put little emphasis on teaching him to see the relationship between the specific principles he learned earlier and the general principles that are essential to control behavior in adult life (133, 272).

Only in new areas of behavior, as in his relationships with members of the opposite sex, do adults feel that there is any real need for further moral training. In addition, in this area of sex relationships, the young adolescent discovers that there is a "double standard," with certain behavior considered wrong for girls but not for boys. Since the individual did not find this true during childhood days, he must reevaluate and revise the moral concepts he learned when he was younger (132).

Changes in Moral Concepts

No longer is the adolescent willing to accept in an unquestioning manner the concepts of right and wrong of either his parents or his contemporaries, as he did when he was a child. He now builds up a moral

code of his own, based upon the moral concepts established during childhood days but changed and modified to meet his more mature level of development.

Inconsistencies in moral concepts, which he soon discovers from his discussions with other people and from his observations of their behavior, prove to be confusing to the young adolescent. In spite of this confusion, most young adolescents are able to work out a code of moral standards which differs from that of their childhood days and which will serve them well not only now but also after they reach maturity (115, 133, 165, 208, 217, 272).

Changes from childhood to adolescence in attitudes toward *lying* show the influence of individual thinking on the part of the adolescent. While older children almost unanimously condemn lying on moral grounds, adolescents admit that "social lies," or lies to avoid hurting other people's feelings, are sometimes justified (272).

Much the same sort of confusion is apparent in the attitude of high school students toward *stealing*. Their judgments of whether an act is or is not "stealing" have been found to depend somewhat on whether the property is private or corporate, stealing private property being considered worse than taking corporate property (133). There is likewise a more tolerant attitude toward *cheating* in school, with a number of young adolescents feeling that it is justified because so many adolescents cheat and there is so much pressure on the student to maintain a high status in his work (20, 116, 200).

Development of Conscience

Conscience is the internal controlling force that makes external controls unnecessary. There is little motivation on the child's part to be guided by his own conscience so long

as control over his behavior comes from the guidance and threats of punishment from the adults in his life. In adolescence, on the other hand, social expectations of internal control provide the adolescent with the necessary motivation to develop his conscience (5, 86, 98, 153).

In the development of conscience, pleasant emotional reactions are associated with group-approved behavior, while unpleasant emotions are associated with group-disapproved behavior. From these unpleasant emotions develop guilt and shame. This gives conscience the power to produce "conditioned anxiety responses to certain types of situations and actions" (86). These anxiety responses, in turn, act as deterrents to group-disapproved behavior.

Guilt serves as an internal control in the sense that it produces unfavorable emotional reactions when the individual realizes that his behavior is falling short of social expectations. *Shame*, by contrast, produces unfavorable emotional reactions only when the individual is aware of the unfavorable judgments of his behavior by others. Behavior controlled by guilt is, thus, "inner-directed," while behavior controlled by shame is "other-directed." Both play important roles in the control of the adolescent's behavior (5, 13, 51, 86).

"Perfectionism"

As a result of taking moral matters into his own hands, the young adolescent frequently sets higher moral standards for himself and for others than can be reached at all times. When his behavior falls short of his standards, he feels guilty and suffers from a troubled conscience. This leads to disillusionment and anger, directed partly toward himself because of his shortcomings and partly toward others whom he blames for his shortcomings. The young adoles-

cent, however, is usually more willing to accept the blame than is the child (98,208).

If feelings of guilt occur too frequently or are too severe, the adolescent's feeling of personal adequacy is damaged and he attempts to escape, either into the daydream world or by threats to take his own life, or he develops an "I don't care" attitude. There is no question about the fact that some of the unhappiness of early adolescence stems from a guilty conscience for real or imagined shortcomings (51,86).

Perfectionism is not limited to the young adolescent's own behavior. The moral standards by which he judges others are just as high as those by which he judges his own behavior. He has a strong sense of fairness and is intolerant of those whose behavior falls below his standards. This leads to friction and quarreling, which strain relationships that were once strongly cemented by admiration and affection. An intolerant attitude toward the shortcomings of others is as characteristic of the young adolescent as is his intolerant attitude toward his own shortcomings (98,208).

Discipline in Early Adolescence

Because parents and teachers assume that the young adolescent knows what is right, their major emphasis in discipline is on punishment for what they regard as *intentional* misbehavior. While this is done in an attempt to correct behavior that is at variance with the standards set by authority, how they do so varies greatly. As Peck and Havighurst (208) have pointed out, from their examination of home training of adolescents:

A remarkable diversity of parent behavior went by the name of "discipline." Anything from a brutal beating, to inef-

fectual verbal nagging unbacked by action, to rigorously enforced conformity to every parental dictate (and lots of them), to a clearly reasoned, left-handed guidance of a child along a well-explained path, with allowance for non-dangerous, experimental side excursions—all these were called "discipline" by somebody. They were not equal, needless to say, in their effect on character.

Adolescents feel the need of discipline but not of the type they had in childhood. They want guidance with reasonable explanations for what they are expected to do. They resent, even more than they did when they were younger, the authoritarian approach used by so many parents. They recognize that punishment, if fair and deserved, is justified, but they feel that some appreciation should be shown for right behavior, especially when it involves a conflict with peer standards (82,98,116,266).

In one study, in which adolescents were asked what punishment they felt worked best, boys and girls agreed that the best forms were "grounding," by taking away car keys or confining them to the home and taking away telephone and television; the least effective, they maintained, were restricting dates and cutting their allowances. Girls felt that talking over the problem was more effective than boys did, while boys felt that restriction to their rooms and spanking with a strap were more effective than girls did (200).

Moral Behavior

Adolescents are, for the most part, consistent in following their moral beliefs with actions of an equally high sort. The tendency to do things behind others' backs, to lie, or to take things if there is a good chance they will not be caught is far less

frequent at this age than when the individual was younger. It becomes a matter of honor to the adolescent to try to live up to what he believes is right.

There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. When a discrepancy between moral knowledge and moral behavior occurs, it may be the result of ignorance of better ways to handle the problem, or it may be willful, in the sense that the adolescent intentionally defies authority. A young adolescent, for example, may come home late from a date because he does not know how to obey a family rule without being considered "tied to parental strings" by members of the peer group. On other occasions, he may break a family or school rule willfully, partly to assert his independence from adult authority and partly to convince members of the peer group that he is a "good sport" (62,152,296).

MISDEMEANORS Misdemeanors are willful defiances of rules. What form the misdemeanors will take, thus, will depend on what type of rules there are. However, there are certain common misdemeanors in early adolescence because there are certain rules that are commonly used in the schools, homes, and communities where there are adolescents. These usually reach their peak of frequency and severity early in adolescence, around fourteen years of age. As adolescents grow older, their behavior conforms more to social standards (98,208).

Common school misdemeanors include annoying the teacher, unpreparedness, whispering, bullying classmates, especially those from minority groups, smoking or drinking on the school grounds or in the school buildings, cheating, destructiveness of school property, and truancy (79,96,106, 227,234,263,276,305). Home misdemeanors consist of going out without telling

parents, going to forbidden places or associating with peers their parents have forbidden them to see, staying out beyond the set time, being rude, attacking siblings with aggressive language, and running away from home (98,119,221,228). Figure 8-14 gives the common reasons young adolescents have for running away from home.

Community misdemeanors usually occur when young adolescents have too few recreations to occupy their free time, and, in boredom, they try to "stir up a little excitement." These are more often mischievous and annoying than malicious, such as hitching rides on autos or buses, annoying members of the opposite sex or members of their own sex who belong to another clique, trampling over lawns and ruining flower beds, being unnecessarily noisy when they get together as a group, smoking and drinking. Such misdemeanors are far more common among boys than among girls and are often motivated by the boy's desire to show how sex-appropriate he is (60,98,116, 296,305).

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY Some adolescents commit unsocial acts of a more serious nature: they break laws instead of merely breaking rules. When these acts are markedly at variance with the accepted codes of conduct, the individual is known as a *juvenile delinquent*. There is evidence that the number of adolescents throughout the country who are arrested as juvenile delinquents has been increasing almost steadily since World War II. Boys contribute more heavily to this number than do girls, and the percentage in urban areas is far greater than in rural areas. However, in recent years, there has been a rapid increase in delinquencies among girls and among both boys and girls in suburban areas (56,122,213,247).

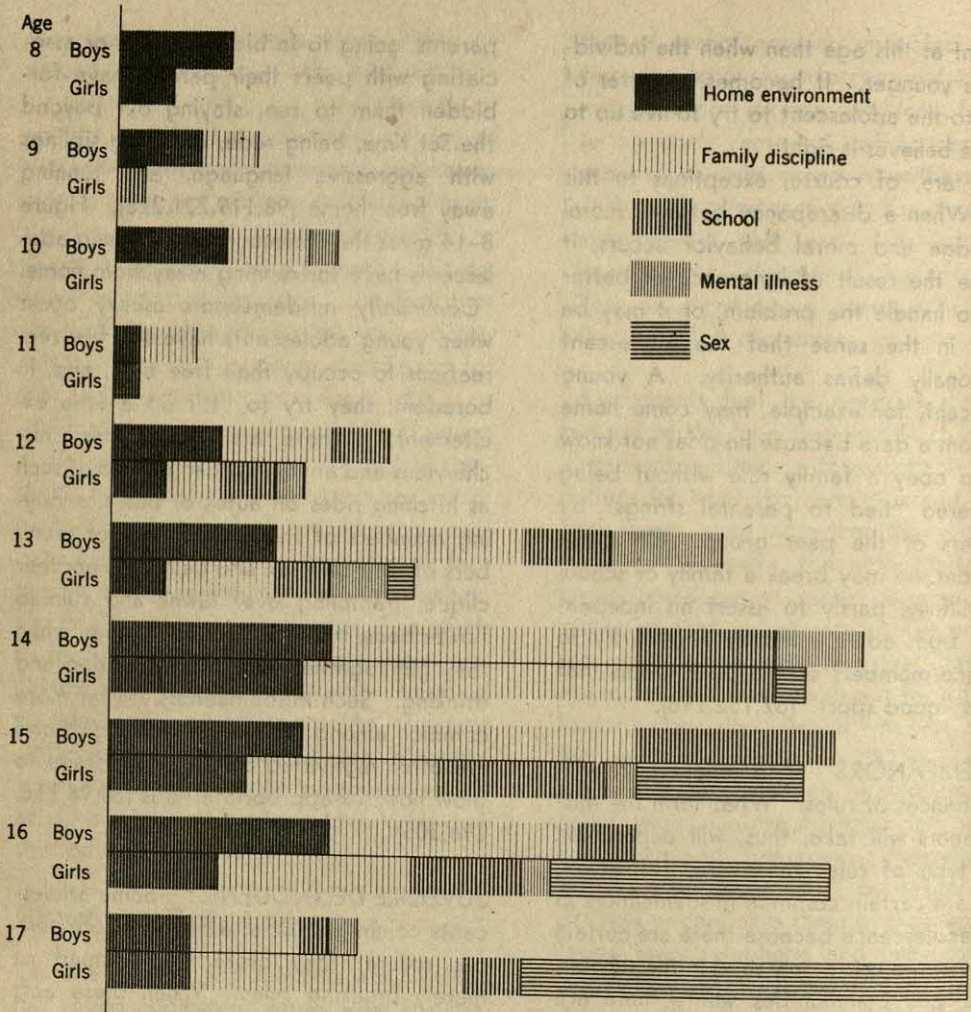


FIGURE 8-14 COMMON REASONS ADOLESCENTS HAVE FOR RUNNING AWAY FROM HOME. (ADAPTED FROM J. W. HILDEBRAND: WHY RUNAWAYS LEAVE HOME. *J. crim. Law Criminol. police Sci.*, 1963, 54, 211-216. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Studies of juvenile delinquency have revealed that antisocial behavior is not an overnight development. Rather, those who later become juvenile delinquents begin to get into trouble as early as their kindergarten days. In general, their misbehavior is similar to that of nondelinquents, only

it is of a more serious and persistent sort. Most adolescents, for example, engage in minor pilfering or occasional truancy at some time or other, but the juvenile delinquent steals consistently or spends more time away from school than in school. By twelve or thirteen years, misdemeanors that

are too serious to be recognized as normal distinguish the delinquent from the non-delinquent (83,100,122,212).

There is little evidence that the juvenile delinquent behaves in an antisocial way because of ignorance of what society expects. Nor is there evidence that the intellectual level of delinquents is so low that they are incapable of recognizing the seriousness of their acts in time to curb their impulses (52,59,100). As may be seen in Figure 8-15, there has been a marked increase in IQ scores of delinquent boys and girls since 1930.

Instead, there is evidence that juvenile delinquency is not the result of one cause alone but that the adolescent is predisposed to behave in an antisocial way by many conditions in his life which serve to build up unsocial attitudes (56,159). As Resnick has emphasized, "Many factors operate to produce an antisocial individual" (226).

There is strong evidence that the juvenile delinquent is motivated by feelings of resentment, hostility, defiance, or suspiciousness. He feels that society has rejected him and he, in turn, owes society nothing. Frequently, the juvenile delinquent is associated with an *adolescent gang* whose main source of pleasure comes from antisocial behavior. To retain his status in the gang, the adolescent frequently engages in behavior of a type which he would not engage in if he were not influenced by group pressures (122).

Adolescents who come from homes disorganized by death, divorce, or desertion of the father are especially prone to delinquency. This is more true of girls and of younger boys than of older boys, and it explains the higher rate of delinquency among Negroes than among whites. As a result of unfavorable environmental influ-

ences, the juvenile delinquent develops a personality pattern which leads to poor social adjustments (56,83,84,188,197,200).

Delinquency may be expressed in any one of myriad forms of antisocial behavior. However, they fall into four major categories:

1. *Harm to self or others*, such as assaults on people, crowd disturbances, and attempts at self-destruction.
2. *Damage to or misappropriation of property*, through theft, vandalism, and burglary.
3. *Ungovernability and refusal to obey people in authority*, which may range from strong defiance to "slick" surface conformity.
4. *Acts leading to possible danger to self or others*, such as speeding, unauthorized carrying of weapons, and sexual misconduct (13,59,83,100,116,128,184, 213,241).

In spite of the serious increase in juvenile delinquency in recent years, there are many adolescents, subjected to unfavorable environmental conditions that normally might produce the antisocial attitudes of the delinquent, who are law-abiding in their behavior. They are "insulated" against delinquency in the sense that they do not succumb to the temptation to behave in an antisocial way, regardless of how strong the temptation has been (240,274). Dinitz et al. (72) have explained the causes of insulation against delinquency in the following way:

In our quest to discover what insulates a boy against delinquency in a high delinquency area, we believe we have some

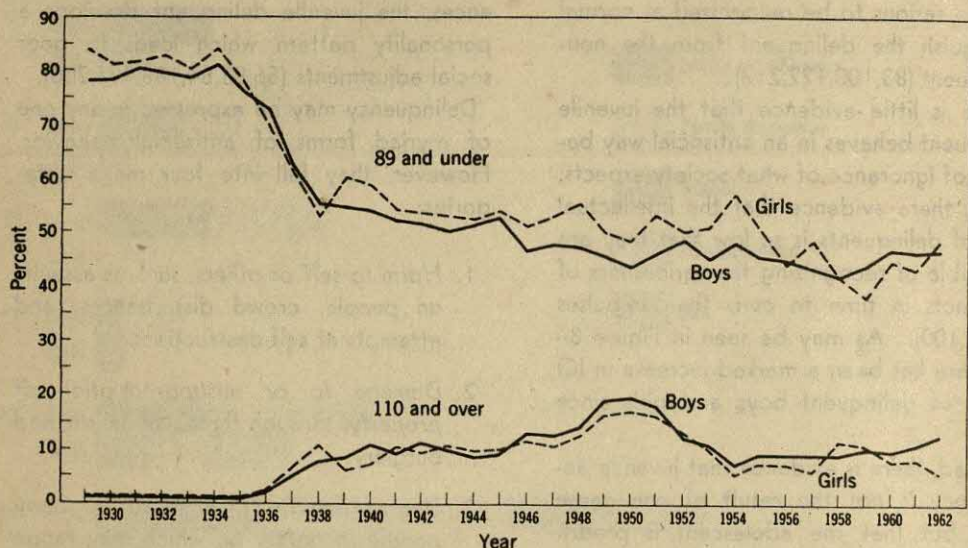


FIGURE 8-15 THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE IQ SCORES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS SINCE 1930. (ADAPTED FROM N. S. CAPLAN AND L. A. SIEBERT: DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENT INTELLIGENCE TEST SCORES OVER A THIRTY-FOUR YEAR PERIOD. *J. clin. Psychol.*, 1964, 20, 242-247. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tangible evidence that a good self concept, undoubtedly a product of favorable socialization, veers slum boys away from delinquency, while a poor self concept, a product of unfavorable socialization, gives the slum boy no resistance to deviancy, delinquent companions, or delinquent subculture.... Components of the self strength, such as a favorable self concept, act as an inner buffer or inner containment against deviancy, distraction, lure, and pressures.

SEX INTEREST AND SEX BEHAVIOR

To master the important developmental tasks of forming new and more mature relationships with members of the opposite

sex and of playing the approved role for one's sex, the young adolescent must acquire more complete and more mature concepts of sex than he had as a child. The motivation to do so comes partly from social pressures and partly from his interest in sex.

With the development of the sexual capacities at the time of puberty comes a change in the form of interest that adolescents take in members of the opposite sex. No longer are boys and girls primarily interested in physical differences, although this interest never completely vanishes. The new interest that develops during the early part of adolescence is romantic in nature. This is accompanied by a strong desire to win the approval of members of the opposite sex.

Curiosity about Sex

Knowledge about sex is acquired as a result of the curiosity the individual has about sex. This curiosity, which became pronounced at puberty, begins to wane during early adolescence, provided the individual has been able to get the information he wishes to satisfy his curiosity. There is still, however, a lively interest in sex, though this is not likely to preoccupy the time and interest of young adolescents as much as it did earlier, during the puberty period (11,43,48,50,214,223).

When girls or boys get together with members of their own sex, they are likely to talk about sex. The more intimate the group, the more intimate the subject of sex becomes. They discuss such matters as what is real love, how can one tell if love is real or not, what is the sex relationship in marriage, problems related to menstruation, and sexual feelings and attractions (50, 62,78,98,156).

Experimentation with sex, to satisfy curiosity, begins during early adolescence or even during the puberty period. Manual manipulation, accompanied by a direct observation of the female reproductive anatomy, exhibitionistic sex play, attempts at intercourse, and oral contacts are common at this age. Petting, in the form of kissing, manual exploration, and manipulation by the boy of the girl's breasts and reproductive organs, has been reported by boys of the early adolescent years (43,143,223,251). Kissing games are popular during early adolescence because they satisfy the individual's curiosity and, at the same time, give him sexual satisfaction. The liking for kissing increases markedly as early adolescence progresses (217).

Masturbation as a form of sexual experi-

mentation is common among both boys and girls during the early years of adolescence. It comes to a peak in frequency and in degree of satisfaction obtained during this period, and its practice is reported to range from an occasional indulgence to indulgence several times a day. Because of the social taboos associated with masturbation, most boys and girls have strong feelings of guilt during and after indulgence. These feelings, however, are generally not strong enough to prevent the indulgence (223,251). The frequencies of different forms of sexual experimentation are shown in Figure 7-12, page 367.

Pattern of Sex Interests

Interest in members of the opposite sex—heterosexuality—follows a predictable pattern, with variations in ages at which the adolescent reaches different stages in this pattern partly because of differences in age of sexual maturing and partly because of differences in opportunities to develop this interest. Interest in members of the opposite sex is also markedly influenced by patterns of interest among the adolescent's friends. If they are interested in activities involving members of both sexes, he must be also if he is to retain his status in the peer group. Should he lack this interest, because of unfavorable earlier experiences or late sexual maturing, he will quickly be excluded from activities with his age-mates (43,62,76,116,132,148,223,251).

Studies of large groups of adolescents have shown what the predictable pattern of heterosexuality is. In the transition from aversion toward members of the opposite sex, characteristic of puberty, to falling in love with members of the opposite sex, it is quite usual for both boys and girls to

center their affections first on a member of their own sex, older than they, who has qualities they admire, and then, later, on a member of the opposite sex who is distinctly older than they (43).

When the attachment is for a person whom the adolescent knows and has personal contacts with, it is usually called a "crush"; when the attachment is for a person not known personally but admired from afar, it is generally referred to as "hero worshiping." However, this distinction is not always made, and the latter attachment is then also called a "crush" (59,94,98,266).

The object of the adolescent's crush is a person who embodies the qualities the adolescent admires. This person becomes the focal point of the adolescent's admiration and love. Whether it be a teacher, a camp counselor, a sports star, an actor or actress, a crooner, or even an older relative or friend of the family, there is a strong desire on the adolescent's part to imitate this individual.

If the object of affection is a person known to the adolescent, there is added to the desire to imitate a strong desire to be with the loved person, to do everything possible to win the favor and attention of that person, and to be constantly thinking and talking about the loved one. Crushes and hero worshiping generally reach their peak around fourteen years of age, after which there is a rapid decline in interest in these love objects. There is no evidence that crushes are a barrier to later heterosexual adjustments (59,98,223). On the other hand, there is evidence that crushes may prove to be a healthy learning experience for the young adolescent. As Rybak has explained, "The main function of the adult in the crush or hero-worship relationship is to help the young person to learn

from this experience, and then to gradually grow away from it into a more mature relationship" (238).

Just before early adolescence draws to a close, interest in members of the opposite sex of approximately the same chronological age replaces interest in older individuals. At first, girls like any boy who will pay any attention to them. They do not discriminate. Much the same is true of boys. Girls in general rather than any girl in particular have a strong appeal for them (98,112,266).

Early love between the sexes is often referred to as *puppy love* by amused adults. Because of the newness of the love situation, and because of the feelings of insecurity that invariably accompany a new and difficult situation, young adolescents frequently try to cover up their embarrassment by pretending to be at ease and sophisticated. Wisecracking, or mental fencing, teasing, roughhousing, and pulling each other around are backhanded ways of showing mutual interest. It is a bold, aggressive form of behavior as contrasted with the shy, tongue-tied behavior that accompanies crushes or hero worshiping. Girls are more aggressive than boys in these early sex relationships (98,112,132).

Interest in members of the opposite sex is always accompanied by a desire to attract their attention. This may take different forms, such as affected mannerisms and speech, extremes in dress and hair styles, apparent indifference and rudeness to the individuals they want to attract, and participation in petting (62,92,108,266). Figure 8-16 shows changes in relations between the sexes.

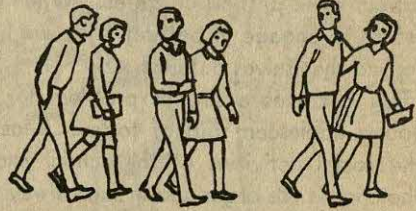
In spite of the desire to be noticed by members of the opposite sex, young adolescent boys and girls are often extremely

Ages 9 to 11

Boys are antagonistic or indifferent to girls, but girls begin to show interest in boys.

**Ages 12 to 14**

Boy and girls associate in groups. Some individuals begin to pair off.

**Ages 15 to 16-17**

Serious dating and going steady become common.



FIGURE 8-16 CHANGES IN BOY-GIRL RELATIONS FROM PUBERTY THROUGH EARLY ADOLESCENCE. (ADAPTED FROM A. SCHEINFELD: *Your heredity and environment*. PHILADELPHIA: LIPPINCOTT, 1965. USED BY PERMISSION.)

shy and self-conscious when this desire is realized. This shyness is heightened when they are with a group of other boys and girls, though it is present when they are alone with just one member of the opposite sex. Shyness and self-consciousness may be revealed in quiet, tongue-tied behavior. Among most adolescents, however, an attempt is made to cover up their shyness, and this leads to noisy, boisterous laughing, aggressive reactions toward the opposite sex, and a tendency to talk too much about nothing.

Early in the high school age, and often in junior high school, there is a pairing off among the boys and girls. This is the be-

ginning of *dating*, which comes for girls between thirteen and fourteen years and, among boys, a year or so later. By the end of early adolescence, most boys and girls not only date with regularity but many of them go *steady*. Early dating is frequently in twosomes or threesomes. The young adolescent who feels unsure of himself finds it easier to cope with the situation in a small group than when alone. This early dating is *clique dating* in that girls of a clique arrange to do things with their friends and their dates. Even when boys and girls go steady, much of their dating in early adolescence is with clique members (62,108,151,254,266).

Dating activities consist mainly of attending school dances and athletic events, going to the movies, driving to places to dance, eat, and drink, engaging in some form of sport, such as tennis, bowling, or swimming, and watching television. Boys expect some petting on dates. When girls refuse to engage in petting, they are likely to find themselves dateless.

This becomes a serious problem for the young adolescent girl of today. Most of the social activities of the school and of the cliques are organized in such a way that girls are not expected to attend unless accompanied by their "dates." Boys, on the other hand, are welcomed if they come alone or with a group of their friends because this guarantees extra boys for the activities. In communities where early dating and early going steady are the accepted practices, a girl must conform if she is to rate socially (39,60,108,116,187, 225,254). As a result of early dating and going steady, there is an increase in marriages and premarital pregnancies among high school students. Girls more often marry boys who are out of school than those who are still in school. Boys, on the other hand, marry less frequently at this early age. When they do, it is usually a girl in their class at school (48,151,189,283).

Approved Sex Roles

Even more difficult than learning to get along with age-mates of the opposite sex is the developmental task of learning to play the approved sex roles for one's sex. For boys, this is not nearly so difficult as it is for girls. The reasons for this are, *first*, since earliest childhood boys have been told what is the approved behavior for boys and have been encouraged, prodded,

or even shamed into conforming to the approved standards, and, *second*, boys discover with each passing year that the male role carries far more prestige than the female role (70,112,194,232).

Girls, by contrast, reach adolescence with blurred concepts of what the female role is, though their concepts of the male role are clearer and better defined. This is because, as children, they were permitted to look, act, and feel much as boys without constant proddings to be "feminine." Even when they learn what society expects of girls, their motivation to mold their behavior in accordance with the standards outlined in the concept of the traditional female role is weak because they realize that this role is far less prestigious than the male role and even less prestigious than the role they played as children (129, 170).

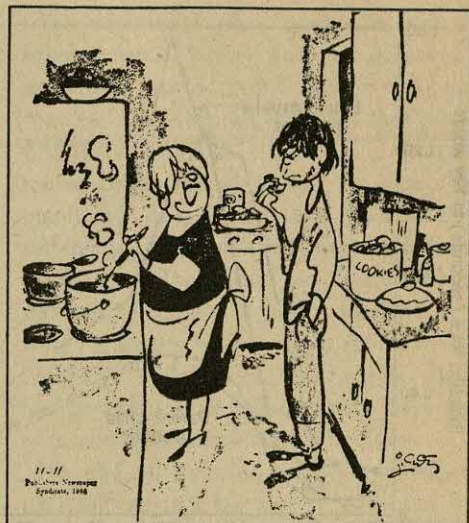
Many young adolescent girls rebel against the "double standard" of behavior on the grounds that the pattern of their lives has been on an equalitarian basis with boys and that they should not be expected to learn a new pattern now, especially when this pattern is less to their liking than the childhood pattern (24,78). However, they soon discover that rebellion against accepting the traditional female role is punished by social rejection, not only by members of the opposite sex, but also by members of their own sex. Before early adolescence is over, most girls accept, often reluctantly, the stereotype of the female role as a model for their own behavior and pretend that they are "feminine" even though they prefer an equalitarian role that combines features of both the male and the female roles. This is a price they are willing to pay, temporarily at least, for the social acceptance they crave (24,78,288).

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE

The relationships of the young adolescent with the members of his family deteriorate as adolescence progresses. The fault lies on both sides. Parents far too often refuse to modify their concept of their child's abilities as he grows older. As a result, they treat him in much the same manner as they did when he was younger. In spite of this, they expect him to "act his age," especially when it comes to assuming responsibilities.

Another source of conflict comes from the use of standards of behavior that were in vogue when the parents were adolescents. The adolescents who are most seriously affected are those whose parents grew up in another country where mores differed from those of the community in which the adolescent is growing up. Conflict is less when adolescents believe parents understand them and their needs (33,36,37, 306).

The blame for the friction between parents and adolescent children is not all on the parents' side. No one is more irresponsible, more difficult to live with, more unpredictable, or more exasperating than a young adolescent, with the possible exception of a preadolescent. Objections to duties and to the restraints their parents feel necessary and failure to assume responsibilities in keeping with their age are difficult behavior patterns for parents to accept. Figure 8-17 shows parental reaction to adolescents' criticism. These sources of irritation generally reach their peak between fourteen and fifteen years, after which there is an improvement in parent-child relationships (9,78,161,162,216). This improvement is shown in Figure 8-18.



"I don't cook this right! I don't bake that right! Why don't you get out and do your protesting in the street like other kids!"

FIGURE 8-17 PARENTAL REACTIONS TO ADOLESCENT CRITICISM. (ADAPTED FROM LICHTY: "GRIN AND BEAR IT," *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, NOV. 11, 1966. COPYRIGHT © 1966 BY PUBLISHERS NEWS-PAPER SYNDICATE. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Areas of Friction

Although the sources of friction between the adolescent and his parents are myriad, three sources of friction are almost universally found. The first has already been mentioned and stems from the methods of discipline used by parents and the adolescents' resentments against what they consider to be "childish" forms of punishment and unreasonable restraints on their behavior. The second common source of friction arises from the hypercritical attitude of the adolescent toward his parents, his siblings, and his home life (31,82).

The most common source of friction centers around the "latchkey" problems stem-

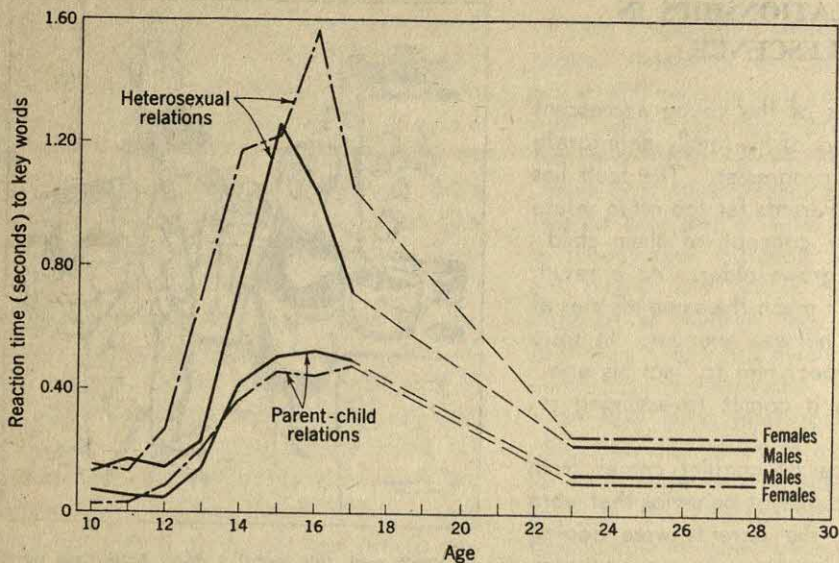


FIGURE 8-18 WAXING AND WANING OF CONFLICTS WITH PARENTS AND WITH MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX AS AGE PROGRESSES. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. PRESSEY AND R. G. KUHLEN: *Psychological development through the life span*. NEW YORK: HARPER & ROW, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ming from the new social life of the adolescent. These conflicts arise in connection with the people the adolescent associates with, especially members of the opposite sex, the places they go, what they do, when they return home, and what they wear. Conflicts about clothes are especially common in the case of mothers and daughters. These conflicts center around the problems of appropriateness of clothes, type of clothes, and amount of money spent for clothes (10,237).

Because the young adolescent has more contacts with the *mother* than the father, it is not surprising that there are more mother-adolescent than father-adolescent conflicts. Usually conflicts with the mother reach their peak around fifteen years of age and then decrease. At seventeen years there is a rise in number of conflicts daughters have with their fathers. Con-

flicts of adolescent boys with their parents generally reach their peak around thirteen years of age and then begin to decline.

The explanation for sex differences in conflicts is that adolescent girls are more restricted in their behavior than are boys (90, 97,216). After fifteen years of age, girls are less restricted by their mothers than they were earlier, and this leads to a decrease in mother-daughter friction (90,162). As their daughters' early adolescence draws to a close, *fathers* become more concerned about the boys their daughters date than they were earlier. This concern is largely responsible for the rise in father-daughter conflicts (225). Unquestionably the most serious friction between the adolescent and his parents comes when there is a *step-parent*. Both boys and girls have a more frictional relationship with a stepmother than with a stepfather (32,257).

Relationships with *siblings* suffer just as seriously as do those of parents and adolescents. The young adolescent treats his younger brothers and sisters with scorn and constantly finds fault with whatever they say or do. He is jealous of his older brothers and sisters because they enjoy privileges denied him, and he resents the criticisms of these older brothers and sisters aimed at his immature behavior (98,124, 289,303).

Relatives, especially those of the older generation, no longer are in favor with the young adolescent. He finds family gatherings "boring," and he does not hesitate to show how he feels. He deeply resents any criticism on the part of his relatives concerning his behavior, and he objects to their giving him advice of any sort (31,224).

PERSONALITY CHANGES IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE

By early adolescence, both boys and girls are well aware of their good and bad traits, and they appraise these in terms of similar traits in their friends. They are also well aware of the role personality plays in social relationships. This gives them a strong motivation to "improve their personalities" in the hopes of increasing their social acceptance. To do this, the adolescent must not only have a realistic self-concept but he must also be willing to accept this concept (291). As Wylie (300) has pointed out:

By the time a child has reached adolescence he has formed a more or less precise image of what he and his culture expect of him as an adult. One of the principal problems for an adolescent then is to conduct his life so that he has the feeling he is achieving this ideal image of himself.

The adolescent who forms a reasonable ideal image of himself and then achieves it in real life can accept himself in the sense that he "likes" himself and feels that others find likable qualities in him. As a result, he makes better personal and social adjustments than does the adolescent whose ideal self-image is so unrealistic that he falls far short of it. This causes him to dislike himself and to behave in such a way that it is hard for others to like or accept him (107, 260,267). Figure 7-11, page 365, shows the generally poor self-concepts boys and girls have when adolescence begins.

The age of maturing affects the individual's self-concept because it influences the way he is treated by adults and peers and the extent of his concern about his normalcy. The effects of early and late maturing are therefore apparent throughout early adolescence. Boys who are late maturers develop patterns of behavior which stem from their striving for status. Boys who are early maturers show more mature patterns of behavior—a reflection of self-acceptance (132,193).

Factors Influencing Personality

Factors which earlier played roles of minor importance in personality development begin to play roles of major importance during the adolescent years. What effect they will have, however, will be determined to a large extent by the foundation already established. An adolescent who finds himself in the role of a social outcast will be affected differently by this experience depending on what concept of himself he established when he was younger. If he had a fairly well established inferiority complex when adolescence began, his status in the adolescent group will intensify his feel-

ings of inferiority. If, however, his concept of himself was that of an important person, his present role may modify this concept or it may leave it unaffected while he builds up rationalizations to explain to himself and others why he is not acceptable to his peers.

The changes that take place in personality patterns are due, partially at least, to the influence of social pressures. This is well illustrated in the case of traits that are considered sex-appropriate. The young adolescent boy who is admired by his contemporaries must be a leader in games, daring, fearless, and personally acceptable. The approved pattern for girls includes such personality traits as good sportsmanship, activity, ability to organize games and parties, and being glamorous and fascinating. Broad-mindedness, cooperativeness, and reliability are personality traits both boys and girls expect their contemporaries to have (128,159,264).

The factors that play the most important roles in shaping the adolescent's personality include personal appearance, clothes, names, the family, peers, and levels of aspiration.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE Being different in appearance makes the adolescent feel inferior, even if this difference adds to his physical attractiveness. What his peers consider a "good" body build is used as the standard by which the adolescent judges his appearance. Even though he may deviate from this standard only temporarily, it is likely to leave its mark on the adolescent's self-concept (12,159,244, 285). The influence of the "puberty fat period" has been found to persist through early adolescence, even after that temporary fat period had passed (265). Any physical defect the adolescent may have becomes a source of embarrassment to him. This adds

new problems to the adjustment problems every adolescent must face.

CLOTHES As we have seen, to a high school student, clothes are important, not only because they improve the individual's appearance, but also because they help the adolescent to identify himself with his peers. That clothes are important to the adolescent's concept of self has been emphasized by the effects of clothes on adolescent behavior. The adolescent who makes a poor appearance withdraws from activities with other young people and develops a negativistic attitude. He is worried about what others think of him and this makes him self-conscious. The well-dressed adolescent, by contrast, feels more at ease and less self-conscious. This in turn makes him friendlier and more sociable (60,116, 237).

NAMES Because the adolescent's name is a source of concern to him, it has a marked influence on his personality. Names that are a handicap to an adolescent include those which are associated with stereotypes that are frowned on by society; those that are displeasing when combined with certain surnames; those that have been made unpleasant by certain associations, either personal or social; and those which lend themselves to nicknames that carry unpleasant connotations. The adolescent will dislike any name that makes him shy, embarrassed, or sensitive (114,191).

When, on the other hand, adolescents have names they like because they realize that they are looked upon favorably by others, they react very differently, because they realize that if "people know nothing about them other than their name, they will expect them to be nice people" (250).

Nicknames which make adolescents feel

inferior or make them suspect that others are ridiculing them are also disliked and, as such, have an unfavorable effect on their personalities. This is especially true of family nicknames which make the adolescent feel that his family still regards him as "mama's little boy" and that his friends think he is still "tied to his mother's apron strings" (98,191).

THE FAMILY It has been found that the personality characteristics of adolescents are "significantly related to the emotional relationships and the disciplinary patterns which they experienced in living with their parents" (208). This is true in spite of the fact that adolescents spend less time with the family than they did when they were younger and in spite of the strained relationships that often exist between the adolescent and the different members of his family (208).

Parents who always welcome the children's friends to the home, who share joys and sorrows with their children, and who have enjoyable times with them are more likely to have well-adjusted sons and daughters than are parents whose relationship with their children is less favorable. Adolescents from broken homes, on the other hand, show many personality maladjustments (31,59).

Because adolescents identify themselves with the parent of their own sex, they acquire, through imitation of that parent, socially approved patterns of attitude and behavior. How marked an influence parents will have will therefore be influenced by the type of relationship the adolescent has with the parent of his own sex (194, 207,233,285).

PEERS The adolescent's peers have a marked influence on his personality, not only because the adolescent's concept of

self is a reflection of his peers' concept of him, but also because social pressures from the group influence the development of personality traits approved by the group. The more solidly a group is formed and the more secure the status of the adolescent within the group, the greater will be its influence on his personality (21,261).

Those adolescents who do not belong to any social group, or who are rejected because of minority-group status or for some other reason, are unfavorably influenced by their peers because of the adverse effect of this isolation or rejection on their self-concepts. Because the social group is influenced by *cultural* standards, it expects each member to conform to these standards to be acceptable. Thus, the adolescent's personality is influenced by cultural standards more through the peer group than through the family, as is true of the child (60,115,178).

LEVELS OF ASPIRATION Perhaps no one factor plays as important a role in influencing the adolescent's self-concept as level of aspiration. Typically, young adolescents set goals beyond their reach, partly because they are unrealistic and therefore unable to assess their capacities accurately, and partly because they are subject to parental pressures to get ahead (236,278, 291). When they fall below the goals they set for themselves, they are unhappy and dissatisfied. They feel inadequate, and this makes them strive to live up to the goals by exerting pressure to do more; this, in turn, leads to anxiety or to the assumption of a defensive stand in which others are blamed for the adolescents' failures (285).

Personality Maladjustments

Clinical studies have revealed that relatively few forms of maladjustment appear

for the first time during adolescence unless there has been some marked physical or glandular change in the individual, or unless he has experienced some sort of severe trauma. Many maladjusted adolescents have a case history of problem behavior dating back to the early years of childhood (22,26,128,171).

Adolescence, but especially the early part of the period, is inevitably a time of stress and maladjustment. This contrasts with the relative stability and tranquility of the latter part of childhood. At this time, the individual is trying to adjust himself to the new and strange role of the adult and to an environment suited more to adults than to children. Whether he will learn the adult roles and thus pass through this period successfully or fall a victim to mental disease and maladjustment in the form of regressive behavior will depend primarily upon the foundations laid in childhood and upon the degree of patience, understanding, and kindly guidance he receives from his parents (59,62,128).

Because school success, both academic and social, is so important to an adolescent, failure in either or both areas is often at the root of the maladjustments (95,260). Adolescents from the upper and upper middle classes, especially those who are gifted, are generally better adjusted than those from the lower classes, or those who are less bright (154).

Many young adolescents are considered "normal" because they play their roles according to social expectations. However, "normal" personalities are not necessarily synonymous with "healthy" personalities. To have a "healthy" personality, the adolescent must not only play his role according to social expectations but he must also derive personal satisfaction from doing so.

As Jourard has emphasized, "It is possible to be a normal personality and be absolutely miserable. . . . Such is 'an unhealthy personality'" (135).

"DANGER SIGNALS" Personality maladjustments reveal themselves through "danger signals" of greater or lesser severity during the early years of adolescence. The most common danger signals that are symptomatic of underlying trouble are irresponsibility which leads the adolescent to neglect his work or other duties in a desire to win social approval and to have a good time; aggressiveness of an exaggerated form which shows itself in a cocksureness in everything the adolescent says or does; feelings of insecurity at home or outside the home which cause the individual to conform to the group in a slavishly conventional manner; homesickness when away from the familiar surroundings of the family; feelings of martyrdom, not only at home but also when the adolescent is with his contemporaries; excessive daydreaming to compensate for lack of satisfaction from daily life; and regression to earlier levels of behavior in an attempt to win favor and recognition (128,141,278,294).

Unquestionably the most common and the easiest-to-spot danger signal consists of the use of defense mechanisms (154). As Washburn has explained, "Just as an individual evolves many responses to protect his body, so he does to protect his ego." He goes on further to explain that, "to protect his ego, he develops protective attitudes—a constellation of related ideas by means of which the individual maintains enhances, and defends himself. It provides a relatively enduring and general frame of reference that orients behavior when one perceives a threat to the self" (285). This

protective attitude may be expressed in any one of a number of common forms of defensive behavior, such as projection, rationalization, fantasy, or displacement.

Serious Effects of Maladjustment

The poorly adjusted adolescent is an unhappy individual. He finds himself playing the role of a social isolate, he misses out on the good times his contemporaries are enjoying, and he finds little compensation for these losses in his relationships with the members of his family. Although most young adolescents experience unhappiness in some degree, the poorly adjusted individuals not only experience unhappiness in more pronounced forms, but they also experience it more often.

As a result of their unhappiness, they try to develop compensations which will take the place of the normal pleasures they miss and which they see their contemporaries enjoying. This results in more severe maladjustments and eliminates what hope they might otherwise have of becoming acceptable members of a group of their contemporaries. The personality defects which, throughout childhood, seemed too trivial to parents and teachers to be of concern and were thus neglected now exert their influence on the lives of the adolescents in such a manner as to exaggerate the unhappiness which otherwise might have been mild and transitory (6,128,154,246).

HAPPINESS IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE

Instead of being one of the happiest and most constructive periods in life, adolescence is too frequently spoiled by adults who make the period more full of conflict

than necessary. They fear the adolescent will not grow up to be sufficiently obedient, cooperative, or grateful, or that he will go astray sexually. While there are times of happiness, these are often overshadowed by periods of extreme unhappiness and discontent.

The young adolescent is concerned about his appearance, especially when it does not come up to his expectations. He is greatly concerned about the awkwardness and clumsiness that develop at this age. Not understanding the normal pattern of growth, he is likely to feel that his growth is complete and that there is no further hope for improvement. The social and economic status of his family is likely to make the young adolescent unhappy. Unless his family measures up to the families of his friends in social status or income, and unless he finds himself in a position of acceptance on the part of his contemporaries, he will be unhappy, often to the point where he develops an antagonistic attitude toward his family and threatens to leave home (31,60,98,128).

The discontent the adolescent feels is often accentuated by disappointment when his mental capacity or personality does not come up to his expectations. He would like to be at the top of his class in school; he would like to have abilities that would win recognition for him; and, above all, he would like to be popular. Feelings of inadequacy and insecurity are the outstanding unpleasant memories of adolescence as reported by adults (16,121).

School failures, loss of friends, quarrels with parents and friends, breakup of friendships with members of the opposite sex, death of relatives or friends, feelings of inferiority, and lack of popularity are recalled as the outstanding sources of concern to

the adolescent. Because they are remembered over a period of time, it is unquestionably true that they were sources of great unhappiness when they occurred. While there is undoubtedly more unhappiness in early adolescence than in childhood, these periods of unhappiness are usually only transitory and are counteracted by periods of happiness. The better adjusted the young adolescent, the happier he will be [65,68].

Adolescents who are poorly adjusted, especially those who have been making poor adjustments since childhood, tend to be the most unhappy and the most persistently unhappy throughout the years of early adolescence. Their unhappiness comes more from personal than from environmental causes: they have unrealistically high levels of aspiration for themselves and, when they fall below the levels of achievement they had hoped to reach, they are dissatisfied with themselves and become self-rejectant in their attitudes. Although all adolescents tend, during the early years of adolescence, to be unrealistic, those who are poorly adjusted are not only more unrealistic than the average, but they are resistant to change their aspirations to a more realistic level.

As a result, such adolescents regard themselves as failures and, in time, develop a failure complex. When this happens, they are so unhappy that they think and talk about suicide and often attempt to end a life which they regard as no longer tolerable. Studies of attempted and actual suicides during adolescence have shown that there is a sharp rise at fourteen years and a peak at nineteen years. School failures, loss of a loved one, conflicts with parents, teachers, and friends, especially friends of the opposite sex, are the most common causes of suicide or attempts at suicide.

Boys, far more often than girls, use suicide as a way of coping with their unhappiness and feelings of failure (99,104,126,248,270,277).

That suicide is a way of meeting problems that cause acute, though often temporary unhappiness is shown by the fact that it is usually impulsive. As Jacobziner (126) has explained, in most cases:

Suicide is a sudden precipitous reaction to a stressful situation resulting from frustration, depression, overt or masked anger, or a rebellious act against a restraining figure, a loved one. It is intended to frighten and to cause the restraining persons into a change of attitude or behavior towards the victim. It is often intended as a warning to parents or loved ones, as an expression of dissatisfaction or displeasure with existing unpleasant situations, and as a plan for improved relationships. It is possible that the so-called accident-proneness may actually be subconscious attempts at suicide.

Most young adolescents are well enough adjusted that they do not go to such dramatic extremes to show their unhappiness and discontent with themselves and with life in general. If they are able to solve the problems that face them with reasonable success and to feel increasingly confident of their abilities to cope with these problems without adult help, periods of unhappiness gradually become less frequent and less intense. By the time they reach the senior year in high school and look and act more like adults than like children, happiness should gradually outweigh unhappiness. As a result, they leave behind them the sources of unhappiness and discontent which have made the early years of their adolescence stressful years.

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Late adolescence, like early adolescence, is a transitional period. The adjustments to a mature status and to mature levels of behavior, begun during early adolescence, are normally gradually completed at this time. As Sorenson has pointed out, this is an "intermission between earlier freedoms . . . and subsequent responsibilities and commitments . . . a last hesitation before . . . serious commitments concerning work and love" (259). Because the major changes in attitudes and patterns of behavior began in early adolescence, transition is at a slower rate in late adolescence than it was during the early part of adolescence. This is true of both physical and psychological changes.

Some adolescents are forced to change their roles at seventeen or eighteen years of age when they enter the work world. They are forced to learn to be adults earlier than their contemporaries who continue their education, and they are deprived of the opportunity to make this transition slowly during the latter years of adolescence.

Equally as handicapping as being deprived of the years of late adolescence to make the transition into adulthood is the prolongation of a state of dependency, reminiscent of childhood or early adolescence, which occurs when the older adolescent plays the role of a student. This blocks his transition into adulthood and, as a result, "living in the twilight of an arrested transition renders the adolescent self-conscious and ashamed" (34).

These unfavorable effects are counter-

acted, to some extent, when the older adolescent has work experience and can achieve some independence within what would otherwise be a status of complete dependence (119). Girls are handicapped more than boys in making a transition into adulthood by being forced into a dependency status, and boys from middle and upper socioeconomic groups more than those from the lower groups (29,75,233).

Length of Period

Late adolescence, which is part of the adolescent period, is recognized as beginning around seventeen years of age, the time when the average American boy or girl attains the status of a senior in high school. As was emphasized in the preceding chapter, the attainment of a recognized status both at school and in the home serves as a motivation to the adolescent to acquire more mature behavior patterns and, at the same time, gives him a more definite pattern of expected behavior as a goal to strive for. Whether or not he reaches this goal before he becomes twenty-one years of age has no influence on his attainment of adult status. He is automatically an *adult*, with all the legal rights, privileges, and responsibilities of an adult, when he reaches that age.

This contrasts markedly with primitive cultures which withhold the status of adulthood, regardless of chronological age, until the adolescent has demonstrated, at the *puberty rites*, that he has mastered the developmental tasks of youth sufficiently well to be prepared to assume successfully the status of adulthood.

Although late adolescence is a period of equal length for all adolescents in the American culture of today, this does not guarantee that they will all be equally well prepared to meet the problems and face

the challenges that adulthood brings. Those who matured early have had a longer time to lay good foundations than those who matured at the average age. The most handicapped of all are the late maturers, many of whom have barely completed the puberty changes when late adolescence begins. For them, the foundations on which to build more mature patterns of behavior are often inadequate (149).

Names Applied to Late Adolescence

To distinguish the older adolescent from the younger, several names are commonly applied to boys and girls in late adolescence. They are often referred to as "youth," or as "young men" and "young women." The emphasis on the labels "men" and "women" indicates that society recognizes a maturity of behavior not found in the same individuals during the early years of adolescence. But, because they are not legally mature, the term "young" is applied to distinguish them from adults.

Although the older adolescent is a teen-ager until he reaches twenty years of age, the label "teen-ager" is rarely applied to the older adolescent. In our modern culture, this term has come to be so closely associated with the characteristic patterns of behavior of the young adolescent that it would not only give an incorrect picture of the level of development of the older adolescent, but it would be deeply resented by the older adolescent who associates this label with behavior patterns characteristic of his younger years (111,125,259).

CHARACTERISTICS OF LATE ADOLESCENCE

There are certain attitudes and patterns of behavior which are normally found among older adolescents that make them different

from young adolescents—the "teen-agers." These characteristics are increased stability, changes in methods of meeting problems, knowledge of decreased adult concern, increased emotional calm, increased realism, and interest in symbols of maturity.

Increased Stability

The feeling of being "out of step," so characteristic of young adolescents, leads to instability. This is gradually replaced by greater stability as adolescence progresses. This change is especially apparent in the older adolescent's greater stability of interests, whether in clothes, recreation, or choice of a life career; in his friendships with members of his own sex as well as with members of the opposite sex; in his emotional behavior, especially in the decrease in moodiness; and in his attitudes, which are not easily swayed by propaganda or the opinions of others, as they were during early adolescence (62,104,233).

Because of his greater stability, the older adolescent makes better adjustments to life. How early in adolescence and how successfully he will replace his earlier instability with stability will depend largely upon his environment (78,193). Opportunities to live away from parental overprotectiveness, in camps, boarding schools, colleges, or in the armed services, will give the adolescent an opportunity to make his own decisions, free from parental pressures, and this will result in greater stability on his part.

Furthermore, others will not accept instability in the older adolescent with as much tolerance as parents will. This gives the adolescent a motivation to become more stable. The adolescent who has grown up in a large family, where more is expected of him and where there is likely to be less parental overprotectiveness, is generally a

more stable individual in adolescence than is the individual from a smaller family (37, 278).

Reasonable instability is a sign of mental and social maturity. Lack of instability usually results from overprotectiveness which causes the adolescent to lose confidence in his ability to cope with the problems life presents alone. This, in turn, causes him to become rigid and to develop an authoritarian type of personality. Continued and pronounced instability, on the other hand, suggests that the adolescent is having difficulties in breaking off childish habits and replacing them with more mature ones (78,193).

Methods of Meeting Problems

The problems of the older adolescent are, in general, much the same as those faced by the younger adolescent. How he meets these problems and how mature his attack on them is are the factors that distinguish the younger from the older adolescent. And, of the many problems the older adolescent must face, the severity of each will be influenced by the adolescent's pattern of living, whether he is still a student or at work, and whether he is living with his family or away from home (2,13,167,294). In general, his problems relate to personal attractiveness, social and family adjustment, career and life work, money, academic success, and sex relationships. Young men generally find problems relating to money and sex most serious, while for young women, the most serious problems are those in the areas of personal attractiveness, social and family relationships (2,139,222).

Many older adolescents, as is true of younger adolescents, feel that they are misunderstood by their families, teachers, friends, and employers. This intensifies their problems and results in a psychologi-

cal isolation from possible sources of help in meeting their problems. When, however, they discover that others have problems similar to theirs, their attitudes change, and they attack their problems more aggressively.

The older adolescent learns how to solve the problems he encounters with increasing success with each passing year. As a result, he is better adjusted, happier, and easier to live with than the young adolescent whose inability to cope successfully with his problems makes him moody, irritable, and obstinate. He is far less of a problem for his family and for others with whom he is associated than is the young adolescent (62,125,233,239).

Decreased Adult Concern

Because the older adolescent is less of a problem for his parents, teachers, and other adults than he was when he was younger, they are less disturbed and concerned about him. As the adolescent becomes less defiant of authority, more interested in planning and preparing for his future, and more mature in his behavior, adult concerns about him lessen. As a result, adults are less restrictive and protective. As they give the adolescent more independence, rebellion and friction wane (75).

Increased Emotional Calm

Normally the generally heightened emotionality of early adolescence should wane as the adolescent is given more independence and is less protected by adults. In its place then comes emotional calm. While not all the moodiness, temper outbursts, and irrational worries and anxieties of early adolescence will automatically end when the individual is less restricted, they

should be replaced gradually by less predisposition to become emotionally disturbed and by greater control over the overt expressions of the emotions (78,146).

Increased Realism

The unrealistically high aspirations the young adolescent has for himself, for his family, and for his friends are, in part, responsible, for some of the heightened emotionality of early adolescence. The more unrealistic his aspiration, the more angry, hurt, and disappointed he will be when he feels that others have "let him down" or that he has not lived up to the goals he set for himself.

With increased social and personal experiences and with increased ability to think rationally, the older adolescent sees himself, his family and friends, and life in general in a more realistic way. As a result, he is happier and suffers less from disillusionment or disappointment than he did when he was younger (62,146).

Interest in Symbols of Maturity

As the adolescent approaches legal maturity, he is anxious to create the impression that he is no longer a "teen-ager" but rather that he is on the threshold of adulthood. Dressing and acting like an adult alone, he finds, are not always enough. He then concentrates on using symbols of maturity which identify him with adults because they are associated in the minds of others with adult status.

Just as lipstick and high heels are symbols of maturity to a girl, so is ownership of a car a symbol of maturity to an adolescent boy (56,125). In their desire to create the impression that they are now grownup and should have the rights and privileges that

go with adulthood, adolescents copy all the "adult vices and dissipations"—smoking, drinking, staying up late.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF LATE ADOLESCENCE

The developmental tasks of adolescence (see page 15) which constitutes a basis for adult adjustments should in most cases be completed before the individual reaches legal maturity. Most adolescents make greater strides in achieving this goal during late adolescence than during early adolescence partly because they have already laid the foundations for mature behavior during early adolescence, partly because they have a more clearly defined status now than they had earlier and, as a result, know what is expected of them, and partly because they have a stronger motivation to prepare themselves for the independence which legal maturity will bring them than they had earlier when this time of independence seemed so remote (103,199).

How successfully the older adolescent will master the developmental tasks he is expected to have mastered before he achieves adult status will depend not so much on motivation as on opportunities to master them. The adolescent who prolongs his education in college or some professional training school, for example, has less opportunity to master these tasks than does the adolescent who has entered the adult world of work. Even going into the adult world as a breadwinner does not guarantee learning opportunities that are adequate if the older adolescent lives under the parental roof and is subjected to the same parental overprotectiveness that prevailed when he was a high school student (14,105,123). That is why older ado-

lescents often seem to "grow up" literally overnight when they go into an environment that encourages them to learn to act in a mature, responsible way (49,146,289).

Most older adolescents master some of the developmental tasks of that age level; other tasks are only partially mastered. Which will be carried over into adult life as "unfinished business" will depend mainly on learning opportunities and encouragement from parents and other adults.

PHYSICAL CHANGES IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

The growth spurt that started at puberty and continued at a diminishing rate during early adolescence gradually halts during late adolescence. This enables the older adolescent to integrate the functions of the different muscular patterns. As a result, the awkwardness that was characteristic of the preceding period gradually rights itself.

External Changes

How *tall* or short, how *heavy* or light the adolescent will be when his growth is completed depends upon such factors as hereditary endowment, prenatal and postnatal feeding and health, racial stock, general environmental conditions, opportunities for exercise during the growth years, and climatic conditions. Age of maturing likewise influences the ultimate size of the individual, with late maturers tending to be somewhat taller than early maturers (1,24,104,274).

The average American woman of today is 66 inches tall and weighs 135 pounds; the average American man is 69.5 inches and weighs 152 pounds. Both height and weight are at their mature levels around

eighteen years for girls and a year or so later for boys (99,170,176,274).

Individual differences in weight are far greater, both between the sexes and within the two sex groups, than are differences in height. There is no evidence to show that age of maturing has any permanent effect on weight, though early maturers are, on the average, heavier than late maturers until the growth spurt has been completed. What increases in weight there are in late adolescence are generally distributed in areas of the body where previously there was little or no fat. As a result, the scrawny look of the young adolescent gradually gives way to the rounded curves of the older adolescent (24,104,215).

The *disproportions* of the young adolescent, which were the cause of such great concern to him, gradually right themselves in late adolescence. Gradually the features which lagged behind in their growth catch up with the more rapidly developing features. As a result, they now are in correct proportion as measured by adult standards.

The too-large *nose*, for example, now begins to be in correct proportion as the lower *jaw*, the last part of the face to attain its mature size, grows larger and the *lips* become fuller. As the *chest* broadens and the *trunk* elongates, the *waistline* drops and the scrawny look of the young adolescent's body disappears. By late adolescence, the *breasts* and *hips* of a girl are fully developed so that her body now has the pleasing curves of the mature woman (87,283,305).

Late maturers tend to have slightly broader *shoulders* than those who mature early. The *legs* of early-maturing boys and girls have a tendency to be stocky; those of late-maturing individuals tend to be more slender. Much the same pattern is

found in the shape of the *arms*. The shape of the upper arm follows the growth of the muscles, which reach their mature size shortly after late adolescence begins (24, 188,283). Figure 9-1 shows the effects of age of maturing on body proportions when growth is completed.

Measurements of different *bones* indicate that the skeleton stops growing at an average age of eighteen years (118,124,213). *Tissues* other than bones continue to develop after the bones have reached their mature size. The third molars or "wisdom teeth," for example, frequently do not erupt until late in adolescence or early in the twenties. Although the *secondary sex characteristics* are normally mature in size and functioning late in adolescence, the *sex organs* may not be mature for a year or two later.

Changes in *skin texture* and *coloring* are nearly complete when late adolescence begins. *Acne* and other *skin disturbances* gradually disappear, and the skin now is free from blemishes except in cases of indiscreet eating or at the time of the menstrual period in girls. The excessive oiliness of the young adolescent's skin, resulting from the temporarily increased activity of the sebaceous, or oil-producing glands, subsides, and the skin and hair of the older adolescent are less oily than they were several years before. By late adolescence, the *hair* on the face, the body, and the head has reached mature growth (124, 213, 215).

Internal Changes

The changes in the structure and functioning of the internal organs continue through late adolescence until a mature level of development has been reached. The *heart* grows rapidly so that, at the age of

seventeen or eighteen years, it is twelve times as heavy as it was at birth. At the end of adolescence, the ratio of the size of the heart to the arteries is 290 to 61, as compared with a ratio of 25 to 20 at birth. With puberty, there is an increase in *blood pressure* for both boys and girls, with boys having a higher blood pressure than girls (87,124,188).

At the age of seventeen years, the *lung capacity* of girls has almost reached its mature level; for boys, the mature level is not reached for several years after that. Because of this, the difference in lung capacity for the two sexes becomes increasingly greater. In boys, the greater increase in the size, capacity, and power of the lungs is made possible by the broadening and elongating of the bones of the chest (104,124,188).

The rapid growth in the *digestive system* that took place during early adolescence slows down during late adolescence. With this slowing down and the slowing down of growth in height and weight comes a decrease in appetite. Added to this is a strong motivation to curtail food intake so as to keep the figure from becoming too fat. This motivation is especially strong among older adolescent girls who are more or less constantly "on a diet" (45,124,215).

Health Conditions

Good health and resistance to disease are the rule rather than the exception to the rule during late adolescence. The mortality rate drops steeply at this time, and what deaths there are are more often from accidents than from illness. Deaths in late adolescence are much more common among boys than among girls. Many of the physical handicaps of earlier years are corrected or partially corrected by late

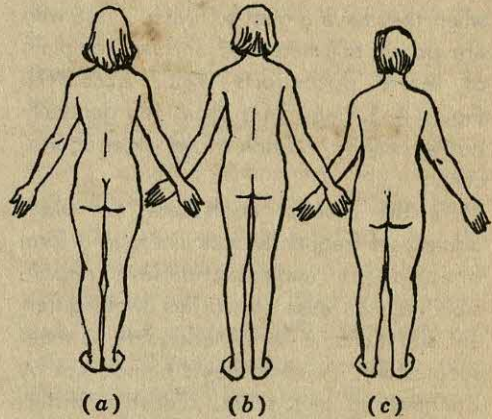


FIGURE 9-1 THREE GIRLS, AT EIGHTEEN YEARS, WHO MATURED DIFFERENTLY. A WAS ACCELERATED; B WAS RETARDED; C'S GROWTH WAS IRREGULAR. (ADAPTED FROM N. BAYLEY: *INDIVIDUAL PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT*. *Child Developm.*, 1956, 27, 45-74. USED BY PERMISSION.)

adolescence. Those which remain are not as psychologically damaging as they were earlier because of the more sympathetic and tolerant attitude of members of the peer group toward those who have some physical handicap (295).

Adolescents who have had a healthy childhood are more likely to be healthy in late adolescence than are those whose childhood was marked by a series of illnesses. Similarly, good health habits established in childhood will go a long way toward guaranteeing a healthy adolescence (261,280). Even the menstrual discomforts and pain which disturbed the young adolescent girl are far less serious for the older adolescent. Those who are well adjusted make extra efforts to overcome the temporary handicap menstruation may cause. As a result, they are able to keep their physical and intellectual achievements up to standard

when they have a goal to reach. Those who are poorly adjusted, by contrast, complain of severe discomforts (162,213,263,297). Figure 4-3, page 141, shows the generally better health condition of the older adolescent.

Like the younger adolescent, the older adolescent frequently uses illness as a form of escape from unpleasant duties or responsibilities. Because he worries about different situations he feels inadequate to meet successfully, he often makes himself sick by bringing on headaches, digestive disturbances, or sleeplessness. Real upsets are frequently exaggerated to the point that the adolescent believes he is too sick to face the situation that confronts him. *Imaginary illness* is more frequent among girls than among boys and is more often brought on by social situations in which members of the opposite sex are involved than by school or college work (261).

Motor Coordination

The awkwardness, which is so common during the early years of adolescence, is generally a thing of the past when late adolescence begins. The older adolescent has gained control of his enlarged body and has learned how to use it as successfully as he did when he was younger. Furthermore, the increase in physical strength that accompanies the growth of the muscular system motivates him to make use of his newly acquired strength. In boys, where muscular strength surpasses that of girls, pride in achievement motivates them to acquire skills of a complicated sort which they were incapable of acquiring when they were younger (91).

Strength

Marked sex differences in physical strength appear in late adolescence. This is the

result of the maturation of boys' muscles to a degree that far surpasses that of girls. Boys, as a rule, do not realize that their muscular superiority comes from natural development and are likely to feel superior to girls because of their excellence in this area. Girls, on the other hand, withdraw from situations where their muscular inferiority would be obvious, such as athletic contests or games where speed is an essential factor.

Because of the social esteem associated with physical strength, it plays an important role in the social adjustments of boys in the late years of adolescence. Since physical strength is not so important a factor of prestige among girls, girls concentrate their efforts on developing skills where strength is not important. They take delight in dancing in the most intricate manner or in diving and other sports where muscular coordination is far more important than strength. When they do compete in athletics, it is with girls whose abilities are more on a par with theirs than are the abilities of boys (28,56,91).

EMOTIONS IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

As we have seen, the heightened emotionality, so characteristic of the early years of adolescence, gradually subsides, provided environmental adjustments are made to meet the new capacities and demands of an older adolescent. However, there is likely to be a period of emotional tension toward the end of adolescence which comes from new problems that normally present themselves at that age and from rebellion against adult restrictions, especially on the part of girls. At this time, problems related to romances are very

real. So long as the romance is moving along smoothly, the adolescent is happy. But when things begin to go wrong, the adolescent sinks into states of despondency. Then, too, there are worries about his future which become very serious when he faces the end of his schooling (88,293). Nervous tension in college students, for example, is shown in nervous habits, especially of the oral and facial types (80,197).

Emotional Patterns

The older adolescent experiences much the same emotions as the child and the young adolescent, but there are differences in the frequency with which different emotions are aroused, the intensity of these emotions, the typical responses made, and the types of stimuli that give rise to them.

ANGER Of all the emotions, anger is aroused in late adolescence more often than any other emotion. *Thwarting of self-assertion*, and *interruption of habitual activities* are the two most common causes of anger at this age. Illustrations of situations that thwart self-assertion are unjust accusations, insulting or sarcastic comments, and unwelcome advice. Interruptions of such habitual activities as studying or sleeping give rise to anger. People more often cause anger among older adolescents than do things.

Failure to accomplish what one sets out to do, to come up to one's own expectations, likewise gives rise to anger. Girls respond more often and more violently to social situations than do boys, while boys are more often angered by things. The number of anger experiences the older adolescent has depends more on his environment than on his age (146,179,224).

The older adolescent has generally learned

to keep his angry responses under control to the point where he no longer kicks, hits, and throws things. He does, however, try to get his revenge in other ways, the most common of which is tongue-lashing. Name calling, sarcastic comments, swearing, and ridiculing others are his way of hitting back.

In addition, he may substitute for the violent reactions of the earlier years such activities as pacing the floor, going for a walk, throwing things within his reach, becoming sulky and refusing to speak, or using mannerisms which he knows irritate people, such as whistling under his breath or tapping on the table (22,146). The duration of an angry outburst in late adolescence is longer than in early adolescence because of the older adolescent's attempts to keep his anger under control instead of reacting with violent outbursts as he did when he was younger (146).

FEAR AND WORRY The older adolescent fears fewer things but worries more than he did when he was younger. By the time adolescence comes to a close, there should also be a waning of fears of people and social situations as the individual's social experiences increase and as he has opportunities to meet people of all types. Fears of his own ineptitudes or fears arising from imaginary situations may, on the other hand, increase as adolescence progresses (146,211).

The older adolescent does not run away from a frightening situation, no matter how great his fear may be. He stands his ground, even though he may become tongue-tied and shake so that all can see him (241). If he anticipates an unpleasant situation or one that may prove to be frightening to him, such as having to speak before a group or meet members of the opposite sex who are strangers to him, he

is likely to shun the situation, offering some plausible excuse for his absence. He becomes quite adept at this as he grows older and plans his activities in such a way that he can truthfully say, "I have another engagement," when something comes up that he is hesitant about facing.

Worries are far more common and more intense than are fears of real situations at this age. Many of the worries of the older adolescent are similar to those of the younger adolescent, especially if he is still in school or college where money, academic work, and popularity are all problems confronting him as they did when he was younger (146,226). With the trend toward earlier marriage and changed patterns of courtship, worries about being popular with members of the opposite sex, looks, marriage, money, friends, family, and being unfairly treated are especially common. Figure 9-2 shows the sharp rise in worries about economic problems in the latter part of adolescence.

Most worries stem, either directly or indirectly, from feelings of inadequacy. The number of worries the older adolescent has will be influenced by many factors, especially his socioeconomic status, family conditions, past successes or failures, and the number and severity of worries of the people with whom he is most intimately and most frequently associated (226).

Many adolescents who worry excessively develop a tendency to be *anxious*: they suffer from generalized imaginary fears instead of the specific imaginary fears characteristic of worry. These anxieties may take one of two common forms: *neurotic anxiety* which comes from a generalized feeling of personal inadequacy and *socially oriented anxiety* which comes from feelings of inadequacy in social situations (62,

146). The anxious adolescent may develop a tendency to be nervous and jittery to the point where he overreacts in situations which do not justify the intensity of his response, or he may go to the opposite extreme and underreact by appearing apathetic while gaining expressions for his fears in daydreaming (146,193,216).

JEALOUSY Interest in members of the opposite sex in general changes to an interest in one individual of the opposite sex. With this shift of interest comes a proprietary interest in that individual accompanied by a feeling of uncertainty about that individual's feelings. Under such conditions, jealousy is inevitable (226).

Both boys and girls experience jealousy in their heterosexual relationships at this age. In the case of girls, however, the jealousy is likely to be more intense than in the case of boys because it is they who must play the passive role and not take aggressive steps to hold onto what they want as boys do (146,226).

Any suspicion of a waning of interest on the part of the loved one or an unexplained lateness for a date or a last-minute canceling of a date will give rise to suspicions on the girl's part that invariably include the possibility of another girl for whom the boy has developed a romantic attachment. When jealousy is aroused, it usually expresses itself in verbal fighting. The use of sarcasm when speaking to the person who has aroused the jealousy, "sticking a knife in the back" by talking against that person when he is not there to defend himself, or using veiled suggestions about his character or moral standards are typically adolescent forms of hitting back at those against whom the individual's jealousy has been directed (146,226).

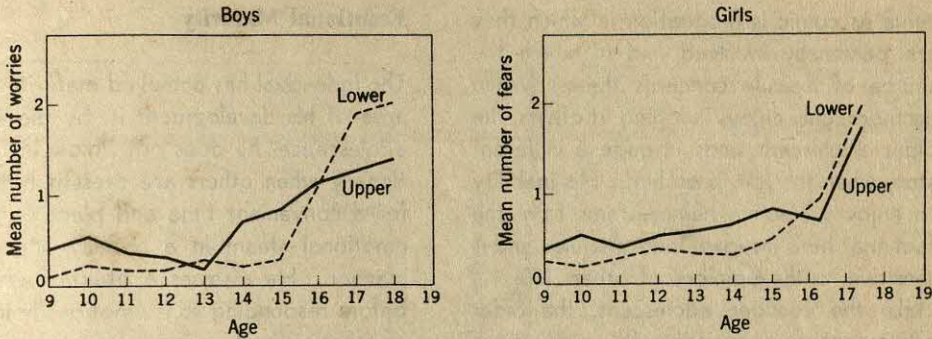


FIGURE 9-2 THERE IS A SHARP RISE IN WORRIES ABOUT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AMONG BOYS AND GIRLS OF HIGH AND LOW SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS IN LATE ADOLESCENCE. (ADAPTED FROM H. ANGELINO, J. DOLLINS AND E. V. MECH: TRENDS IN "FEARS AND WORRIES" OF SCHOOL CHILDREN AS RELATED TO SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND AGE. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1956, 89, 263-276. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ENVY The older adolescent is fully aware of the prestige value of expensive clothes, a car, and a large home. He realizes that those who are popular have material possessions which many of their friends do not have. Furthermore, those who hold leadership positions are more likely to be from the favored than from the less favored socioeconomic groups. And, finally, in heterosexual relationships, boys and girls who have plenty of this world's goods have an obvious advantage over those who are less favored (11,226).

When an adolescent is envious of the possessions of others, he rarely keeps this fact to himself. Instead, he complains about his own bad fortune, he labels those who have what he would like to have as "lucky," and he makes others uncomfortable by his self-pity. Other adolescents take jobs to earn the necessary money to get these things, or they find an easy approach to the problem through stealing. Back of much juvenile delinquency is envy of others more fortunate than the delinquent (139, 168).

JOY In its milder forms, joy is known as happiness; in its stronger forms, it is known as euphoria. While euphoria or joy of so intense a type that the individual is literally walking on the clouds is relatively infrequent in the lives of most older adolescents, in its milder form of happiness, it is far more common and is more often experienced in late than in early adolescence.

There are, in general, four types of situations that give rise to joy in its different forms during late adolescence. The first consists of *good adjustments* to the situation in which the individual finds himself. When the adolescent "fits," he is happy. When, on the other hand, he feels that he is a misfit, he is unhappy and discontented (146).

The ability to *perceive the comic* element in a situation is the second cause of happiness in adolescence. What an adolescent perceives as comic, however, varies according to his intellectual level, how he feels at the moment, what his previous experiences have been, and many other factors. The one thing that older adolescents rarely per-

ceive as comic is a situation in which they are personally involved and in which the source of ridicule concerns them. While he thoroughly enjoys laughing at others, the older adolescent finds it quite a different story when the joke is on him. His inability to enjoy subjective humor stems from the fact that he is insecure in his feelings and is sensitive to the opinions of others (60).

Like the younger adolescent, the older adolescent may experience joy in situations in which he feels *superior* and in situations which offer an *outlet* for *pent-up emotional energy*, especially that of an unpleasant nature such as anger, fear, or jealousy. There is far less of the uncontrolled giggling and crying among older adolescents than among younger. As good social adjustments are gradually being made, the older adolescent derives less intense satisfaction from feeling superior to his contemporaries than he did when he was younger (60,146, 226).

AFFECTION There is a marked trend toward concentration of affection on one individual of the opposite sex, together with an idealization of that individual, which adds to the intensity of the emotional reaction (113).

Not all older adolescents, however, concentrate their affection on one individual or on members of the opposite sex. Many have deep affection for a small circle of friends of the same sex, some concentrate their affection on a member of the same sex as a form of hero worship, while still others have a deeper affection for a parent than for anyone else. If, however, the adolescent is well adjusted, he generally falls in love with a member of the opposite sex before the adolescent years come to a close (146,158).

Emotional Maturity

The individual has achieved maturity in this area of his development if, by the end of adolescence, he does not "blow up" emotionally when others are present but waits for a convenient time and place to let off emotional steam in a socially acceptable manner. He assesses a situation critically before responding to it emotionally instead of reacting to it on its surface value, as the child or immature person does. This, in turn, results in his ignoring many stimuli which, when he was younger, he would have reacted to emotionally. And, finally, the emotionally mature person is stable in his emotional responses and does not swing from one emotional reaction or mood to another, as he did when he was younger (55,146,151).

To achieve emotional maturity, the adolescent must learn to get a perspective on situations which otherwise would lead to emotional reactions. This can best be done by discussing his problems with others—*self-disclosure*. While young adolescents are usually unwilling to discuss their problems with parents or teachers, for fear of losing some of the independence they have fought so hard to get, older adolescents have achieved enough independence that they are not so strongly influenced by fear of losing it (76,152,264). However, boys are less willing to disclose their feelings to their parents than girls are. This is especially true of the father-son relationship. In the case of both boys and girls, willingness to disclose their feelings, attitudes, or personal problems is influenced by how much they like the "target person" and how much the target person is willing to disclose to them (151). Figure 9-3 shows how willingness to engage in self-

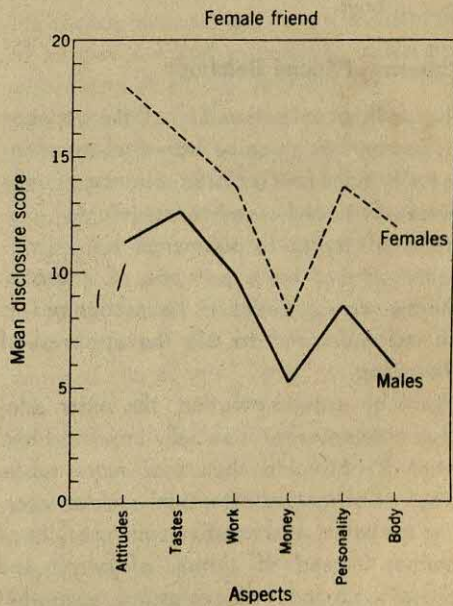
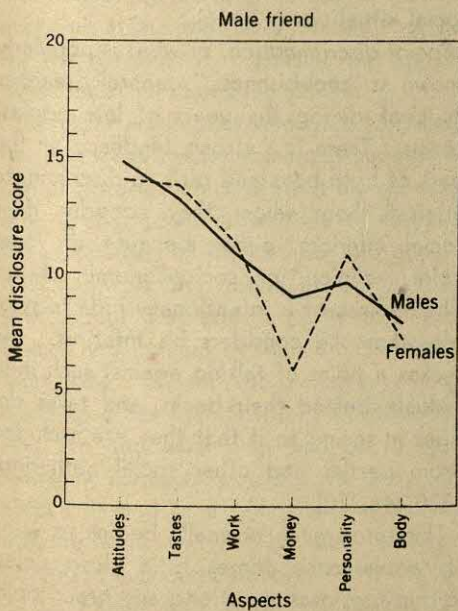
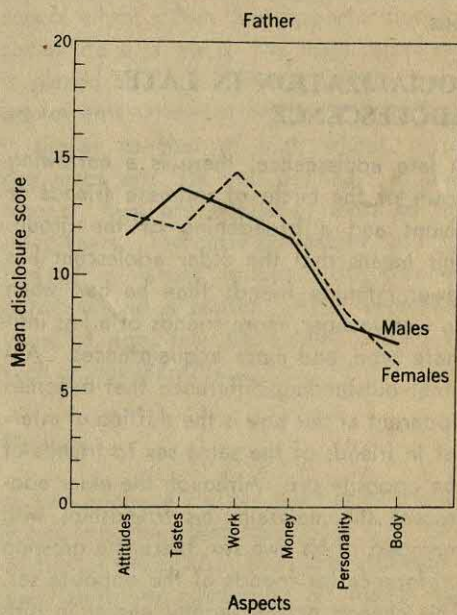
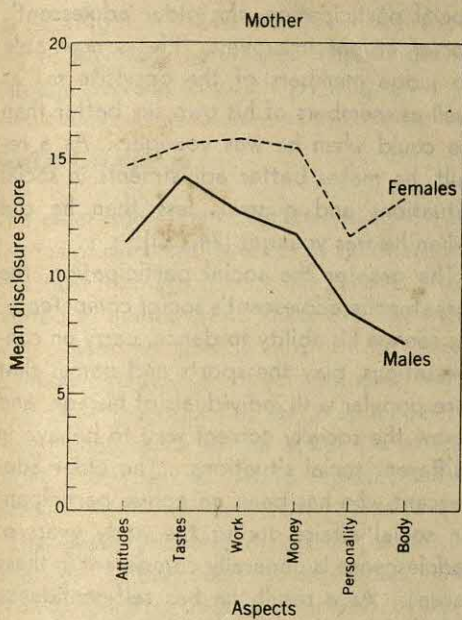


FIGURE 9-3 WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN SELF-DISCLOSURE VARIES FOR DIFFERENT TARGET PERSONS. (ADAPTED FROM S. M. JOURARD AND P. LASAKOW: SOME FACTORS IN SELF-DISCLOSURE. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1958, 56, 91-98. USED BY PERMISSION.)

disclosure varies for different target persons.

SOCIALIZATION IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

In late adolescence, there is a narrowing down of the circle of intimate friends or chums and a broadening of the group. This means that the older adolescent has fewer intimate friends than he had when he was younger, more friends of a less intimate type, and more acquaintances. Another outstanding difference that becomes apparent at this age is the shifting of interest in friends of the same sex to friends of the opposite sex. Although the older adolescent still maintains his friendships with members of his own sex, there is a growing preference for friends of the opposite sex. This change occurs slightly earlier in girls than in boys.

Patterns of Social Behavior

The slavish conventionality of the younger adolescent, which came from feelings of insecurity in the new social situations gradually gives way to *self-assertiveness* (40,146). Instead of trying to submerge his individuality so that he is just one of a group, there is now a desire to be recognized as an individual and to win the approval of the group.

Through experimentation, the older adolescent learns what is socially approved and what is not. He then uses more subtle ways of attracting attention, such as wearing the latest and most becoming styles of clothes instead of clothes of bright and conspicuous colors, expressing somewhat radical points of view in place of the crude boasting of personal possessions and achievements, drinking, or telling amusing stories in place of off-color jokes (183).

As a result of broader opportunities for social participation, the older adolescent's *social insight* improves. He is now able to judge members of the opposite sex as well as members of his own sex better than he could when he was younger. As a result, he makes better adjustments in social situations and quarrels less than he did when he was younger (74,133).

The greater the social participation, the greater the adolescent's *social competency*, as seen in his ability to dance, carry on conversations, play the sports and games that are popular with individuals of his age, and know the socially correct way to behave in different social situations. The older adolescent who has been an active participant in social affairs during the early years of adolescence is generally competent in these areas. As a result, he has self-confidence which is expressed in poise and ease in social situations (42,116).

Social discrimination, or what is popularly known as "snobbishness," generally reaches its peak during the years of late adolescence. There is a strong tendency on the part of both boys and girls to discriminate against those whom they consider their social inferiors, either because of race, color, religion, or socioeconomic status. The adolescent is intentionally rude to people whom he considers his inferiors. He makes a point of talking against such individuals, behind their backs, and takes delight in seeing to it that they are excluded from parties and other social gatherings (220,246,270).

This intolerance normally begins to wane as adolescence comes to a close, unless group pressures are strong and group opinion unfavorable. The older adolescent, especially if he has been away from home in school, college, the armed services, or at work, modifies his attitude toward people

against whom he was formerly prejudiced as his insight increases and his understanding of why they behave as they do grows through personal contacts (92,220).

Social Groupings

The older adolescent, like the younger, has friends of different levels of social distance. His most intimate friends, his "chums," are limited in number, and these are the ones with whom he spends most of his time. *Cliques*, made up of chums and their friends of the opposite sex, play a role of major importance in the social life of the older adolescent as dating replaces social activities with members of the same sex.

The clique becomes a unit of the larger and less closely knit social group, the *crowd*, which is usually composed of several cliques of similar interests and socioeconomic status that have banded together for the purpose of organizing parties and other social functions (56,82,146).

The older adolescent who goes to college has opportunities for joining groups of his contemporaries which are not always available to the individual who leaves school at the completion of high school and goes to work. In work, the individual's contacts are with people of all ages, most of whom have friends and families of their own outside of their jobs. Unless the noncollege older adolescent has friends from his school days who live and work near enough to make frequent contacts possible, he may find himself limited to a few friends connected with his work and out of touch with any group large enough to form a crowd (160, 217). Figure 8-6, page 412, shows how crowds often disintegrate in late adolescence and are replaced by loosely associated groups of couples.

Much the same is true of the older adoles-

cent who goes to a professional training school which offers few opportunities for social life and where the major emphasis is placed on work. Except for the older adolescents whose environment in college is similar to that of high school, social groupings are less well defined. In that respect, they are similar to those of the adult years. The older adolescent has little interest in "youth groups" with planned activities and a leader. After seventeen years of age, few adolescents belong to such groups (82,229).

Friends

In late adolescence, the number of friends is less important than having the right kind of friends (165,237). The older adolescent thus limits the number of his friends but increases the circle of his acquaintances. He spends less and less time with members of his own sex and increasingly more time with members of the opposite sex.

As a result of this new trend, the social distance between members of the same sex broadens while that between members of the two sexes narrows. By the end of adolescence, both boys and girls are spending more time with, and showing a greater interest in, friends of the opposite sex than friends of their own sex (192,226,246). Because of the strong interest in members of the opposite sex, the older adolescent selects *friends of his own sex* who are not only congenial to him but who will be acceptable to the members of the crowd with which he is identified. These friends must conform to his ideal and must have interests and values similar to his (243,284).

The older adolescent generally has friends who live in different parts of the community than he or even in different communities. His most intimate friends, however, are

those who live close enough to him so that he can see them often and can do things with them without too much effort.

The general *prejudice* the younger adolescent has toward individuals of certain races, creeds, or colors is usually replaced, in late adolescence, with specific prejudices against certain individuals within these groups (303). An adolescent might have a friendly relationship with another adolescent of a different religious, racial, or social status and yet not include him in the circle of his intimate friends or try to bring him into the crowd to which he belongs. Church groups have a tendency to prefer their own members as friends. The socio-economic status of their friends' families is more important to girls than it is to boys (194).

By late adolescence, both boys and girls have definite standards of what they expect *friends of the opposite sex* to be. While it is true that they revise these standards as time goes on and as they learn from experience that certain qualities they believed very important at first, such as good looks, are less important than qualities they attached only minor importance to, such as ambition and ability, there is at all times a standard approved by the group which the adolescent accepts and uses in the selection of his friends (56,194,226,237).

Standards for friends of the opposite sex change from the high school to the college age. While, at both ages, boys have a great admiration for girls who have a sense of humor, they admire quietness when they are younger but dislike it greatly when they are older. Much the same is true for daring. The older the adolescent, the more he admires a daring girl. The young adolescent girl admires a boy who is quiet and inactive. Later on, she shows a dislike for such traits. At all ages, she likes boys to

be masculine, tidy, and to have a sense of humor (56,146,226).

Studies of *friendship fluctuations* in late adolescence have revealed that, after becoming more stable during the early adolescent period than they were in childhood, they become less stable at the age of eighteen years. This is not because of radically changed values in the choice of friends but because of changes in the patterns of life that occur during late adolescence.

After graduation from high school, many boys and girls go away to college, to professional training school, into the armed services, into jobs or marriage which may take them far away from the environments in which they grew up. With changed interests which come from changes in locale, it is understandable that many of the friendships of early adolescence would be broken, temporarily or permanently, and replaced by new friendships (139,255). The downward trend in stability of friendships in late adolescence is shown in Figure 6-9, page 287. Figure 8-18, page 442, on the other hand, shows how friendships with members of the opposite sex become less frictional after boys and girls reach the age of sixteen years.

Leaders

The older adolescent, like the younger, looks upon his leader as the individual who represents him in the eyes of society. Because of this, he wants his leader to be such that others will admire and respect him. Furthermore, the leader must have ability above that of the rest of the group so that the members of the group can look up to and respect him (68,260).

Because there are so many different kinds of groups in late adolescence—athletic, social, intellectual, religious, and class or

community groups—the leader of one group will not necessarily have the ability to be a leader of another group. Leadership is now a function of the situation, as it is in adult life (77,110,205).

While *physique* in and of itself is not responsible for leadership, it gives prestige to the individual and, at the same time, contributes favorably to his concept of himself. On the average, the leader has superior *health*. Because of this, he has more energy and is more eager to do things, both of which contribute to the quality of initiative.

Now, more than ever before, a leader must be well dressed and well groomed. Even though he is physically attractive, this is not enough. A good appearance depends as much on *clothes* and on *grooming* as on good physical characteristics. When a group is made up of members of both sexes, a pleasing appearance, aided by stylish, becoming clothes, is an essential characteristic of a leader. Superiority of leaders over nonleaders is also apparent in *intelligence*, *academic achievements*, and in *level of maturity* (186,256).

The *prestige* that comes from *family background* and superior *socioeconomic status*, or from membership in a select group such as a college fraternity or sorority, contributes to the individual's chances of being selected as a leader. Because of their more favored socioeconomic status, such individuals have had opportunities to acquire *social skills* and *know-how*. This increases their self-confidence, which, in turn, encourages them to be more active *participants* in social life. Furthermore, from their social contacts, they develop the ability to size up social situations quickly and accurately with the result that their *social insight* is generally superior to that of nonleaders (101,144,186,256).

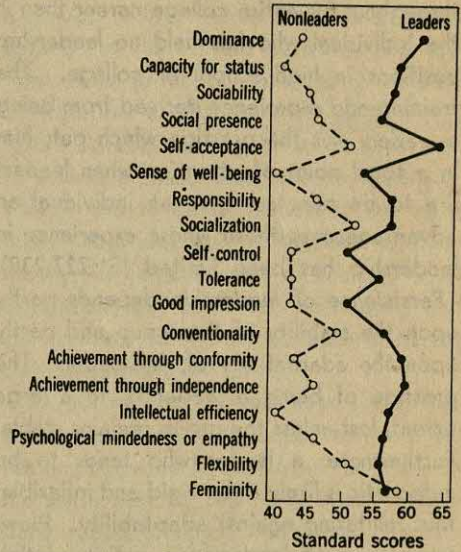


FIGURE 9-4 PERSONALITY PATTERNS OF LEADERS ARE GENERALLY SUPERIOR TO THOSE OF NONLEADERS. (ADAPTED FROM R. T. JOHNSON AND A. N. FRANDSEN: THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY PROFILE OF STUDENT LEADERS. *Personnel Guid. J.*, 1962, 41, 343-345. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Perhaps the most important single factor that contributes to leadership is *personality*. Leaders have been found to be more responsible, extroverted, energetic, resourceful, and more able to take initiative than nonleaders. They are emotionally stable, well-adjusted, happy individuals with few neurotic tendencies. In the case of girls, leaders have a tendency to be slightly more masculine than feminine in their interests (54,148,205). Figure 9-4 shows the generally superior personality patterns of leaders during late adolescence.

Although leaders come and go in childhood, this is not true of adolescence. The individual who is a leader in his freshman year in college is more likely to be a leader

throughout his entire college career than is the individual who has held no leadership positions in high school or college. The training and experience derived from being a leader, plus the prestige which puts him in a focal point of attention when leaders are to be selected, give an individual an advantage over those whose experience in leadership has been limited (51,227,238).

Persistence of leadership depends partly upon the stability of the group and partly upon the adaptability of the leader. The prestige of being a leader is, to a large extent, lost unless the group remains stable. Furthermore, a leader who tends to be autocratic is likely to be rigid and inflexible, thus militating against adaptability. However, as most leaders are active participants in a wide variety of social activities, they develop social insight which shows them the importance of adjusting to the wishes of the group if they wish to maintain a leadership status (155,205,227).

Social Acceptability

The older adolescent, like the younger, is happy and well adjusted only if he achieves a reasonable degree of social acceptance. Being unpopular with either sex or with both cuts him off from the social life of his contemporaries and leaves him with no opportunities for the type of recreation that his contemporaries engage in.

The older adolescent, even more so than the younger, is well aware of how others feel about him. But, unlike the younger adolescent, he is more realistic in his attitude toward possible future improvement in his social acceptability. If he has not been able, for one reason or another, to increase his social acceptance during his high school years, he has little hope of being able to do so later (7,96,243). As a result, either he accepts the situation as it

is, even though begrudgingly, or he withdraws from situations where his lack of social acceptance is a constant source of emotional disturbance to him. For this reason, many able high school students leave school when they reach the end of the compulsory age and do not go on to college. Many college students who do not make a fraternity or sorority, or who fail to win acceptance among their classmates, withdraw and go to work, or they devote themselves to their studies in the hopes of increasing their social acceptance through their academic prestige (107,202,269).

Because the older adolescent who goes to college, to a professional training school, or to work after he completes high school is more likely to be associated with a group of people who are strangers to him than at any time since he started school, *first impressions* play an important role in determining his later acceptance. If he creates the impression of being a cold, aloof, or unattractive person, this is likely to lead to poor acceptance, which will militate against the group's opportunity to know him better and to discover if this first impression is correct (236).

First impressions are influenced by the individual's appearance, his behavior, the people he is with, his socioeconomic status as determined by his clothes and manners, the resemblance to people already known to the observer, and many other factors. Once an impression has been formed, it affects the individual's behavior toward that person. If favorable, it will contribute to his acceptance; if unfavorable, it may result in his rejection or in his being ignored (236).

How well accepted the older adolescent will be is determined not only by the impression he makes on others, but also upon

the size and nature of the group. When the group is small, the criteria used by the members of the group in judging the acceptability of a potential member are more personal than when the group is larger. If the goals of the group are mainly social, more emphasis will be placed on the socioeconomic status and social know-how of the individual than when the goals are less social and the individual's interests and contributions to the group are primary factors in determining his acceptance (186, 303).

Studies of socially accepted older adolescents have revealed that they do not fall into a "type," nor are they free from socially or even ethically disapproved traits. But the socially undesirable traits they may and often do have are compensated for by desirable ones. However, some traits are more likely to be found in socially accepted individuals, such as sincerity, objective interest in others, consideration for others, self-respect and self-confidence, active participation in approved group activities, and generally well-adjusted personality patterns (95,272).

The poorly accepted, by contrast, may have the same traits but in a less well developed form. They are likely to be poorly adjusted, showing ego-centered attitudes and behavior, attention-demanding behavior, vulgar and disparaging attitudes toward the opposite sex, excessive drinking or sex behavior, and adroitness in escaping responsibility for antisocial acts. They also lack self-confidence, self-respect, and ability to perceive their own status and that of others (217,273,275).

Social Maturity

The socially mature individual has "a sense of his proper place and role as a member of

a group." He is willing and able to orient himself "in the various activities and customs of the group, to make a proportionate contribution to the work to be done, to take a suitable part in the social exchange, to assume a reasonable amount of responsibility, and to adjust himself to the inevitable limitations and restrictions of community life without waste of energy or loss of satisfaction." He can be original and yet conform to the broad pattern of the cultural environment (226).

The adolescent who achieves social maturity and is ready to adjust to adult life has emancipated himself from the home in the sense that he can make his own decisions, support himself and family, and be happy when away from the familiar scenes of childhood. Many college students fail to attain "emotional emancipation" from their parents. It is not usually until they finish their education and become financially independent that they are able to achieve "emotional emancipation" (50,88).

The socially mature individual treats the members of his family as friends. In this role, he shows affection, loyalty, consideration, and respect for all family members. As a citizen, the socially mature person accepts his obligations and performs them faithfully. He makes good adjustments to all types of people without prejudice based on their religion, race, or skin color. He accepts his friends as they are and does not criticize or try to change them as a socially immature person does; he is loyal to them and feels a sense of responsibility toward them when they need his help. Although social life may add greatly to his happiness, the mature person is self-sufficient enough that he can be happy when circumstances make it impossible for him to be with his family, friends, or acquaintances (88,226). Figure 9-5 shows the

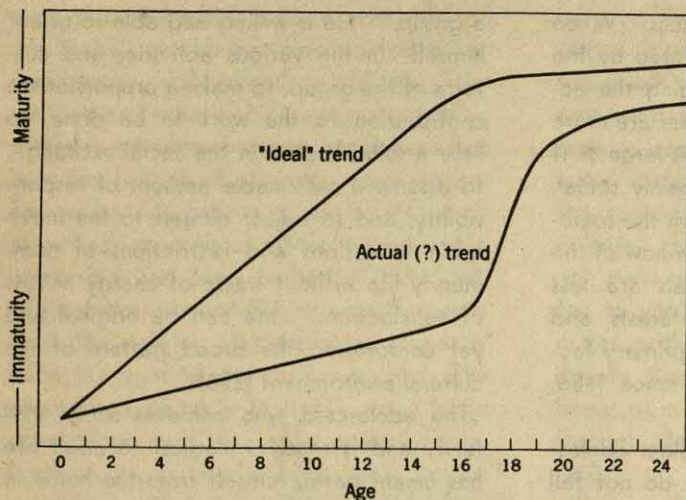


FIGURE 9-5 SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM SHOWING HOW SELF-RELIANCE AND EMANCIPATION FROM PARENTAL CONTROL MIGHT BEST DEVELOP AND HOW DEVELOPMENT PROBABLY TAKES PLACE IN THE AMERICAN CULTURE UNDER CONDITIONS OF PARENTAL RESISTANCE TO INDEPENDENCE. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. PRESSEY AND R. G. KUHLIN: *Psychological development through the life span*. NEW YORK: HARPER & ROW, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

"ideal" trend and the "actual" trend in achieving independence.

SOME IMPORTANT INTERESTS IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

Environment and sex are the two major factors that determine what the older adolescent's interests will be. Boys and girls from small towns, suburban, or rural districts have interests which are in keeping with their environment; those from large cities develop interests as a result of the different opportunities the city environment offers.

Late adolescence is the age when the full impact of socially approved patterns of behavior for the two sexes are felt. Because girls are supposed to behave in keep-

ing with their sex and boys with theirs, it is not surprising that, at this age, girls have interests that are very different from those of boys.

As adolescence progresses, many of the interests that were carried over from the childhood years wane and are replaced by interests of a mature sort. Because of the greater responsibilities of the older adolescent and the consequent decrease in time to spend as he may wish, the older adolescent is forced to limit the range of his interests. This is especially true in the area of recreational interests.

Furthermore, with experience he acquires a more mature sense of values. This is reflected in a shift of emphasis on different interests. Interests that were of major importance to him in early adolescence, such

as interest in clothes and appearance, are of less importance as he grows older, while interest in a life career, which in early adolescence was secondary to interests related to his life at the moment, now becomes one of the dominant interests of his life. Experience also helps the older adolescent to evaluate his interests more critically and to know which are important to him. As a result of this critical evaluation, he stabilizes his interests (79).

The range of interests of older adolescents may be subdivided, arbitrarily, into the major categories used in the description of interests among younger adolescents, as presented in the preceding chapter. The most important interests of the older adolescent are social interests, recreational interests, personal interests, and religious interests.

Social Interests

Parties of all types, especially those that include members of the opposite sex, rank first among the social interests at this age. The boys who, during early adolescence, showed little interest in parties and dances and who had to be persuaded by the girls to attend now show as keen an interest in parties as girls do. But, if the party is to be to the liking of the boy, it must be informal (55,56,119). Furthermore, if the party is to appeal to the older adolescent boy, it must offer an opportunity for *drinking*. This is true of college as well as of noncollege adolescents (6,162,268,298).

Talking to anyone and everyone is a favorite activity of an older adolescent. Now he talks to anyone who will listen and frequently he does not care whether they are paying attention to him or not. Talking is a form of thinking out loud for him. He derives keen satisfaction from verbalizing

his thoughts, thus clarifying them. It serves as practice in acquiring ease and confidence in a social skill which is essential to good social adjustments (62,146). For many older adolescents, talking is a form of catharsis, a method of blowing off emotional steam and getting rid of gripes. For all adolescents, talking to others of their own age helps them to get new points of view. This results in a more liberal attitude toward many subjects and problems on which they formerly held rigid attitudes. This is especially true when talking takes the form of arguments (248).

Studies of what older adolescents talk about when they get together with members of their own sex have revealed that the favorite topics of conversation for boys are dates, sports, clothes, and drinking; for girls, they are dates, clothes, food, and dancing. Nothing of great seriousness is discussed when older adolescents meet with their contemporaries. Rather, their conversations are a form of indoor sport. Sex and smutty stories likewise are popular topics when adolescents are with intimate friends (60,102,112).

The older adolescent, especially when the major part of his time is spent in college or in some other educational institution, becomes keenly interested in *government* and *national and world affairs*. He reads and talks about these matters far more than he did when he was younger, and he forms definite opinions which are often radical and unrealistic. Because of his relative ignorance in this area, the individual is often swayed by persuasive speakers and writers who are likely to hold radical points of view. This results in a more liberal attitude than that he acquired from his parents and his early home and school environments (139,146).

Recreational Interests

As adolescence progresses, the range of interests in different forms of recreation diminishes. More time is spent on the few forms of recreation the adolescent derives enjoyment from. With the pressures from studies, work, home responsibilities, and occasional community obligations, the amount of leisure time the older adolescent has to spend as he pleases is limited. As a result, he selects those forms of recreation that give him greatest pleasure, either because he excels in them or because they offer opportunities for social contacts, especially with members of the opposite sex. The narrowing down of recreational interests comes gradually, as adolescence progresses, and is usually more pronounced in girls than in boys (11,79,226). See Figure 9-6.

There is a gradual decline of interest in strenuous physical exercise and in *organized games*. Unless the adolescent has enough ability to excel and to play on a team, he prefers to be a spectator rather than an active participant. This is particularly true of girls. Only when games permit playing with members of the opposite sex, such as tennis, bowling, or skating, does the average older adolescent engage in them voluntarily. Girls are not interested in the competitive angle of sports though they may enjoy sports as a form of recreation or as an aid to their appearance (28,56,128).

Games of intellect, especially when they offer a chance for gambling, assume a position of importance in the recreational life of the older adolescent. Boys as well as girls like to play cards. To boys, the interest is heightened if a small stake is involved. Playing cards is a popular amusement for parties in which members of one or both sexes are involved (56,139,233).

Loafing around with their friends is one of the popular forms of recreation among older adolescents just as it is among teen-agers. It differs from the loafing of earlier years in several important ways. First, smoking is a very common accompaniment of loafing among older adolescent boys and girls: among teen-agers, it is far less common, especially among girls.

The second difference is the increase in drinking with loafing among boys; few older adolescent boys, whether in college or working, loaf without having something to drink. And, finally, loafing among older adolescents is far less on street corners or in the out-of-doors; it is usually indoors in some favorite hangout or in the room of one of the social group (20).

Exploring is likewise as popular a form of recreation for older adolescents as for younger. The major difference is that the older adolescent prefers to explore further from home or college than the younger adolescent is able to do. College week-ends, vacations in Florida or Bermuda, summer vacations in Europe, and weekend trips in cars or on motorcycles are the older adolescent's way of exploring the wider world than the world he knew when he was younger.

When time permits, the older adolescent has a *hobby*. This is likely to be useful rather than merely a means of filling in idle time, as is true of younger children's hobbies. Many girls make clothes as a hobby, and boys collect information on sports events or some other subject that is absorbing to them at the time. The hobby may take the form of drawing which is generally of the caricature type at this age or of playing the piano or singing, just for the adolescents' own amusement or for the entertainment of their friends. Collecting and repeatedly playing records of the

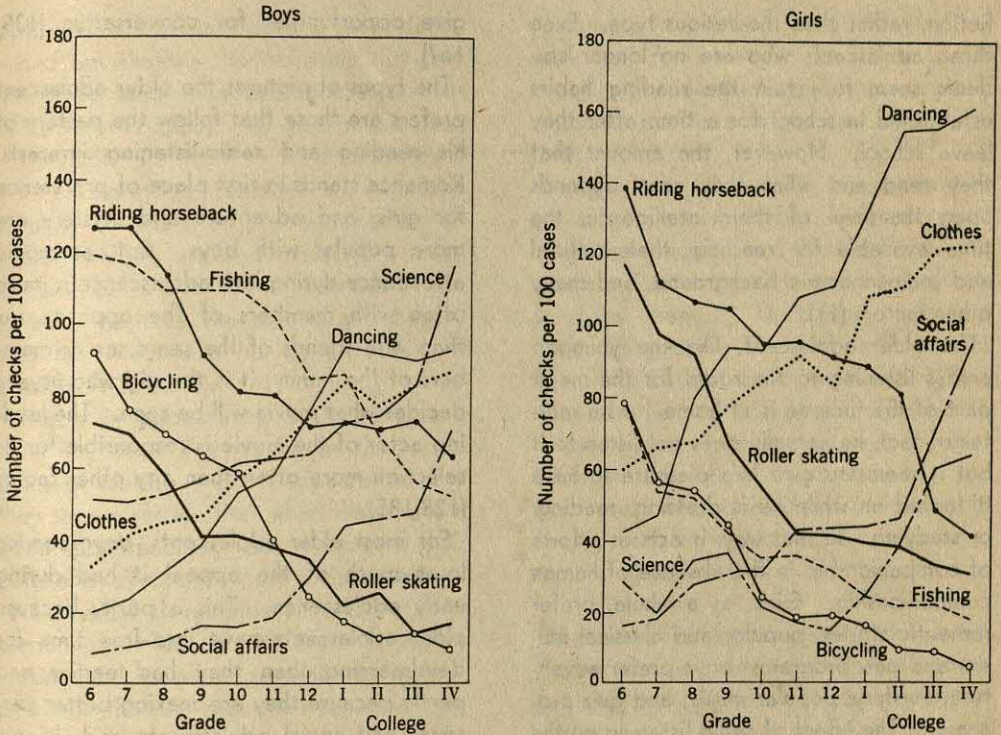


FIGURE 9-6 CHANGES IN RECREATIONAL INTERESTS AS ADOLESCENCE PROGRESSES. NOTE THE GREATER NARROWING DOWN OF BOYS' THAN OF GIRLS' INTERESTS. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. PRESSEY AND R. G. KUHLEN: *Psychological development through the life span*. NEW YORK: HARPER & ROW, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

popular music of the day is one of the favorite hobbies of the older adolescent, just as it is of the high school student (II).

Dancing is a form of recreation that few older adolescents can afford to shun if they want to be invited to join in the activities of their contemporaries. Although many older boys and girls, especially the former, have no real interest in dancing, an increasingly large number learn to dance and attend dances as the adolescent years progress. Although the young adolescent is more interested in the activity of dancing than he is in his partner, the reverse is true in the latter part of adolescence. Dancing

is one of the most popular activities for dates (56,62,233).

When his leisure time is limited, the adolescent would rather spend it with his contemporaries than spend it alone reading. When he does read, it is more likely to be fiction than nonfiction, and short stories rather than books. Romance, adventure, strong characterization, fantasy, and social awareness are prominent in books and stories popular with the older adolescent.

When reading newspapers, adolescents now read the serious parts as well as the comics and sport sections. The magazines they prefer are the popular ones of light

fiction, rather than the serious type. Even those adolescents who are no longer students seem to retain the reading habits established in school for a time after they leave school. However, the amount that they read and what they read depends upon the level of their intelligence, the time available for reading, their cultural and socioeconomic background, and many other factors (11).

The older adolescent, like the younger, enjoys listening to the *radio* for the major part of the time he is at home. As a matter of fact, he actually does not listen to it but it seems to give him pleasure to have it turned on while he is dressing, reading, or studying. In that way, it acts as a form of companionship in the absence of human companionship. Girls, as a whole, prefer romantic stories, popular and classical music, and quiz programs; boys prefer adventure, mystery, popular music, and quiz programs. The effect of radio listening on the older adolescent is more intellectual than emotional. His point of view and his attitudes toward important problems are markedly influenced by what he hears over the air (128,146,167).

Television has less appeal for the older adolescent than has radio, partly because it is impossible to study or work while watching television and partly because the programs available at the time the older adolescent is free to watch have less appeal to him than to a younger or to an adult audience (5,135).

As a general rule, the older adolescent attends *movies* less than the younger adolescent. This does not necessarily mean a waning of interest in movies but rather a greater interest in other forms of recreation. As interest in members of the opposite sex grows, there is a stronger desire to engage in recreational activities which

give opportunities for conversation (139, 167).

The types of pictures the older adolescent prefers are those that follow the pattern of his reading and radio-listening interests. Romance stands in first place of preference for girls, and adventure and mystery are more popular with boys. But, as movie attendance during late adolescence is more often with members of the opposite sex than with friends of the same sex or members of the family, it is the girl who usually decides what movie will be seen. The leading actor of the movie is responsible for its selection more often than any other factor (128,185).

For most older adolescents, *daydreaming* loses much of the appeal it had during early adolescence. This is partly because older adolescents have less free time for daydreaming than they had earlier and partly because they are making better personal and social adjustments and, hence, do not need to use daydreaming as a form of compensation. When they do daydream, the theme is more likely to be centered around themselves as conquering heroes than as martyrs, and the background of the daydream is more realistic than it was when they were younger (56,139,167, 248).

Personal Interests

The older adolescent has three major personal interests: *appearance*, *independence*, and his *life career*. These are so dominant that they absorb much of his time and thought.

The older adolescent's interest in *appearance* is heightened by the realization that appearance plays a role of great importance in social adjustments. Popularity with members of his own sex as well as

with members of the opposite sex is determined by whether the individual fits into the group ideal in appearance as well as in behavior (70,282). To girls, this is even more important than to boys because of the nonaggressive role they are expected to play. To make a good appearance, an adolescent girl is willing to sacrifice many of the luxuries and even necessities of life in order to have the clothes and beauty aids that will make her as attractive as possible (4,224,240).

Interest in appearance is strong among older boys too. They recognize the importance of making a good appearance, and they soon discover that when they make a good appearance, it helps to increase their poise and self-confidence in social situations.

As physical development nears its completion, the older boy is more attractive looking and makes a generally better appearance than he did when he was in the transitional stage from the childish to the mature body and face (100,146,210,236, 282).

Because of their great value as aids in improving the individual's appearance, and because of their help in camouflaging physical traits that fall below accepted standards, the adolescent is more interested in clothes than in any other aspect of his appearance. The older adolescent shows better taste in clothes than does the younger. Colors are selected not only because they are in style or because the wearer likes them but mainly because of their becomingness. Adolescents learn that distinctiveness can be achieved better by line and color than by ornamentation. Appropriateness to the occasion is now an important factor in the selection of clothes, as is becomingness to the wearer (240,290). Girls, who are not as self-conscious in late adolescence as they were when they were

younger, put emphasis on clothes that reveal their feminine curves, just as older boys like to show their broad shoulders and masculine physique to the best advantage (240).

Being in style, however, is so important to an adolescent that becomingness must often be sacrificed. Furthermore, this means a constant replacement of garments as styles change. The older adolescent finds that clothes become an important item in his budget, often necessitating sacrifice of other wants or needs (15,240,267).

How important being in style is to older adolescents has been emphasized by Ryan from results of studies of fashion leadership among both men and women in college. According to her (240):

The overwhelming majority didn't originate fads, but they follow them. Those who did not follow were in general insensitive and unskillful in other types of social situations. The originators of fads were members of prestige-bearing cliques and were generally leaders in other types of activities. They also tended to be popular with men. . . . (Among men students) the only difference . . . between clothing leaders and nonleaders was that clothing leaders were more apt to be leaders in other ways.

The desire for independence reaches its peak of intensity in late adolescence. If adult authority is relaxed gradually so that the adolescent can see himself reaching his goal, there is far less friction between the adolescent and his parents or others in authority than when he sees no improvement in his status (224).

Adolescents who are in the throes of establishing themselves and are meeting obstacles at every turn are the most an-

tagonistic to adult authority. Because middle-class parents are highly protective of their children, especially their daughters, middle-class youth find growing up especially difficult. They often feel guilty when they try to achieve independence because of parental emphasis on the sacrifices made for them and the loyalty they owe their families (75).

Typically, the older adolescent expects too much independence too quickly. This desire is often exaggerated when the adolescent discovers that his friends have more independence than he. If his parents are unwilling to give him the independence he wants, the adolescent is rebellious and unhappy. This often leads to his running away from home, giving up his schooling, or even marrying to establish the independence his parents have denied him. Too strict home training during this period builds up a dislike for parents, a combative attitude on the adolescent's part, social maladjustments, and a tendency to do things behind parental backs (75,289).

Money, every adolescent sooner or later discovers, is the key to independence. So long as parents pay the adolescent's bills and give him an allowance for spending money, they can control his behavior. When, on the other hand, he has money he has earned, he can enjoy independence. Interest in money, therefore, becomes an important element in interest in independence. This interest centers mainly on how to earn the most money possible, regardless of the type of work done (182,204).

Few older adolescents show any more interest in saving or investing money than they did when they were younger. To them, money is a means to an end, and that end is independence. To achieve this end, they often are willing to sacrifice the possibility of future advancement by giving up

their education to enable them to work or by taking jobs that are well paid, regardless of future advancement. Many of the dropouts in college come from a desire to earn money (65,204).

The interest in a *life career* that began to be dominant in early adolescence often becomes a source of great concern to an older adolescent. He is confused about what he would like to do or what he is capable of doing. The more he hears or talks about different lines of work, the less sure he is of what he would like to do. Then, too, there is interest in and concern about how he can get a job of the type he would like. With the growing realization of how much it costs to live and the earnings a young person can expect, the older adolescent approaches the choice of his career with a more practical and realistic attitude than he had when he was younger.

As he changes his values with experience, it is logical that he would see vocations from a different frame of reference (26, 156). When he was younger, for example, he judged different lines of work, such as law or medicine, in terms of stereotypes presented in mass media: as a near-adult, he judges them in terms of abilities and training needed (73). While prestige of the occupation is still an important factor in vocational selection, the older adolescent is more concerned about the autonomy, the authority, and the security the occupation will give him (35,47,209).

Realization of the expenses involved in training for a high-prestige occupation makes many older adolescents more realistic about their choices than they were when they were younger (30,253). Realism is also increased by social and educational experiences which show the adolescent what his capacities are for work of different types (228). While sex appropriateness is

still an important factor in vocational choice, the older adolescent is not as greatly influenced by it as he was when he was younger (279).

Changed values cause the older adolescent to remain in the "exploratory stage" of vocational choice during which he tries out, through part-time or full-time jobs, work he thinks he would like to do as a life career. From this experience he gains more information on which to make his final decision. Thus, it is apparent that vocational choice is rarely made rapidly. As Holden (138) has pointed out, it is a

...developmental process that spans many years, during which the ultimate decision is determined by a series of actions and occurrences, each one dependent at least in some measure on preceding ones. . . . There comes a time when the general direction followed cannot easily be reversed or changed.

Although it is true that changes in choice will be made, even into the adult years, there is a greater stability in vocational interests in late adolescence than in early adolescence. In a study of career goals among college students, it was reported that changes were more common among the lower-status students than among the higher. Many of them had to revise their goals downward and become more realistic about their potentials for the future than they were when they entered college (89). This is illustrated in Figure 9-7. In considering work that requires specialized training, the adolescent gives serious consideration to all aspects of it before making a final decision because he realizes that later changes will be difficult to make (138, 271).

Interest in a life career is very different

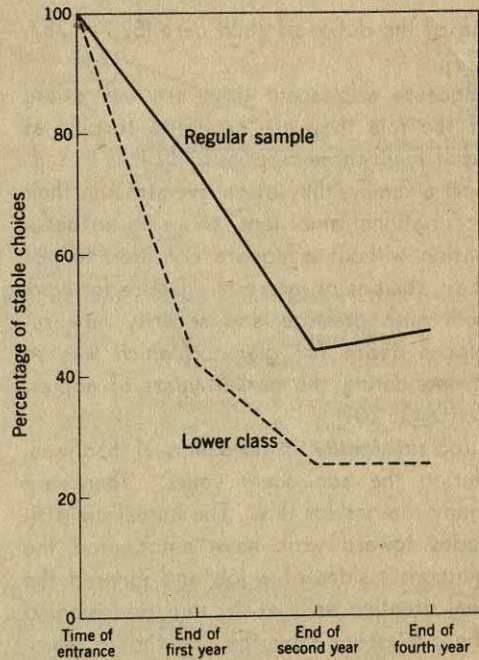


FIGURE 9-7 LOWER-STATUS COLLEGE STUDENTS BECOME MORE REALISTIC AND REVISE THEIR CAREER GOALS DOWNWARD. (ADAPTED FROM R. A. ELLIS AND W. C. LANE: SOCIAL MOBILITY AND CAREER ORIENTATION. *Sociol. soc. Res.*, 1966, 50, 280-296. USED BY PERMISSION.)

for the two sexes. For boys, the choice is for a lifetime; for girls, however, the choice is for a short time, and emphasis is placed on the type of work that can be combined with marriage, should it be necessary to work. Most girls, after graduating from high school or college, are interested in working for a year or two before marriage, a year or more after marriage until their first babies arrive, and then becoming full-time homemakers until their children are grown, after which they want a part-time job to fill the empty time left by the end-

ing of the duties of child care (52,212,257, 277).

Because adolescent boys are well aware of the role they are expected to play as adult men whose responsibility it is to support a family, they often overstrain in their occupational ambitions, choosing an occupation without adequate consideration of their abilities or interests. Desire for work with high prestige and security now replaces desire for glamour which was so strong during the earlier years of adolescence (35,209).

Job satisfaction is more unusual than usual during the adolescent years. There are many reasons for this. The unrealistic attitudes toward work have emphasized the glamorous sides of a job and ignored the real situation as it exists, thus disillusioning the adolescent after the first thrill of earning money has worn off. Most adolescents are immature in their desire for play and recreation, and for help and special privileges, which they have been accustomed to in school.

In the adult work world, they are expected to behave like other adults, adjusting themselves to adult levels of expectation. The long hours, the few vacations, and the monotony of the work itself lead to dissatisfaction which is expressed in changing from job to job in the hopes of finding one that will measure up to the adolescent's expectations, or in attempting to compensate with social activities in the free time away from work. The more education the adolescent has, the more choice he will have in job selection and the more likely he will be to find satisfaction in his work (156,271).

The older adolescent's attitude toward education and his interest in college or professional-school work are greatly influenced by his vocational interests. If he is aspiring to an occupation which requires

education beyond a high school diploma, he will regard education as a stepping-stone. He will be interested in courses which he feels will be useful to him in his chosen field of work. As is true of the younger adolescent, the older adolescent looks upon success in sports and social life as important as academic work as stepping-stones to future success (121,253).

However, knowing how important a role academic success, as shown in grades or honors, plays in one's vocational future, most older adolescents want to achieve high grades, either by hard work or by cheating. Indirectly, they find that grades are important to their social success on the campus. This, in turn, they regard as important to their vocational futures. In discussing the importance of grades to the older adolescent's social life on the campus, Becker has pointed out that "Grades are the currency with which the economy of campus social life operates. Only the well-to-do can afford the luxuries; the poor work as hard as they can to eke out a marginal existence" (27).

When students get grades that enable them to "afford the luxuries" of campus life and buy their way into a prestigious occupation, they stay on and graduate, even though they may have little interest in the academic work per se. When, on the other hand, their grades are such that they feel an education will not enable them to get the kind of job they want or that they find they cannot participate in social activities on campus as a stepping-stone to vocational success, they are likely to drop out before they get their degrees (85,115,130, 145). Figure 9-8 shows the factors responsible for graduation from college.

Older adolescents, who are no longer compelled by law to remain in school, may remain when they see little advantage to

their futures in doing so, or they may not. When they see little advantage to be gained by further education, they may become *underachievers*, paying little attention in class and doing just enough work to get by, thus working far below their capacities. This is especially likely to happen if they find the social life rewarding and feel that it will help them in getting the kind of job they want in the future (21,43,107). If, on the other hand, they do not find the social life of the campus as rewarding as they had hoped, they may become *overachievers* academically in the hopes of winning prestige in the peer group (288).

More likely, however, they will become *dropouts*, giving up their education before getting their degrees. Lacking both the social status and the academic status they feel is essential to a successful vocational future, they can see little benefit to be derived from continuing their education (12, 17,65,85,174,187,287). Figure 9-9 shows the high dropout rate for men and women students, suggesting that they can see little benefit to be derived from remaining to graduate.

Religious Interests

The intensity of religious doubt, with its accompanying feelings of guilt, gradually subsides as adolescence draws to a close. The individual can then face his problems more objectively and solve them with less emotional bias. Adolescents who go away to college or work away from home come in contact with people with different religious beliefs to a greater extent than do those who remain at home and whose circle of friends is likely to be limited to those of similar religious backgrounds (171,224).

Many of the half-thought-out beliefs of the younger adolescent are clarified when

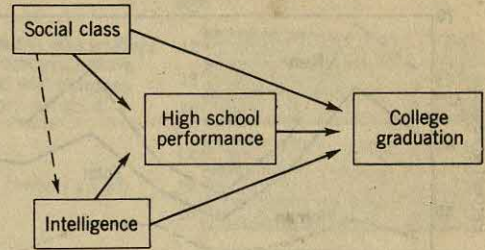


FIGURE 9-8 SOME CONDITIONS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO COLLEGE GRADUATION. (ADAPTED FROM B. K. ECKLAND: SOCIAL CLASS AND COLLEGE GRADUATION: SOME MISCONCEPTIONS CORRECTED. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1964, 70, 36-50. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the individual has opportunities to discuss them with others and when his courses of study present facts that contradict many of his earlier beliefs. However, many doubts are not entirely cleared up even though they may seem less serious to the individual as he grows older (44,55,108). Figure 9-10 shows changes in religious beliefs with age.

EFFECTS OF EARLY DOUBTING The older adolescent usually emerges from a period of doubting, so characteristic of the early years of adolescence, with new religious beliefs and a greater tolerance for the religious beliefs and practices of other faiths than he formerly had. The beliefs that undergo the greatest change at this time are the specific beliefs about the appearance and behavior of God, angels, and the devil, about miracles, and about life after death. Because most religious beliefs are "family-bound," they are less likely to be changed than are other beliefs and attitudes (72,153).

Some adolescents, especially those of higher intellectual abilities who have been

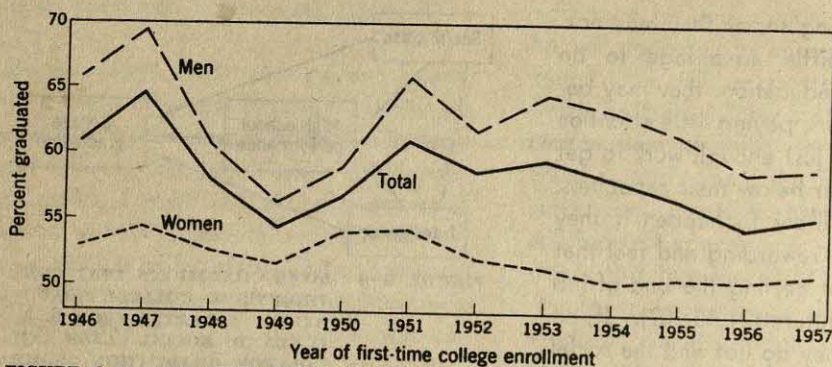


FIGURE 9-9 SEX DIFFERENCES IN NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO GRADUATE FROM COLLEGE. (ADAPTED FROM B. K. ECKLAND: COLLEGE DROPOUTS WHO COME BACK. *Harv. educ. Rev.*, 1964, 34, 402-420. USED BY PERMISSION.)

subjected to authoritarian religious training in childhood, experience serious conflicts about religion in the latter part of their college education. The most serious conflicts they experience center around those between reason or legitimate thought and feelings or intuition, the inconsistencies between beliefs and behavior, and the desire for a satisfying religious faith that is meaningful to them rather than the type they have had given to them in their childhood religious training (122).

Most older adolescents feel the need of religion in their lives, especially when they have had religious training in their childhood. Even among college students, there is evidence that there is a greater interest in religion than is popularly believed and that the college student of today has more favorable attitudes toward religion than was true in the past. Most are religiously "moderate," avoiding one extreme or another in their religious attitudes (136,171, 223,225).

EFFECTS OF CHANGED BELIEFS Adolescents who are unable to reconcile their

religious beliefs with their broader knowledge may change their religious faith to one that meets their needs better or they may reject all religion and become agnostics or atheists. This, however, is more exceptional than usual, for relatively few older adolescents change their *religious affiliation*. If the two parents have different faiths, the tendency is for the adolescent to adhere to the mother's faith. When shifts do occur, they are usually to more "liberal faiths" or out of religion completely.

On the other hand, changes in religious beliefs are likely to be accompanied by a decline in *church attendance* and in participation in the different organizations connected with the church. How often adolescents attend church will be influenced also by their previous attendance habits. Boys, on the average, show a greater decrease in attendance in late adolescence than do girls (177,210,291).

Two of the most profound effects of changed beliefs are on the older adolescent's attitudes toward prayer and interfaith dating and marriage. There is not

God is someone who watches you to see that you behave yourself and who punishes you if you are not good.

I know that there is a God.

Only good people go to heaven.

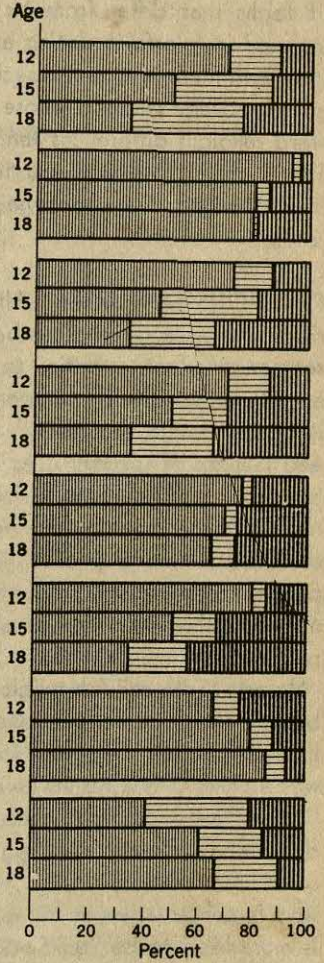
Hell is a place where you are punished for your sins on earth.

Prayers are answered.

Every word of the Bible is true.

Protestants, Jews, and Catholics are all equally good.

It is not necessary to attend church in order to be a Christian.



Those who believe
Those who wonder

Those who do not believe

FIGURE 9-10 THERE ARE CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS DURING THE ADOLESCENT YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM L. COLE AND I. N. HALL: *Psychology of adolescence*. 6TH ED. NEW YORK: HOLT, 1964. BASED ON DATA OF KUHLEN AND ARNOLD. USED BY PERMISSION.)

only a decrease in frequency of *praying* in late adolescence but a new attitude toward it. Instead of regarding prayer as a way of getting what he wants, whether material

possessions or special privileges, the older adolescent regards prayer as a source of help in times of trouble (167,219,223). With increasing tolerance toward people

of faiths that differ from his, there is an increase in *interfaith dating* and *marriage*. Interfaith marriages are especially common among college students whose attitudes toward religious differences tend to be more liberal than those who go to work after high school and live under the parental roof (247).

RELIGIOUS MATURITY Although maturity in the area of religious beliefs and observances is not essential to a successful adjustment to life, it is important because it contributes to the individual's happiness and feelings of security. As Hanawalt has pointed out, "Religious belief is only one of the threads running through the fabric of security feeling and self esteem. The pattern of the fabric depends upon the nature of the other threads and their inter-relationships" (117).

No adult with childish religious beliefs can be contented with these beliefs, no matter how satisfactory they were to him when he was a child. As a result, he revises his beliefs, often accepting some beliefs from different faiths and rejecting others which seem unsatisfactory to him. The individual who is conservative in his religious beliefs is more likely to be "guilt-ridden" than the liberal and more emotionally mature person (177,178).

Religious maturity is shown also in voluntary attendance at religious services rather than attendance through fear or force of habit. The mature person will not necessarily attend the church of his parents' faith, especially when he is convinced that it does not meet his needs. He engages in prayer because he feels the need of it, not because of habit or fear of evil consequences if he does not pray.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of a person who is mature in this area

of his development is *tolerance* toward the religious beliefs and observances of others whose faiths differ from his. The more liberal the parents and the less conflict there is in the home about religion during the childhood years, the more likely the older adolescent will be to achieve a mature attitude toward religion as he grows up (117, 219).

MORALITY IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

Up to sixteen years, boys and girls find it difficult to apply the moral concepts they have learned to the increasing range of conflicting situations that arise with their broadening social experiences. As they grow older and their experiences broaden in college or at work, they have more definite concepts of right and wrong, they are better able to cope with new and conflicting situations, and they act in accordance with their moral concepts without pressure from outside (8,9,18,33,214). In addition, they are capable of generalizing moral concepts which have been learned in relation to specific acts. These concepts can then be applied to similar acts and will thus form the basis of a workable code that can be used in any situation that might arise (83,177,234).

Changes in moral attitudes include a tolerance toward certain acts which were formerly condemned. In the case of cheating, for example, college students have been reported to be more tolerant in their attitudes than students in high school. They justify their tolerance on the grounds that marks are essential to success in later life and, so long as society puts such high value on marks, students must cheat to further their future goals (36,131,234). Their tolerance toward the use of drugs is explained by the fact that "everyone" uses them and

that, so long as parents and teachers put pressure on them to get high grades, they must have some way to relieve the tensions caused by these pressures (59). Greater tolerance toward sexual behavior is based on the fact that they believe it is right to engage in any form of expression of love so long as there is love, not just curiosity or a desire to win greater prestige in the eyes of the peer group (93).

In one study in which the moral concepts of older adolescents were compared with those of younger adolescents, it was reported that college students were more liberal than eight- and twelfth-grade students in high school. This was especially true of college girls who had been away from the home influence for the first time. The greatest changes in attitudes were reported to be in the somewhat "borderline acts," such as smoking or playing cards (225).

Although there is an increase in tolerance toward certain acts, there is an increase in intolerance toward others. The older adolescent, for example, considers bribery and being conceited more serious than does the younger adolescent. Thus, the change is more of a shift in emphasis than an establishment of new codes of behavior (163,225,226).

At this age, the influence of "double standards" becomes even more marked than in early adolescence. Especially in the area of sex behavior, the girl discovers that certain acts are classed as "wrong" for her, while, in the case of boys, the same acts are condoned. Even though there is a trend toward breaking down these double standards, girls are still more harshly judged for some acts than are boys (83,203,225). In commenting on the gradual breaking down of double standards, Reiss has noted that, "What was done by a female in 1925

acting as a rebel and a deviant can be done by a female in 1965 as a conformist" (231).

Moral Behavior

It is assumed by parents and teachers that the older adolescent knows what to do and how to do it. Any deviation from the socially approved code of behavior is regarded as intentional—a defiance of the rules or laws which deserves punishment. The adolescent, on the other hand, is often motivated to do things which he knows are wrong either because of group pressures or in order to satisfy some immediate need which is strong and compelling, such as the desire for recognition which leads the individual to cheat in a sport or academic work, or the need for satisfying a strong sex desire which leads to premarital intercourse (62,123,203,231).

When the adolescent realizes that his behavior has fallen below society's codes or the standards he has set for himself, he becomes angry at himself or at someone he regards as responsible for his shortcomings. This leads to feelings of guilt which, if experienced too often, will develop into a marked feeling of personal inadequacy (9, 18,214). When punished for his wrongdoing, he will usually react with resentment toward the punisher, not because he feels that he does not deserve it but more often because he feels the form of punishment is too infantile, that it is unfairly harsh considering the misdeed, or that others equally involved in the misdeed have not been punished (150,234).

MISDEMEANORS Although the peak of misdemeanors comes in early adolescence, misdemeanors are still committed in late adolescence. This is far more true of older adolescents who are in college or some

professional school than it is of those who are at work. As Harrison has explained, "The students are frustrated in their work and 'have to explode somewhere'" (120). These frustrations are especially severe at the time of examinations when students are kept from doing what they would like to do by the pressures of academic work.

College and professional-school misdemeanors are similar to those of the high school students. The older adolescent willfully breaks rules imposed by college authorities just as the younger adolescent violates rules established by high school authorities. These may take any form, but the most common misdemeanors of the older adolescent are cheating, drinking, smoking in forbidden areas, going to off-limits places, taking books out of the library without signing for them, defacing library books, cutting classes without excuses, talking in classes or in the library, and entertaining members of the opposite sex in dormitory rooms at forbidden times (53,64,125,166,214,234).

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY The peak of juvenile delinquency comes in the early part of late adolescence—between the ages of seventeen and nineteen years. However, a large percentage of these delinquents have been in trouble before, and juvenile delinquency continues to be a serious social problem throughout the entire period of late adolescence. In recent years, there has not only been a marked increase in the number of older adolescents who become delinquent, but this increase has been especially pronounced among girls and among both boys and girls from affluent homes (125,164,208).

One of the reasons for the peak in delinquent behavior is that the older adolescent, away from the watchful eye of par-

ents and teachers, must make many moral decisions alone. If he has not laid a good foundation in moral behavior earlier, he is likely to fall by the wayside. In addition, now that he looks and feels like an adult, he is not intimidated by law-enforcing officials as he was when he was a child or a young adolescent. If, therefore, he feels that he has been treated unfairly or that he is regarded as inferior, he strikes back (106, 168). Figure 9-11 shows some conditions that contribute to delinquent behavior.

Back of most juvenile delinquency in late adolescence is resentment, built up over a period of years, for punishments which the adolescent considers unfair and for treatment from others which has made him feel inferior and inadequate. The adolescent who is unable or unwilling to get satisfaction by conforming to social dictates derives satisfaction from hurting the social group as a revenge for real or imagined wrongs inflicted by that group (249). As Lowrey has explained (179):

Pressures for success and conformity in standard educational procedures, derived from the family, the school, and class competitions, frequently operate to force the inadequate individual toward delinquent behavior as a means of compensation for his own feelings of inadequacy and as proof to the group of his adequacy.

Moral Maturity

The moral concepts of the older adolescent closely approximate those of the adult. He knows what society expects. Even though he may disagree with some of the moral concepts, he follows them because he realizes that no one can be a law unto himself. In this adult moral code, there is

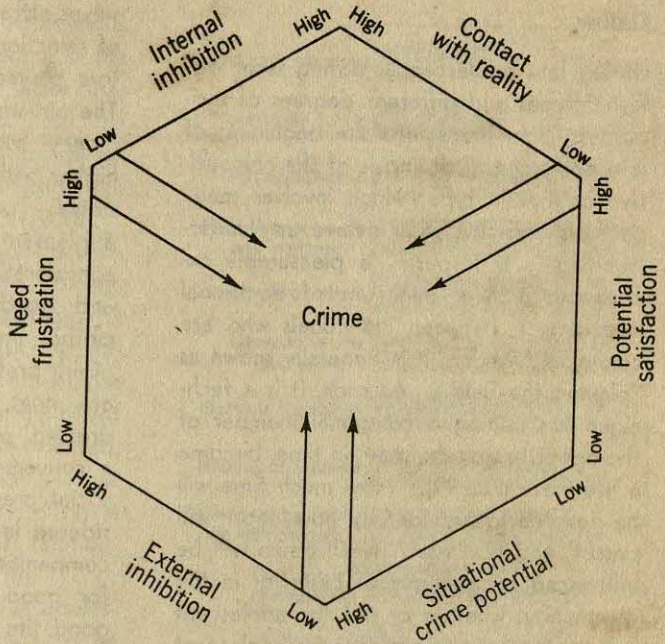


FIGURE 9-11 SOME CONDITIONS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR. (ADAPTED FROM A. S. GIANNELL: PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR CRIMINAL-OFFENDER GROUPS. *J. soc. Psychol.*, 1966, 69, 55-72. USED BY PERMISSION.)

stability. Things that are right in one environment are right in all environments.

The morally mature individual acts in accordance with this code not because he is afraid of being caught and punished but because he believes it is the right thing to do (8,33,214). In late adolescence, there is a lessening of that early adolescent intolerance toward one's own and others' shortcomings. The morally mature person tries to understand and sympathize with those who fall short of society's expectations. When he falls short of society's codes, he has sufficient self-critical ability to recognize it and to feel guilty. In the case of the morally mature individual, guilt thus proves to be a strong motivating force to conform to society's mores (9,18,64,83,214).

SEX INTERESTS AND BEHAVIOR

The infatuations of the hero-worshipping, crush, and puppy-love stages of early adolescence give way to romantic attachments as dating becomes the accepted pattern of social behavior for the older adolescent. These romantic attachments are often so intense and so absorbing that the individuals involved have little time or thought for anything else (90,137). As a result, the older adolescent loses interest in group activities and prefers to be alone with the loved one. Any activity in which members of the opposite sex cannot participate, such as team sports, loses its appeal when dating becomes the favorite form of recreation (70,98).

Dating

During late adolescence, dating is of different types and different degrees of seriousness. Sometimes into the beginning of late adolescence, dating is of the *competitive* or *mobile* type, which involves many partners and does not involve an "understanding." It is purely a pleasurable experience, with a minimum of emotional involvement, between individuals who are congenial friends. It is generally known as "playing the field." As such, it is a technique for finding a congenial member of the opposite sex who may, in time, become a life mate (70,299). How much time will be devoted to such dating, how long it will persist, and how early it will begin will be influenced by patterns of behavior in the community, whether or not the adolescent belongs to a clique, whether the adolescent wants to marry early, and many other factors (98,231,299).

Dating patterns of the older adolescent are greatly influenced by mass media of communication, especially movies, television, and romantic stories in magazines. As England (90) has pointed out:

Current fictional love is described in milieus where economic problems cannot seriously intrude. Romantic encounters take place typically in glamorous and expensive surroundings: hotel dining rooms, theatres, night clubs, executive offices, plush resorts. . . . The characters are sophisticated, literate, urbane types who do not noticeably struggle to make ends meet.

SELECTION OF "DATES" The fact that the selection of a dating partner is a male prerogative in our culture puts the burden of responsibility on girls to make them-

selves attractive so that they will be assured of selection. In the past, materialistic factors played an important role in dating. The girl who had clothes, a home, car, and money superior to other girls "rated" higher with the boys and was assured of dates. Today, young men put emphasis on a pleasant, cheerful personality, neatness, consideration for others, dependability, and good looks, with less attention to clothes, money, or social prestige (237).

Girls prefer boys who have good manners, are neat, attractive, and appropriately dressed, who dance well and can carry on a conversation. Having a car, money, or social prestige, while important, are considered less important than being a good companion. In general, qualities needed for good human relationships and for a good life mate are at the basis of date selection (132,299). Figure 9-12 shows the traits older adolescents consider important in "dates" who may, some day, become life mates.

With the modern trend toward breaking down prejudice, racial, religious, and socioeconomic-status differences play a less important role in date selection than formerly. Boys from upper socioeconomic or majority groups, more often than girls from these groups, cross class, color, and religious lines in selecting dates (46,86,232,247,258). In selecting "dates," adolescents generally show a preference for individuals whose characteristics are similar to theirs rather than opposite (161,247).

"Going Steady"

The continuous dating of one individual instead of many generally starts after a year or two of dating. By the senior year in high school, "going steady" is six times as common as playing the field or competi-

tive dating. The most popular adolescents go steady. This gives them prestige in the eyes of their peers because it shows that they are able to attract and hold the friendship of a member of the opposite sex long enough to achieve group recognition and sanction of this relationship (70,98).

Going steady is of two types, *non-commitment* and *commitment*. In the former, there are no plans for future marriage. It is, therefore, a dalliance relationship, dominated by a quest for thrills and a pretense of love and devotion. The commitment type of going steady is marriage-oriented, in which there is an "understanding" that eventually the couple will marry. This is likely to be a more stable kind of relationship than the former type (221,299).

The amount of dating the older adolescent does depends largely on how soon he starts to go steady. Those who go steady early date more than those who start dating later and play the field for a longer time. Girls, on the average, date more and start to go steady earlier than do boys (180,221). Some adolescents date infrequently and do not start to go steady until they reach adulthood. They may be socially or emotionally immature, owing to late sexual maturing; they may be strongly career-oriented or absorbed in their studies or sports; they may not have the money for clothes and entertainment which dating necessitates; or they may not approve of dancing, card playing, petting, necking, and other activities that are the accepted patterns of dating behavior (86,230). Boys who are career-oriented hesitate to go steady because they are afraid it will lead to early marriage and thus interfere with their preparation for their chosen careers. Those who can put themselves in the place of others and understand others are more popular and date more. Furthermore, the

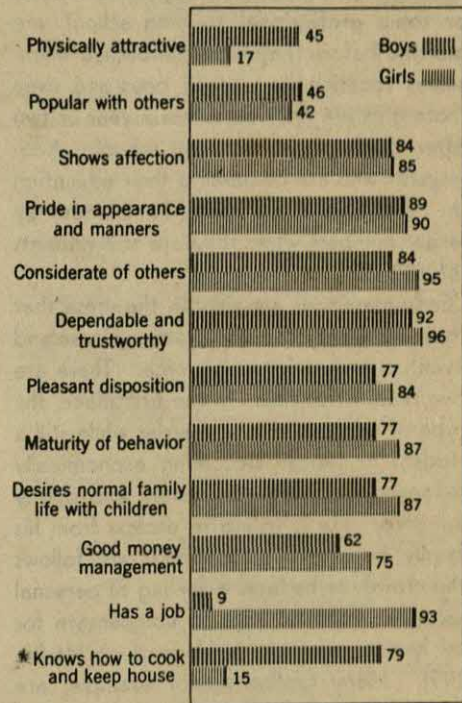


FIGURE 9-12 TRAITS CONSIDERED IMPORTANT IN "DATES" WHO MAY, LATER, BECOME LIFE MATES. (ADAPTED FROM PURDUE OPINION POLL, 1961, NO. 62. USED BY PERMISSION.)

more they date, the better they understand one another. This suggests that a good basis for marriage is being established (281).

CONSEQUENCES OF GOING STEADY

Going steady may be more satisfying to the older adolescent than competitive dating, in that there is always someone available for social activities, but it has its disadvantages. One of the most serious of these is that it is likely to lead to an *early marriage*. Many adolescents who are still in high school, or who drop out before com-

pleting their courses of study in high school or some professional training school, are married before they have established themselves vocationally. Many boys and even more girls are married within a year or two after graduating from high school. Adolescents who are continuing their education in college are marrying in increasingly larger numbers while they are still students (46,189,196).

Early marriages are risky in the sense that they are likely to lead to unhappiness and eventual separation or divorce. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, the type of adolescent who marries while still a student or before becoming economically independent is often immature and poorly adjusted. He is trying to escape from his family; he is an overconformist who follows the crowd; or he lacks a feeling of personal security, which he tries to compensate for by having someone to depend on (46,84,299). Many firstborns, for example, are dependent and find that having someone close to depend on as a substitute for parents reduces anxiety in anxiety-provoking situations (198).

The second major reason why early marriages are risky is that inexperienced adolescents, accustomed to having allowances or scholarships from colleges to defray their expenses, become overoptimistic about their abilities to earn money and tend to engage in impulsive spending behavior. As a result, their marriages are plagued with economic problems. As Herrmann (129) has pointed out:

Their dependence on consumer credit and parents' help makes real independence almost impossible for teen-age couples. The independence of teen-age couples becomes, then, only a kind of pseudo-independence propped up by outside

help. Because of their meager resources, even the smallest amount of unexpected expense can become a disaster for teen-age couples. . . . Many teen-age couples probably look to their parents to bail them out in the case of emergencies. This unacknowledged dependence on their parents is another factor which tends to make the independence of teen-age couples only a make-believe, fair-weather independence.

Another pitfall of going steady is that the constant association with one individual results in *petting* of a more advanced type than when there is dating of a number of individuals. In a group of college girls questioned, over one-half said that they were subjected to "offensive petting" on dates. This is especially true of the younger and less experienced girls. It has been estimated that the average college girl experiences 4.2 "offensive" episodes during a college year (86).

Extramarital sexual intercourse is likewise a common accompaniment of going steady. This is responsible for some of the early marriages, which are required to establish the paternity of the child, and it is one of the factors responsible for the high divorce rate among those who marry during the adolescent years (46,93,180,195,285).

The gradual relaxing of double standards, referred to previously, has resulted in more widespread acceptance of extramarital intercourse as a part of the going-steady pattern than was true in the past (31,161,231). This leads to problems for the late adolescent girl. As Bernard (31) has explained:

When the norms forbade all extramarital sex relations, a girl or woman could easily refuse male requests. When the norms

are permissive, she has nothing to hide behind. If she does not wish to engage in sex relations... she is left in an exploitable position. If in the past she had to say no to safeguard her self-respect, she must now say yes for the same reason—to avoid the dreaded epithet "frigid."

Sex Roles

In spite of the fact that most girls, as they approach the end of adolescence, maintain that their preference for their adult role is that of wife and mother, they often find it difficult to accept their appropriate sex role. Not only is there ambiguity about what the appropriate sex role is for the woman of today, but the girl discovers, early in her teens, that boys consider the female role subordinate to that of the male (52). In one study in which male college students were questioned about the role of the female students, it was found that the male students felt that the female students should take courses in preparation for the domestic role and they felt that, since woman's place is in the home, school and college work should be a preparation for this role [242].

This attitude toward the female role and the belief that it is inferior to the male role is a potential source of trouble in marriage. As Duvall (84) has pointed out:

Boys and girls do not always see eye to eye about who will do what in their homes. ... One of their biggest differences is in the willingness of members of each sex to take on some of the responsibilities traditionally assumed by the other.

In the case of boys, sex-appropriate behavior is more clearly defined, and the adherence to the approved pattern brings

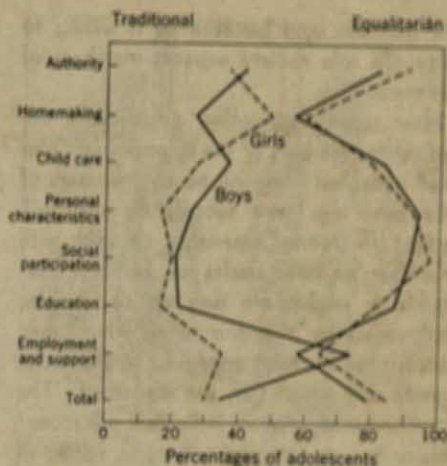


FIGURE 9-13 SOME IMPORTANT COMPONENTS OF THE TRADITIONAL AND EQUALITARIAN CONCEPTS OF SEX ROLES AS IDENTIFIED BY ADOLESCENTS. (ADAPTED FROM M. S. DUNN, MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATIONS OF ADOLESCENTS, *Marriage Jan. Living*, 1960, 22, 99-111. USED BY PERMISSION.)

boys greater prestige and social acceptance than is true of girls (154). The older adolescent girl of today is faced with the dilemma of what role to accept, the traditionally feminine role or the more modern, equalitarian role, where she more closely approximates the masculine pattern of behavior than the traditional feminine pattern [81,262]. Figure 9-13 shows the important components of the traditional and equalitarian roles.

Psychosexual Maturity

A psychosexually mature person is one who makes good adjustments to members of the opposite sex. He does so because he has healthy attitudes toward sex, toward members of the opposite sex as well as toward

his own sex, and because he is willing to play the role society expects members of his sex to play.

How successfully other adolescents will adjust to members of the opposite sex, how well accepted they will be by members of the same sex, how successfully they will adjust to dating, marriage, or work with members of the opposite sex, and how adequate or inadequate they will feel will be influenced by the degree to which they accept the sex roles approved by the social group with which they are identified. The psychosexually mature individual will accept his or her sex role and will try to fulfill this role successfully with minimum resentment toward being a member of that sex (161, 230, 250).

For reasons already given, it is easier for boys to accept the traditionally masculine role than it is for girls to accept the traditionally feminine role. As a result, boys in late adolescence achieve psychosexual maturity more readily and on a wider scale than do girls (38, 175, 184).

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

As the adolescent years progress, parents generally come to the realization that their sons and daughters are no longer children. As a result, they give them more privileges and, at the same time, expect more in the way of work and assumption of responsibilities. When this parental adjustment to the changed status of the son or daughter is made, the tension that marked the parent-child relationship in early adolescence generally relaxes, and the home becomes a pleasanter place in which to live (25, 172, 224).

There are, however, many families in which this change does not occur. There are at least two important reasons for this: Some

parents fail to give their near-adult children the independence they crave. Some parents (and sometimes the same parents expect them to assume responsibilities around the home which the adolescent feels belong to his parents (190). If, on the other hand, parents combine added responsibilities with added independence, as is true when mothers work outside the home, daughters have been found to be more mature and better adjusted than in homes where parents continue to be over-protective (296).

Lessening of Conflicts in the Home

Even though parent-adolescent relationships tend to improve with each passing year (see Figure 8-18, page 442), there are many conflicts between the adolescent and his parents. For the most part, friction arises over the way the adolescent treats his parents, his lack of acceptance of responsibilities, his use of money, dating, choice of friends, and dating behavior. (See Figure 9-14). In general, conflicts with parents are more common among girls than boys, and these conflicts are more often with the mother than with the father (23, 29, 173).

Siblings, who, during early adolescence, were frequently a thorn in the side of the adolescent, are now taken in a calmer and more philosophical manner. The older adolescent is capable of understanding the behavior of younger siblings better than he could when he was younger. Furthermore, after developing a certain degree of poise and self-confidence which he formerly lacked, the older adolescent is not so easily embarrassed or upset by the behavior of his younger siblings (58). In many instances, the older adolescent develops a parental attitude toward his younger siblings. This eliminates much of the friction

that previously existed in the home. Older siblings are treated more casually, and less envy is shown toward them than was true earlier (58,141,163,172,302). Figure 9-15 shows the relationships of older adolescents to their siblings.

Even grandparents and older relatives are accepted by the older adolescent more graciously than they were several years earlier. This difference in attitude on the older adolescent's part may be a result of his more mature concept of old age. It is far more likely to be a result of the fact that his grandparents and other relatives treat him more like an adult than they formerly did, and they do not criticize or suggest reforms in this appearance or behavior as they did when he was a teen-ager (41, 206,266). All in all, family relationships in late adolescence are on a better and sounder basis than at any previous time during the individual's life, with the possible exception of the first year of babyhood (37).

Effects of Family Relationships

The type of relationship the older adolescent has with his parents and siblings will influence his attitudes toward them, his treatment of them, and how much he, in turn, will be influenced by them. The better the relationship with the parent, for example, the more the adolescent will identify himself with that parent and the more, in turn, he will be influenced by and resemble that parent (127).

If the family relationship is good the adolescent will be a well-adjusted individual. Poorly adjusted adolescents, by contrast, generally come from home settings where the family relationship is poor and where the adolescent has had inadequate or the wrong type of training and guidance dur-



"Well, if you intend keeping it, you're going to have to feed it and take care of it yourself!"

FIGURE 9-14 CONFLICT WITH MOTHER OVER CHOICE OF FRIENDS. (ADAPTED FROM LICHTY: "GRIN AND BEAR IT," *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, JULY 7, 1966. (COPYRIGHT © 1966 BY PUBLISHERS NEWS-PAPER SYNDICATE. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ing the formative years (252). Because behavior patterns and attitudes are rooted in the home, they are so well set by late adolescence that they are difficult to change (126,191,214,296).

PERSONALITY CHANGES IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

The personality pattern, established during the childhood years and changed to a greater or lesser extent during the early years of adolescence, now begins to stabilize itself and take the form it will maintain with few modifications during the remaining years of life. True, there will be changes with age, but these changes will be more *quantitative* than *qualitative*, in

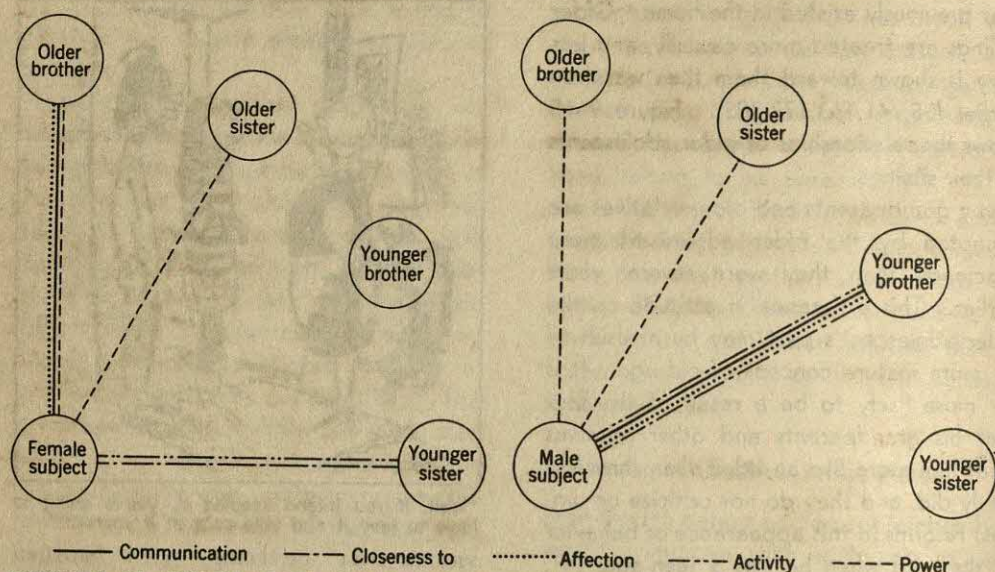


FIGURE 9-15 TYPICAL RELATIONS OF OLDER ADOLESCENTS WITH SIBLINGS OF BOTH SEXES. (ADAPTED FROM A. YOURGLICH: EXPLORATIONS IN SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF SIBLING SYSTEMS. *Family Life Coordinator*, 1964, 13, 91-94. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the sense that desirable traits will be strengthened and undesirable traits, weakened (10,134,146).

Late adolescence is thus a "critical period" in personality development because attitudes, habits, and behavior patterns established at this time can be carried over into adulthood and become a way of life. Whether the individual will become a mature, resolute, and socially conscious adult or a frustrated, unsocial, and dependent one will be largely determined at this time (48,159).

While later improvements can and do occur, whether they will occur depends mainly on environmental conditions. Adolescents who go away to college have been reported to show greater social and emotional maturity as a result of their college experiences (142,171,220). If the adolescent does not achieve independence, either because of a restrictive environment or be-

cause of feelings of inadequacy, he is likely to remain immature in this area (146). Even when environmental changes occur, there is a tendency for the adolescent to select from that environment people who treat him in a manner congruent with his self-concept and to avoid those who do not (19). This reinforces the already-established self-concept and the characteristic patterns of adjustment to life.

Factors Influencing Self-concept

In late adolescence, there are certain factors that have a marked influence on the adolescent's self-concept. Because they are mainly persistent, they account, to a major extent, for the persistence of the personality pattern.

The different treatment given to *early* and *late maturers* results in different self-concepts and different patterns of social be-

havior in the two groups. Early maturers, who are treated as near-adults, develop favorable self-concepts and, as a result, make good adjustments. Late maturers, by contrast, are treated more like children, and this influences unfavorably their self-concepts, leading to maladjusted behavior. Even in late adolescence, when they catch up to the early maturers in their physical development, the late maturers continue to behave in a maladjusted way, indicating that the unfavorable self-concept acquired from their earlier treatment still persists (149.)

The older adolescent is better able to judge from the way he is treated how *others feel about him* than he was when he was younger. When he believes that their concept of him is favorable, this affects his concept of himself and makes it possible for him to accept himself as he is, thus laying the foundations for good personal and social adjustments and for happiness (97,133,265). To be well accepted by others, the adolescent knows that he must be *sex-appropriate* in interests and behavior as well as in appearance. If he feels that he is conforming to the cultural stereotype for his sex group, this will help him to achieve a more favorable self-concept (16, 254,262,272,304).

The adolescent who believes that others have a poor concept of him will develop an unfavorable self-concept. Adolescents who have eccentric *names* or *nicknames* they recognize as a form of ridicule become shy, sensitive, and easily embarrassed. They shun social situations and often flunk out of college because their poor personal adjustments affect the quality of their work (3,200). Adolescents whose families belong to a *minority group* are so unfavorably influenced by the discrimination against them that they develop personality patterns char-

acterized by aggression, submissiveness, strong rebellion, or derogation of the ingroup (10,32).

As family relationships improve, the older adolescent is more favorably influenced by his *family* than he was earlier, when these relationships were more frictional. How great the family influence on the adolescent's personality will be will depend to a large extent upon how much he identifies with the different family members. First-borns and girls, it has been reported, identify more with their parents than do later-borns (114,127,272). If their parents are acceptant in their attitudes, the adolescents develop into extroverted, happy people. When, on the other hand, the parents are rejectant, adolescents become anxious and introverted (109,251).

How realistic the older adolescent's *levels of aspiration* are will have a marked influence on his concept of self. If he continues to have unrealistically high levels of aspiration, whether for his academic work, his social life, or his vocational future, he will meet failure, and this will lead to feelings of personal inadequacy. If, on the other hand, he changes his levels of aspiration after meeting failure and becomes more realistic about his potential achievements, he will gain greater self-confidence and, with this, a better concept of self (50,94, 157,301). Figure 9-16 shows how changes after failure occur more frequently than changes after success.

Awareness of Personality Values

The older adolescent is not only aware of the advantages of a pleasing personality, but he is also aware of what constitutes a pleasing personality. He knows what traits are admired by peers of his own sex as well as by those of the opposite sex. Although

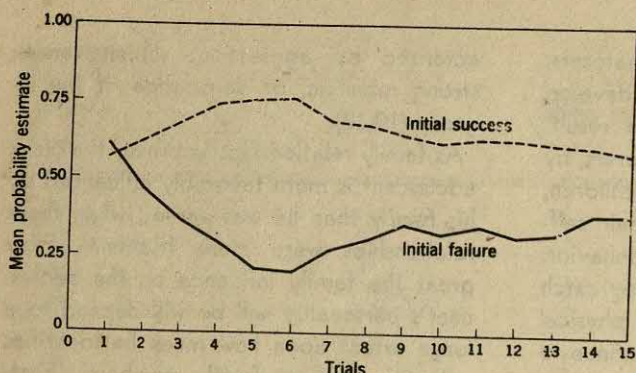


FIGURE 9-16 CHANGES AFTER FAILURE OCCUR MORE FREQUENTLY THAN CHANGES AFTER SUCCESS (ADAPTED FROM N. T. FEATHER: EFFECTS OF PRIOR SUCCESS AND FAILURE ON EXPECTATIONS OF SUCCESS AND SUBSEQUENT PERFORMANCE. *J. Pers. soc. Psychol.*, 1966, 3, 287-298. USED BY PERMISSION.)

admired traits change as adolescence progresses, and although they differ somewhat from one social group to another, the adolescent knows what the group with which he is identified admires (11,69,134,147).

As values change, there will be a change in the adolescent's concept of self. When, for example, high value is placed on social acceptance, the adolescent who is not popular will feel inadequate. Later, as the closely knit peer groups begin to break up and less value is placed on popularity, the adolescent will view himself from a different frame of reference and, as a result, will feel more adequate. This feeling of adequacy will be greatly increased if the older adolescent is going steady, pinned, or married earlier than other members of the peer group (140).

Knowing what others admire gives the adolescent a standard by which to assess his own personality pattern and to see how it measures up with those of his contemporaries. However, there is always a tendency on the part of the individual to be

biased in the assessment of his qualities. In concepts of the physical self, for example, young men think of themselves as huskier than they are, and young women tend to have self-concepts in which they appear to be more slender than they actually are (244).

Essentials of Good Adjustment

To summarize, if the older adolescent is to improve his personality and if he is to improve his personal and social adjustments, there are three essential requirements that must be fulfilled.

First, he must have a realistic assessment of himself and of his strengths and weaknesses. A marked discrepancy between what he knows he is and his ego ideal will lead to anxiety and uneasiness (61,94,201, 207). These, in turn, will lead to defensive mechanisms in which the adolescent may try to devalue the source that has led to his poor self-concept; he may rationalize; he may reject the unfavorable evaluation of

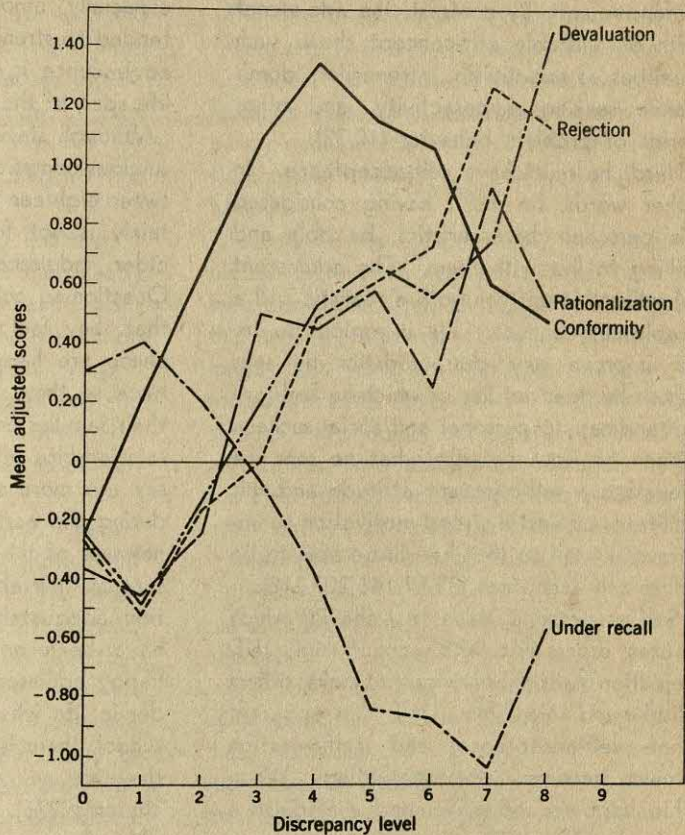


FIGURE 9-17 ADOLESCENTS' REACTIONS TO NEGATIVE ATTITUDES OF OTHERS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE INDIVIDUAL'S ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR. (ADAPTED FROM H. H. JOHNSON: SOME EFFECTS OF DISCREPANCY LEVEL ON RESPONSE TO NEGATIVE INFORMATION ABOUT ONE'S SELF. *Sociometry*, 1966, 29, 52-66. USED BY PERMISSION.)

himself; or he may underreact in the sense that he misperceives another's views of him (39,147). Figure 9-17 shows some of the common ways the adolescent reacts to negative attitudes of others toward him.

Second, he must have a stable self-concept. Usually the self-concept is unstable during puberty and the early years of adolescence. However, it normally becomes increasingly more stable as adolescence

progresses. When this happens, the adolescent has a sense of inner continuity and of a stable location in a larger social order: he sees himself consistently in the same way rather than in one way now and in a different way later (10,146).

An adolescent with a stable self-concept has a higher level of self-esteem and fewer feelings of inadequacy, and he shows fewer evidences of compensatory behavior of a

defensive sort. By contrast, the adolescent with an unstable self-concept shows such qualities as negativism, introversion, dominance seeking, hyperactivity, and other forms of problem behavior (10,32).

Third, he must have self-acceptance. In other words, he must, having considered his personal characteristics, be able and willing to live with them. The adolescent who likes himself has both a realistic and a stable self-concept. He is anxious to try to improve any characteristics he sees which he does not like or which he feels are a handicap to personal and social success. When he does not like what he sees, he develops a self-rejectant attitude and this militates against a strong motivation to improve himself so that he will be able to be more self-acceptant (39,57,146,207,218).

Self-acceptance leads to behavior which makes others like and accept him; self-rejection leads to behavior that makes others dislike and reject him. It is thus apparent that self-acceptance and self-rejection would become self-perpetuating. When this happens, adjustive and maladjustive behavior likewise become self-perpetuating. Thus, his attitude toward himself will determine to a large extent how happy or unhappy the adolescent will be (146,277,300).

HAPPINESS IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

Because few adults separate early from late adolescence, there is a tendency, when asked to think back over their lives and rate different periods in terms of happiness, for adults to think only of the unhappiness they experienced during their high school days. As a result, the retrospective reports place adolescence in the general category of "unhappy ages." In addition, publicity given to "adolescent suicides" in recent years,

especially among college students, has tended to strengthen this belief that *all* of adolescence is an unhappy period in the life span of the individual (143,276).

Although statistics show that the peak of suicides comes during late adolescence, between eighteen and nineteen years, this certainly is not foolproof evidence that *all* older adolescents are unhappy (143). Questioning college students has revealed that they feel the latter years of adolescence are happier than the earlier years because they make better adjustments to their families and friends and because their relationships with members of the opposite sex are more satisfactory than they were during the early days of dating when the newness of the experience made them unsure of their ability to cope with the situation adequately (224,266). Though there have been no reported studies of how happy adolescents are who leave the academic life when they graduate from high school, there is no objective evidence that they are any more unhappy than college students (276).

How happy or unhappy the older adolescent is will be greatly influenced by the type of adjustments he makes in the home and outside the home. This, in turn, is influenced by the success with which he solves the problems he encounters. When adjustments are progressing successfully, the adolescent is far happier than he would be, were the adjustments unsuccessful.

The greater happiness that is characteristic of late adolescence is due, in part, to the fact that the older adolescent is granted a status more in keeping with his level of development than was true during early adolescence. He is given more independence and consequently suffers from fewer frustrations; he is more realistic about his capacities and sets goals more

within his reach; he uses sustained and definitely directed efforts to attain these goals; and he has built up a degree of self-confidence based on knowledge of past successes which counteracts some of the feelings of inadequacy that plagued him when he was younger (57).

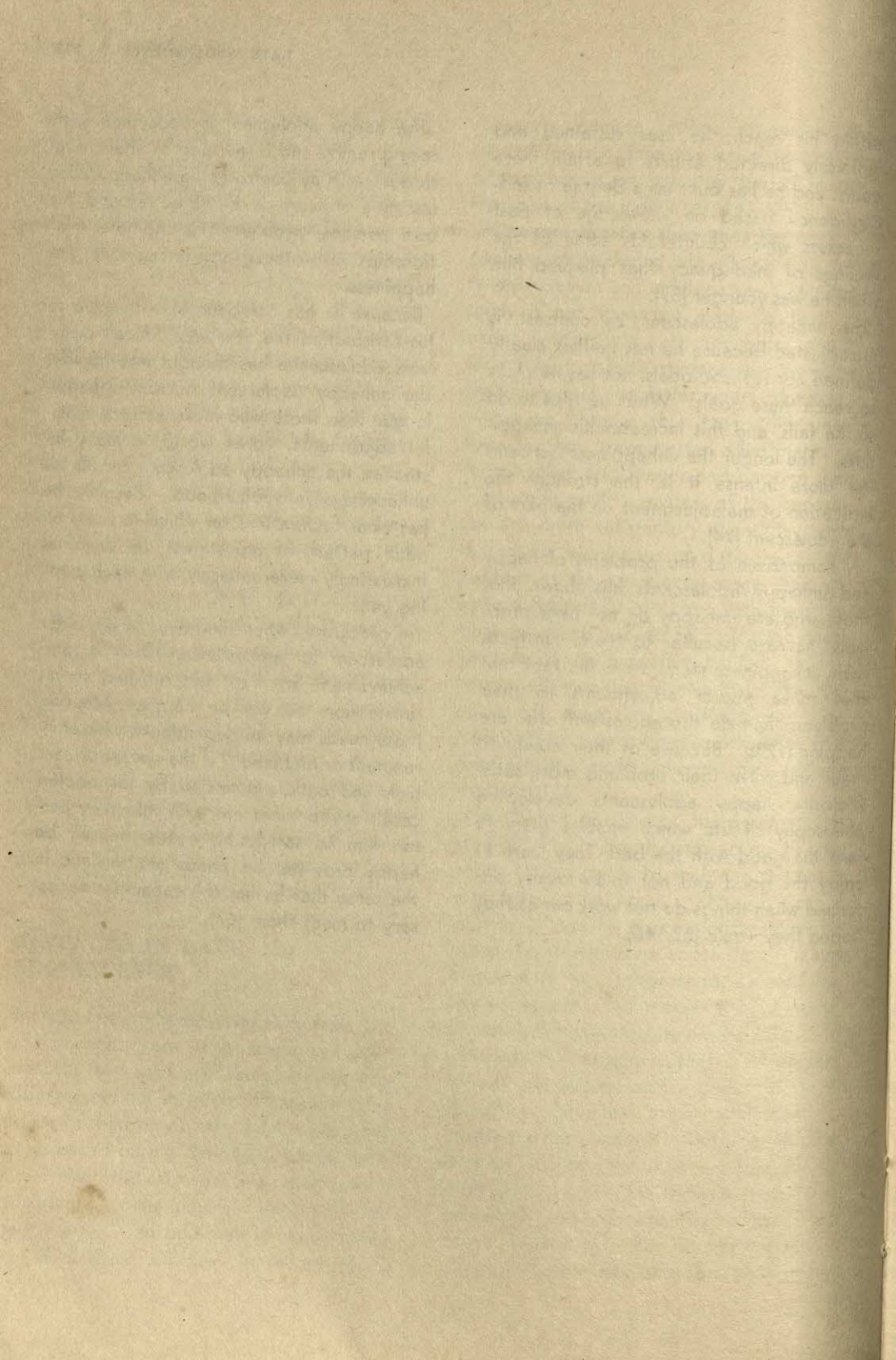
The unhappy adolescent, by contrast, is maladjusted because he has neither clearly defined nor realistic goals, nor has he plans to reach these goals. When he tries to do so, he fails, and this increases his unhappiness. The longer the unhappiness lasts and the more intense it is, the stronger the indication of maladjustment on the part of the adolescent (74).

A comparison of the problems of happy and unhappy adolescents has shown that those who are unhappy do not have problems that are peculiar to them. Instead, their unhappiness stems from the fact that they make poorer adjustments to their problems than do the adolescents who are happier (123). Because of their ability to meet and solve their problems more satisfactorily, happy adolescents develop a philosophy of life which enables them to take the good with the bad. They learn to enjoy the good and not to be overly disturbed when things do not work out as they hoped they would (62, 146).

The happy adolescent is concerned with facing reality and is involved in affairs outside himself. By contrast, the unhappy adolescent's concern is centered around his own personal problems, his intimate relationships with others, and his personal unhappiness.

Because he has not been able to solve to his satisfaction the new and difficult problems adolescence has brought into his life, the unhappy adolescent remains unhappy longer than those who make more successful adjustments. Even worse, in many instances, the unhappy adolescent carries his unhappiness into adulthood. Because he has poor foundations on which to build an adult pattern of adjustment, he becomes increasingly more unhappy with each passing year.

In conclusion, when the needs of the older adolescent for acceptance, affection, and achievement are met and satisfied to his satisfaction, he will be happy. Meeting these needs may be dependent on his environment or on himself. If the system of controls and outlets provided by the adolescent's environment are such that they permit him to satisfy his needs, he will be happy *provided* his needs are realistic in the sense that he has the capacities necessary to meet them (67).



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The term "adult," comes from the same Latin verb as "adolescence"—*adolescere*—which means to grow to maturity. However, it comes from the past participle of that verb—*adultus*—which means "grown to full size and strength" or "matured." An adult, therefore, is an individual who has completed his growth and is ready for his status in society with other adults.

Adulthood is legally achieved in the American culture today at the age of twenty-one years and extends to the end of life. With the gradual lengthening of the life span, adulthood is by far the longest period in the life span.

Among primitive peoples and among some civilized peoples even today, adulthood is designated by marked biological boundaries, such as puberty and the climacteric. With the advance in civilization, there has been a growing tendency to push up the recognized age of adulthood until now, in the American culture, it comes seven or eight years after the individual has become sexually mature. Similarly, the climacteric, or "change of life" from a sexual to an asexual person, no longer means "old age," as it does in most primitive cultures and as it did in many civilized cultures in the past. As a result, adulthood today is not only a long but also a poorly differentiated period in the life span.

Subdivisions of Adulthood

During the long span of years, from the time when the individual is recognized as an "adult" until he dies, certain physical

and psychological changes occur at predictable times. Like childhood and adolescence, both long periods of time when certain physical and psychological changes occur at predictable times, adulthood is customarily divided into subdivisions, each with its physical and psychological characteristics and each with adjustment problems stemming from these characteristics and from cultural pressures and expectancies. These subdivisions are early, middle, and late adulthood.

The first of these subdivisions, *early adulthood*, extends from legal maturity to approximately forty years—a span of twenty years. Although it is true that there are marked variations in the ages at which men and women lose their reproductive capacities, with the physical and psychological changes that accompany the climacteric in men and the menopause in women, forty years is accepted as the traditional age at which these changes *begin* for the average individual.

The second of the subdivisions, middle adulthood or *middle age*, as it is commonly called, begins at forty and ends at sixty—another span of twenty years. Although most adults show the beginning of the physical changes that accompany the loss of reproductive capacity around the age of forty years, the actual loss of reproductive capacity may not occur until during the forties or fifties. With this, certain changes occur which mark the beginning of physical and psychological decline. At first, the decline is barely perceptible and is generally limited to physical changes. However, by the age of sixty years, the decline is more apparent for the average person than it was earlier and, for that reason, sixty is taken as the convenient dividing line to mark off the end of middle age.

The third of the subdivisions of adulthood is known as late adulthood, senescence, or, in more popular usage, *old age*. This begins at the end of middle age, sixty years, and extends until death. Whether this will be the shortest or the longest of the subdivisions of adulthood, or whether it will be approximately the same length—twenty years—will vary from individual to individual. However, because there is a growing tendency for men and women in the American culture to live longer than at any time in the past, there are more people living into this third subdivision of adulthood—and sometimes far into it—than ever before in the history of civilization.

Awareness of the physiological and psychological changes that occur as adulthood progresses has been reduced to a minimum because modern medical aids and clothing help to keep men and women of different ages looking, feeling, and acting much as if they were of the same age. The dividing lines used today are *general*, not specific, landmarks, and they come at ages when the average man or woman can be expected to begin to show some changes in appearance, bodily functions, interests, attitudes, or behavior, and when certain environmental pressures in our culture give rise to adjustment problems which few men or women escape.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY ADULTHOOD

Early adulthood is a period of adjustments to new patterns of life and new social expectations. The young adult is expected to play new roles, such as that of spouse, parent, and breadwinner, and to develop new attitudes, interests, and values in keeping with these new roles (22).

Adolescents who finish their education with graduation from high school have already started to make adjustments to adult roles when they reach the age of legal maturity. Adolescents, on the other hand, who continue their education, often beyond the age of legal maturity, are later in starting to make these adjustments, or they make some of them and defer the others until their education has been completed.

Because early adulthood is a time when major adjustments must be made, it is a period in the life span of the individual with characteristics that make it distinctive from the periods that preceded it and from those which follow. Early adulthood is the "Reproductive Age," the "Settling-down Age," a "Problem Age," and a period of emotional tension.

Early Adulthood Is the "Reproductive Age"

For most young adults, parenthood is one of the most important roles of their lives. This is more true of women than of men, though men of today are taking a more active role in the care of children than was true in the past. When marriage takes place during the latter years of adolescence, parenthood is the preoccupying role of young adults during the twenties and early thirties; many become grandparents before early adulthood ends. Adults who do not marry until they complete their education or get started in their careers spend the major part of early adulthood playing the role of parents. This is especially true of young women and of both men and women who have large families. While it is true that many adults continue to play the parental role into middle age, reproduction after the age of forty for women

is relatively infrequent. And, because the trend today is to marry individuals of approximately the same age, the reproductive period for men likewise ends around forty in most cases.

Early Adulthood Is the "Settling-down Age"

It has been said that childhood and adolescence are the periods of "growing up" and that adulthood is the time for "settling down." As the young adult begins to play new adult roles, such as those of breadwinner and parent, his commitment to these roles constrain him to follow a consistent pattern of behavior in many areas of his life. This leads to a stability of behavior which precludes the experimenting with new roles constrains him to follow a consistent characterized his childhood and adolescent years (22,165). As he "settles down," the individual develops a pattern of behavior which will be characteristically his for the remainder of his life. Any need to change this pattern, in middle or old age, will be difficult and emotionally disturbing for him.

By the mid-thirties, the average adult has established a life pattern that will remain, with only minor changes, for the rest of his life. Many adults do not need this long to establish themselves in their life patterns. Shortly after they reach maturity, they have married, established themselves in the type of work they will do for the remaining years of their lives, and have settled in a community where they intend to live permanently.

This early solution to their life problems may prove to be satisfactory in the long run and it may not. If the decision has been based on strong drives, interests, and abilities, well and good. If, however, the

young adults' decisions have been made hastily to satisfy parental urgings or their own desires, the chances are that a time will come when they regret them.

Early Adulthood Is a "Problem Age"

The early adult years present many new problems, different in their major aspects from the problems experienced in the earlier years of life. Furthermore, the adult is expected to cope with these problems without the supervision, guidance, and help he had from parents and teachers when he was younger. Even though he may have made some beginning in coping with adult problems in the latter part of adolescence, as happens when boys and girls enter the adult world of work when they finish high school or when they marry and become parents before they reach legal maturity, he can usually count on parental help should the problems be too much for him to deal with alone. After he becomes legally mature, his parents expect him to meet the problems alone or his pride prevents him from going to them for help. Thus, the adult years are problem years for him just as they are for the young adults who have spent their adolescent years in school or college and have been financially dependent on their parents.

Because the problems that must be met and the adjustments that must be made are different in their major aspects from the problems and adjustments met earlier, the young adult must use a new and different strategy, based on an understanding of the new terrain, if he is to make a success of his new environment and if he is to solve his adjustment problems to his satisfaction. This will necessitate scouting around and trying out different adjustments for a few years while he gets the lay of the land (165).

The individual needs time to find the best adjustment techniques. The more scouting

around he does at this time, the more likely he is to make adjustments that will be satisfying to him as he grows older. Adjustment to the problems of adulthood that are made without adequate time to explore different possibilities are rarely as satisfactory in the long run (107).

From the beginning of adulthood until the early or mid-thirties, the average American of today is preoccupied with problems related to adjustments in the different major areas of his life. These adjustments will not all be made at the same time, nor will their final forms be accepted simultaneously (see Figure 10-1).

While adjustment is being made in one area, there is a marked preoccupation with that interest. Then, when the adjustment is satisfactorily made, the individual's attention shifts to another form of adjustment. It is difficult, if not actually impossible, for a young adult to solve two such major problems as the choice of a life career and a life mate simultaneously. He therefore solves one problem and then turns his attention to the other.

Early Adulthood Is a Period of Emotional Tension

While the individual is trying to get the lay of the new land in which he finds himself, he is likely to be upset emotionally. In an attempt to decide what his life career will be, where he wants to live for the remaining years of his life, or with whom he wishes to share his life, the young adult is in a state of indecision during which he tries out first one solution to his problem and then another until he finds a satisfactory one.

In early adulthood, the individual is faced with more adjustment problems than he has ever had to face before, even more than during the early years of adolescence, and he is less well equipped to deal with these adjustment problems than he will be later.

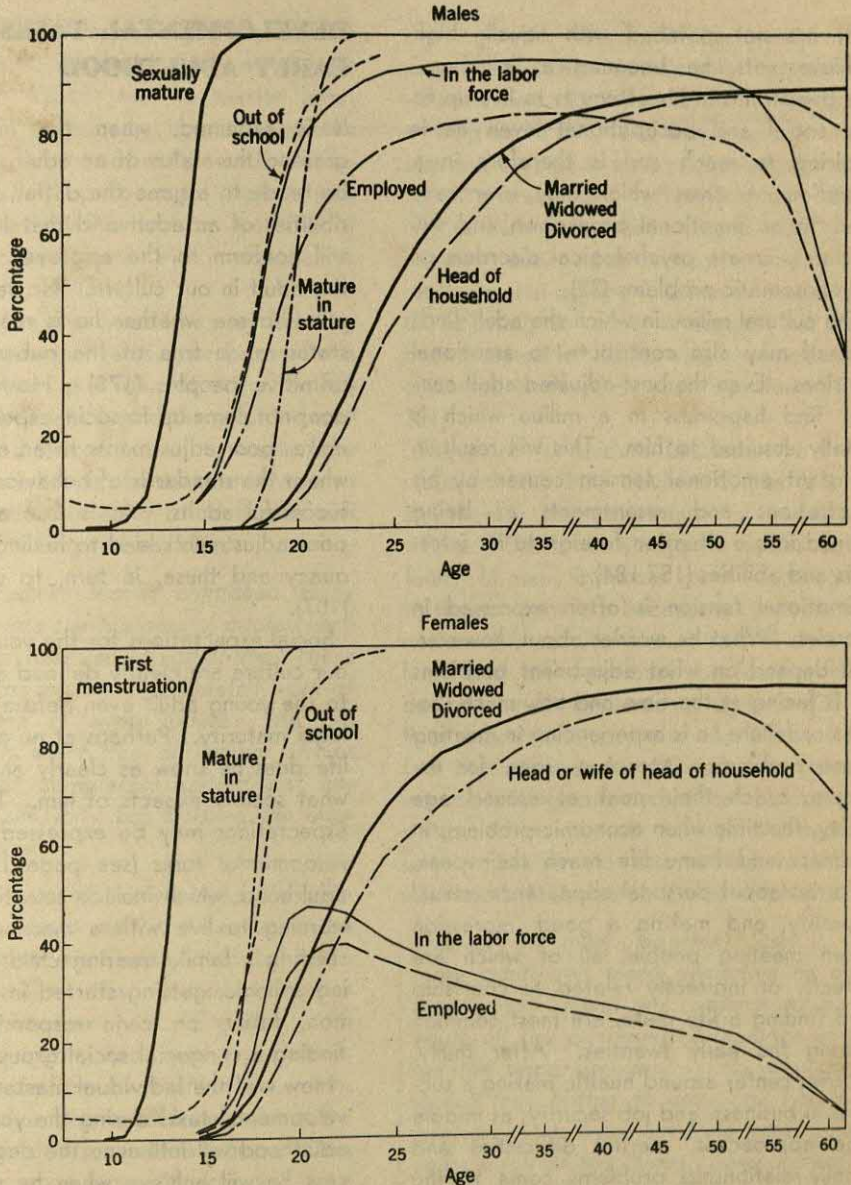


FIGURE 10-1 PATTERN OF TRANSITION TO MATURITY. (ADAPTED FROM F. K. SHUTTLEWORTH: THE ADOLESCENT PERIOD: A GRAPHIC ATLAS. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develop.*, 1949, 14, NO. 1. USED BY PERMISSION.)

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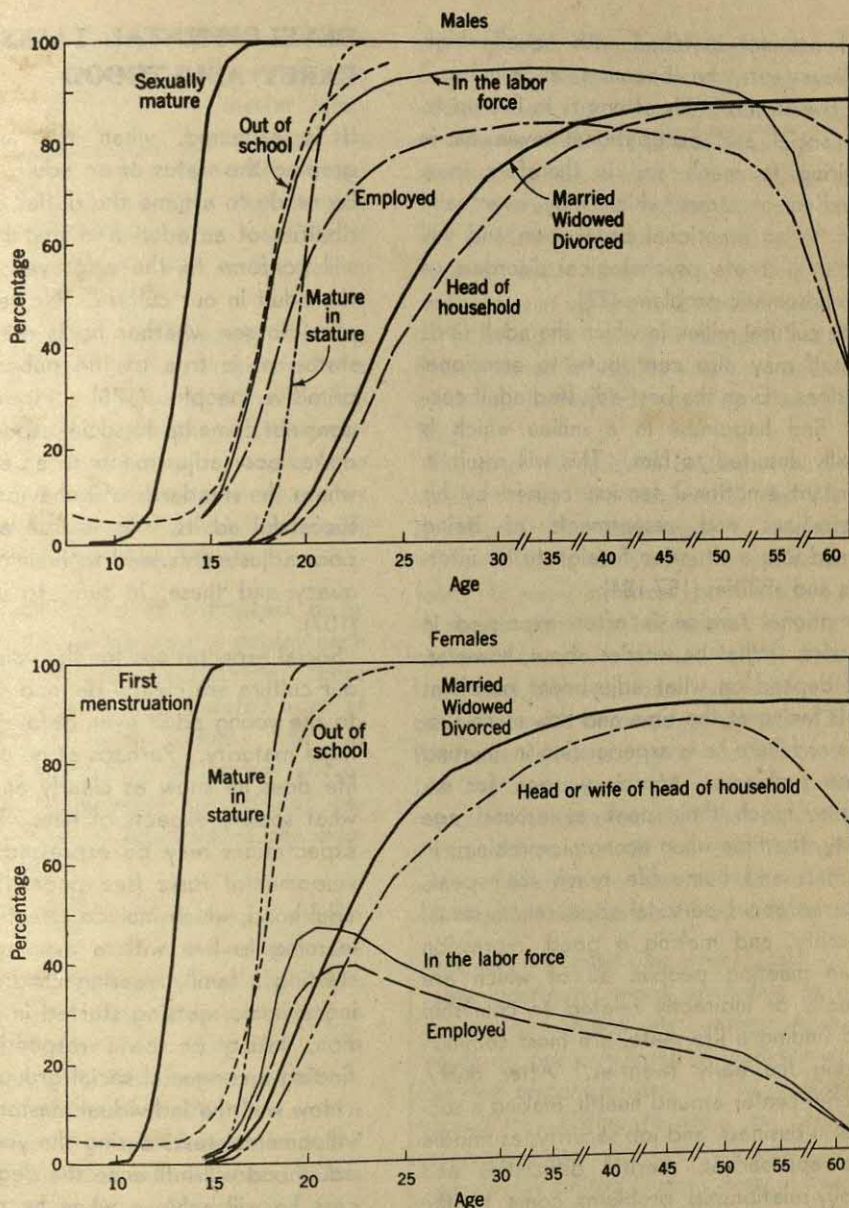


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sides and is replaced with emotional stability and calm (107).

However, if the adult has high aspirations

that are not matched with equally high achievements, he becomes a "climber." He overstrains in his attempts to live up to the social and occupational levels he is aspiring to reach and is therefore in a situation of stress which may eventually lead to an emotional breakdown and will certainly create psychological disorders or psychosomatic problems (22).

The cultural milieu in which the adult finds himself may also contribute to emotional tensions. Even the best-adjusted adult cannot find happiness in a milieu which is totally unsuited to him. This will result in constant emotional tension caused by his frustrations and resentments at being forced into a situation foreign to his interests and abilities (157,184).

Emotional tension is often expressed in worries. What he worries about, however, will depend on what adjustment problems he is facing at the time and how much success or failure he is experiencing in meeting these problems. Money worries, for example, reach their peak at around age thirty, the time when economic problems in business and home life reach their peak. Worries about personal appearance, sexual morality, and making a good impression when meeting people, all of which are directly or indirectly related to courtship and finding a life mate, are most common during the early twenties. After thirty, worries center around health, making a success in business, and job security; as middle age approaches, marital difficulties and family-relationship problems come to the fore. Even though there are individual variations in worries at different ages, there is a predictable pattern since these are closely related to, and in fact, are the outcome of, the adjustment problems more or less universally found among the young adults of our culture (189,190).

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF EARLY ADULTHOOD

It is expected, when the individual is granted the status of an adult, that he will be ready to assume the duties and responsibilities of an adult and that his behavior will conform to the approved pattern of the adult in our culture. No tests are applied to see whether he is ready for this status, as is true of the puberty rites of primitive peoples (178). However, if he does not come up to social expectations, he makes poor adjustments to an environment where the standards of behavior are set by successful adults. As is true at any age, poor adjustments lead to feelings of inadequacy and these, in turn, to unhappiness (107).

Social expectations for the young adult in our culture are clearly defined and familiar to the young adult even before he reaches legal maturity. Perhaps at no other age in life does he know as clearly and distinctly what society expects of him. These social expectations may be expressed in the *developmental tasks* (see page 15) of early adulthood, which include selecting a mate, learning to live with a marriage partner, starting a family, rearing children, managing a home, getting started in an occupation, taking on civic responsibility, and finding a congenial social group (107).

How well the individual masters these developmental tasks during the years of early adulthood will influence the degree of success he will achieve when he reaches the peak during middle age—whether this peak relates to work, social recognition, or family living—and it will determine how happy he will be then as well as during the latter periods of his adult life.

As is true of the earlier years, failure to master successfully a developmental task for

a specific period means a poor foundation on which to build the developmental tasks society will expect him to master later. Conversely, his success in mastering the developmental tasks of early adulthood and thus measuring up to social expectations will be greatly influenced by the kind of foundations that were laid in the earlier periods of his life (184).

In discussing the importance of learning the developmental tasks appropriate for a given age level as a foundation for the following age level, Jersild has pointed out that many adolescents fail to master the developmental tasks of adolescence and, as a result, find adjustment to adult roles difficult. According to him (120):

The adolescent leaves unfinished many tasks that are the business of adolescence but are carried over into adult life. There is something of the uncompleted work of adolescence in every adult. The big issues with which the adolescent strives ... are not completely settled just because he officially has finished the adolescent years.

Up to the age of thirty years, it is quite common for both men and women to be immature in certain areas of their behavior, at the same time showing marked degrees of maturity in other areas. Gradually, with new achievements and new expectations from the social group, much of the immaturity that characterized the behavior in the early part of this period disappears. This results in a more even development on a more mature level.

There are, however, many individuals who remain immature throughout the major part of their adulthood and who, as a result, can make successful adjustments to life only so long as their environments remain simple and in keeping with their immature level of

development. This is well illustrated in the case of the overprotected wife and mother who is taken care of by a doting husband as long as he lives and whose care is later assumed by doting sons and daughters who try to protect their mother from the world just as their father did. Should they not, however, assume the protective role, their mother would quickly find herself incapable of adjusting to an environment that has been planned for adults who have been accustomed to stand on their own feet (184, 221).

The more "unfinished business" the individual carries into adulthood, the longer and harder the adjustment to adulthood will be. This is not always the adolescent's fault. In many instances, he is encouraged to remain immature because his parents do not want to relinquish their role of parenthood and the emotional satisfaction they derive from his dependency on them (221). Poor adjustment may also result from the fact that adulthood is painted in less glowing colors to the adolescent than his present status and, as a result, he lacks the necessary motivation to assume the roles of adulthood. As Alpenfels (5) has emphasized:

One of our most important tasks is to make adulthood more attractive to our teenagers. Should we continue to give youth all the privileges of maturity without the responsibilities? If so, why then should they bother to grow up? For the adolescent years are not truly transitional years in the United States. They are waiting years for those who are no longer children and not yet adults.

AIDS TO MASTERY OF DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

The developmental tasks of early adulthood differ, in their major aspects, from any de-

developmental tasks the individual has been expected to master earlier. However, the young adult is aided in meeting the adjustment problems the developmental tasks involve by being at the peak of his physical and mental vigor. The most important aids to adjustment include physical efficiency, motor abilities, and mental abilities.

Physical Efficiency

The peak of physical efficiency is generally reached in the mid-twenties, after which there is a slow and gradual decline in general physical fitness up to the age of forty or forty-five years, when the rate of decline begins to accelerate. This means that during the period when the most numerous and most difficult adjustment problems must be met and solved, the individual is physically able to do so (154,184,203).

Some men, however, in their zeal to get ahead, work under great physical and psychological pressure. They work long hours without adequate rest; they eat at irregular times and skip regular meals in favor of sandwiches and coffee; and they work under great nervous tension. As a result, they develop high blood pressure, ulcers, and many other physical disturbances that decrease their efficiency (174,197,230).

Most women, during early adulthood, are healthy. Even the periodic physical disturbances of menstruation have not been found to have the effects that they are traditionally believed to have. There are variations in physical and psychological states not duplicated in men but, as a general rule, these do not result in disturbances comparable to those of the adolescent girl. Among many women, there is no physical disturbance, though there may be a tendency to greater irritability and nervousness than is experienced at other times.

What effects there are are largely subjective and reflect the influence of superstitious beliefs and traditions. Well-adjusted women are able to meet the demands of daily living and do their work as successfully during their menstrual periods as at any other time, though it may require slightly more effort on their part to keep their work up to the normal level (114,184).

Some women, as is true of men, impair their physical efficiency by unwholesome attitudes. Instead of working under the pressure of nervous tension to get ahead, they suffer from more or less chronic fatigue resulting from boredom with their work in the home or from frustrations that develop as a result of role conflicts (28,159,231). Figure 10-2 shows day tiredness in women. Fatigue is often the result of the annoyance the woman feels at the "easy life" her husband has as compared with hers—the "lazy-husband syndrome" (175). The "lazy-husband syndrome" has been described in this way (173):

The picture is one of a husband who has had a "long" eight hour day at his air-conditioned office and who comes home, calls for a drink, plops exhausted into a chair with the newspaper or in front of the television set, gets up to eat his dinner an hour later, complains that the meat is not well done, pecks his wife on the cheek and goes out with the bowling team, has a beer, comes home, watches some more television, and plops into bed. Meanwhile, his wife, who has been working all day, gets the meal, tries to discipline the children so Daddy can rest, feeds the infant, serves the meal, does the dishes, feeds the dog, bathes the kids, puts them to bed, puts a load of washing through, does some ironing, watches TV for an hour (while darning)... This goes on day

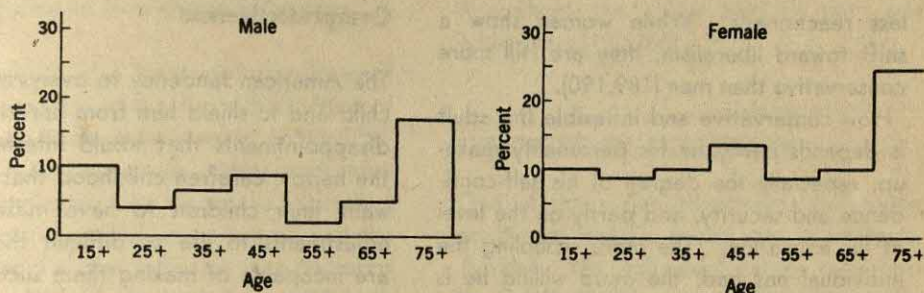


FIGURE 10-2 DAY TIREDNESS IS MORE COMMON AMONG WOMEN THAN AMONG MEN IN EARLY ADULTHOOD. (ADAPTED FROM A. MCGHIE AND S. M. RUSSELL: THE SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF NORMAL SLEEP PATTERNS. *J. ment. Sci.*, 1962, 108, 642-654. USED BY PERMISSION.)

after day. The husband is happy but the woman becomes vaguely unhappy, tense and fatigued.

Motor Abilities

Because of the physical strength and good health normally present in early adulthood, the individual can acquire skills even better than in adolescence, when his body is still developing. Furthermore, he can count on his ability in a given situation, which is generally impossible during adolescence, when uneven and rapid growth throw the muscular patterns temporarily out of balance.

In *strength*, the individual is at his peak between the ages of twenty and thirty years. Maximum *speed* of response, as measured by reaction-time tests, comes between twenty and twenty-five years, after which decline begins at a slow rate. In *learning new motor skills*, the adult in his early twenties is superior to the one who is approaching middle age (154,184,190).

Mental Abilities

Mental abilities are even more important in adjustments than are motor abilities. Genetic studies of intelligence have re-

vealed that there is a slow but continuous rise in intelligence-test scores up to the mid-twenties, after which the curve begins to flatten out and remains thus until the fifties (21). See Figure 1-10, page 23. The important mental abilities needed for learning and for adjustment to new situations, such abilities, for example, as forming comparisons, reasoning by analogy, recall of previously learned information, and creative imagination, reach their peak during the twenties and then begin a slow and gradual decline (190,210).

Because mental abilities reach their peak of development in the early adult years and remain near their peak until middle age sets in, the young adult is capable of learning as well as a child or an adolescent. It may take him longer to learn than it did when he was younger, but the quality of his learning does not suffer (21,190).

There is no question about the fact that mental resistance to change appears with advancing age, but it is generally not apparent before middle age. In fact, there is a trend toward more liberal attitudes as people grow older, with those who were radical in their adolescent years becoming slightly more radical, and the reactionaries,

less reactionary. While women show a shift toward liberalism, they are still more conservative than men (189,190).

How conservative and inflexible the adult is depends partly on his personality make-up, especially the degree of his self-confidence and security, and partly on the level of his education. The more schooling the individual has had, the more willing he is to adopt a new point of view. In all levels of education, however, the younger the individual, the more ready he is to accept new ideas and new practices (190,210).

HANDICAPS TO MASTERING DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

Of the many handicaps that make mastery of the developmental tasks of early adulthood especially difficult, the most important are discontinuities in training, overprotectiveness, prolongation of peer-group influences, and unrealistic aspirations.

Discontinuities in Training

Our training of the young is characterized by discontinuities in the sense that the training given in childhood has little or no relationship to the pattern of life in adulthood. By contrast, in cultures where there is continuity in training, with emphasis on teaching the child what he will need to know to meet the demands of adult life, the transition to adult life is made easy and the adjustments are successful (178).

Even in school, the education of the child has little relationship to what he will need in adult life. This is true also of the education in high school and in the liberal arts colleges. Only when the older student takes a course of study in some professional training school is there any continuity between what he learns in school and what he can use when he goes to work.

Overprotectiveness

The American tendency to overprotect the child and to shield him from hardships and disappointments that would interfere with the happy, carefree childhood that parents want their children to have, makes adult adjustments to life so difficult that many are incapable of making them successfully. As a result, they become maladjusted in the sense that their behavior falls below social expectations and they try to compensate for this by using different defense mechanisms (208,218).

Parental overprotectiveness may result in a dependency on the parents that is so marked that the young adult is unable to meet the demands placed on him. Parents, even though they want their adolescent sons and daughters to grow up, are afraid of what the world will do to these innocent and inexperienced youth. This usually results in a prolonging of the dependency relationship (43,188). See Figure 9-5, page 484. Becoming independent of parental protectiveness is especially difficult for young people in middle-class socioeconomic families, and girls experience greater difficulties in becoming emancipated than do boys.

Few parents who have been overprotective during their children's early life are willing to grant them complete independence in making their own decisions just because they have reached the age of legal maturity. This complicates matters for the individual, making it difficult for him to make decisions that will satisfy himself and his parents. To avoid hurting his parents' feelings or making them feel that he is ungrateful to them for all the sacrifices they have made for him, he frequently makes compromises that are satisfying neither to him nor to them (184,190,221).

Prolongation of Peer-group Influences

The necessity of a long education to meet the competition in the American culture of today results in remaining in an environment where peer-group values and influences dominate. The longer the education, the longer these influences prevail and the more habitual the behavior that conforms to the values of the peer group (58,111).

If the developmental tasks of adolescence were similar to those of early adulthood, this would not be a handicap. But the tasks for the two age levels are different enough (see page 15 for a list of these tasks) that becoming accustomed to behaving as an adolescent makes becoming accustomed to behaving as an adult more difficult than it would otherwise be.

Unrealistic Aspirations

Complications of adjustment may stem from the young adult's own unrealistic concepts of what he wants and what he is capable of. Too much academic, athletic, or social success in high school or college may give the adolescent such unrealistic concepts of his abilities that he will expect the adult world to be at his feet, just as the adolescent world of his school or college days was.

Parental aspirations often intensify the adolescent's own aspirations, thus increasing the adjustment problems when the individual reaches adult years. Fathers' concern is more for their sons than for their daughters, especially for the firstborn son (1). This results in setting up standards, often beyond the reach of the young person. Men under thirty-six years of age report daydreaming much more frequently than those who are older. This suggests that striving for high goals continues

throughout the major part of the early adult years (190,208).

CHANGES IN INTERESTS

One of the major adjustments the young adult must make is in the area of interests. Typically, the individual carries over into the adult years many of the interests he acquired in adolescence or even in childhood. However, as the pattern of life of the young adult takes on new forms, there must be a reassessment of old interests to see if they fit into this new pattern and if they can give the satisfaction to the individual that they gave when he was younger and when the pattern of his life was different (220).

From the practical angle, the young adult must assess his old interests in terms of the time they require, the money and companionship they entail, and the physical strength and energy needed to carry them out satisfactorily. The more satisfying an interest is, the more difficult it is to adjust to giving it up or relegating it to a position in which it has little effect on the individual's life (78,220).

As patterns of living change, new values are acquired, and these influence the interests of the individual. In the adult years, the pattern of women's lives differs markedly from that of men's, so it is not surprising that their interests become different. Because the life pattern for married adults differs markedly from that of unmarried adults of the same age levels, it would be logical to suppose that there would also be differences in the interests of individuals, depending on their marital status (107,165).

With age, likes and dislikes tend to become stronger. Since these preferences influence the interests of the individual, there

is a tendency for interests to become more stable as the individual grows older. In the adult years, age differences in interests are less pronounced than interests due to sex, occupational level, or socioeconomic status (78,184,190,220).

Pattern of Change

The tendency is not to change interests with age so much as to narrow down slightly the range of interests as age advances. The result is that, as middle age approaches, there are fewer interests than there were during the years of early maturity. As changes in duties and responsibilities occur, there is normally a shift of emphasis on already-existing interests rather than the establishment of new interests. New interests may be established as the individual grows older, but, unless there are changes in his environment, opportunities to develop new interests, and a strong motivation to do so, the chances are that new interests will develop only infrequently (110,211,220, 229).

Changes in interests do not all come at the same time. Approximately one-half of all changes come between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five years; 20 per cent, between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five years; and the remaining 30 per cent, between forty-five and fifty-five years.

These shifts in interest are probably the result of cultural and environmental rather than actual age changes. The period of most rapid shift in interests comes in adolescence, when there is the most marked change in the physical and psychological makeup of the individual. As Strong has pointed out, at "twenty-five years the adult is largely what he is going to be and even

at twenty years he has acquired pretty much the interests he will have throughout life" (220).

Though the number of interests changes little as age advances, the shifts in emphasis on different interests are marked. Interest in active recreations, such as sports and dancing, declines with age and in its place comes an interest in more cultural and sedentary uses of leisure time, such as reading and card games.

Interest in sex changes differently for the two sexes. For men, this interest increases up to the ages of thirty-five or forty years and then decreases at a slow rate. For women, by contrast, the interest begins to decline in the thirties but at a much more rapid rate than for men.

Interest in manners and courtesy, which ranks high in adolescence, decreases as time goes on. Likewise, interest in money, which to the adolescent and young adult is not only a strong interest but also a serious problem, loses its hold on the individual's attention as he reaches middle age and is in an financial position to supply most of his needs and wants. By contrast, interest in a philosophy of life, which during the adolescent years is not very strong, increases in importance as the individual grows older (110,190). See Figure 10-3.

Because interests change less in adult years than is generally supposed, it becomes apparent that the larger the range of interests built up during the early years of life, the better able the adult will be to adjust to the changes in interests which must be made as the pattern of his life changes. Furthermore, because new interests, totally unrelated to previously learned interests, are less and less likely to be acquired as the individual grows older, a larger range of interests carried over from

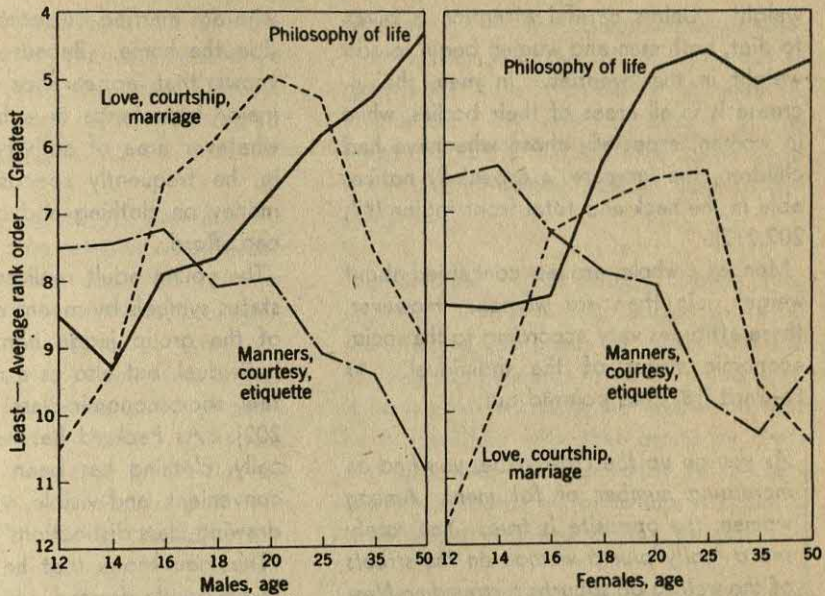


FIGURE 10-3 CHANGES IN INTEREST WITH AGE IN THREE IMPORTANT LIFE AREAS. (ADAPTED FROM F. K. SHUTTLEWORTH: THE ADOLESCENT PERIOD: A GRAPHIC ATLAS. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Developm.*, 1949, 14, NO. 1. USED BY PERMISSION.)

earlier years gives him a reserve to tap when it is necessary to make changes in already-existing interests (110,190).

Types of Interests

The range of interests of American adults of today is so wide that it would be impossible to cover all of them. However, there are certain interests that are so common that they may be regarded as "typical" of young adults of today in the American culture. Of these, the most important and the most common include physical appearance, clothes and personal adornment, material possessions, money, and religion.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE By adulthood, most men and women have learned to ac-

cept their physiques and to make the most of them. Although their height, weight, facial features, and coloring may not be to their liking, they have learned that little can be done to alter them but much can be done to cover them up or to improve them. As a result, the adult's major concern with his appearance is to improve it.

This leads to interest in all sorts of beauty aids, to diets, and to exercise which will improve the figure. The adult's interest in looks begins to wane during the late twenties. But, with the first signs of aging, this interest is again revived. As signs of aging appear with greater frequency and severity, the interest becomes stronger and stronger (202,235).

The first indication of aging the young adult is confronted with is usually gain in

weight. Unless careful attention is given to diet, both men and women begin to add weight in the twenties. In men, the increase is in all areas of their bodies, while in women, especially those who have had children, the increase is especially noticeable in the neck and total front region (47, 202, 212).

Men, as a whole, are less concerned about weight gain than are women. However, these attitudes vary according to the socioeconomic status of the individual. As Packard (182) has pointed out:

As you go up the class scale, you find an increasing number of fat men. Among women, the opposite is true. You rarely see a really plump woman on the streets of the well-to-do suburbs surrounding New York. The slim figure is more of a preoccupation with women of the two upper classes. As you go down the scale, the married women take plumpness more calmly.

In addition to gaining weight, other signs of aging, such as sagging chins, gray hairs, and protruding abdomens, become problems for the young adult. Some adults accept these signs of aging without any attempt to correct them. Most, however, recognize the important role appearance plays in business, social, professional, and even family life and attack the problem both at its source and by using clothes and beauty aids to cover up the telltale signs of aging they cannot remove (184, 202, 235).

CLOTHES AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT Interest in clothing and personal adornment, so strong during the adolescent years, remains strong during the early years of adulthood. This is especially true of unmarried men and women and of women

who are married but continue to work outside the home. Because the young adult knows that appearance plays a role of major importance in achieving success in whatever area of activity he is interested in, he frequently spends more time and money on clothing and grooming than he can afford.

The young adult realizes that clothes are status symbols by means of which members of the group judge him, not only as an individual, but also as a member of a certain socioeconomic-class group (5, 76, 200, 202). As Packard has reported, "Historically, clothing has been one of the most convenient, and visible, vehicles known for drawing class distinctions" (182).

The man knows that he cannot "afford" to be poorly dressed. He is aware of the fact that his clothes tell the world not only what sort of person he is but also how successful he is. Because social relationships, in business as well as in social life, are markedly influenced by judgments people make of one another, the adult knows that his status rating by others will be affected by the impression he creates on them and that this impression will be greatly influenced by the type of clothes he wears (76, 177, 200).

His social-class background is also revealed by his grooming. As Packard has observed, "Perhaps the most visible differentiation between males of the upper cluster of classes and those of the lower classes is the elaborate casualness of the upper-class dress for most occasions outside work and the faith in formality of those of the lower groups" (182).

For women, it is not only important to attract members of the opposite sex, to win the approval of members of their own sex, and to maintain a favorable status in the business and professional world, if they

work outside the home, but it is even more important to establish their socioeconomic status by the clothes they wear (76,200, 202). How this is done has been described thus by Packard (182):

The women of "old money" families [the true elite] tend to be relatively indifferent to swings in fashion; and their taste is oriented more to that of the British upper classes than to the French.... In contrast, the "new money" women [the unseasoned elite] are fascinated with high fashion as it is dictated by Paris.... As you move down into the range of the typical American woman, the aim is to follow whatever "smart" style is "sweeping the country" provided that the style permits the women to emphasize their "respectability" and prettiness.... Lower-middle-class women [limited success], on the other hand, dress primarily to make a nice impression on other people, particularly other women. And the lower-status woman likes to dress up for still a different reason. She wants most the fantasy of the experience. She is eager to get away from the drudgery of housework and children, and wants to become a Cinderella and so escape for a moment from her troubles. She doesn't dress particularly for men because most of the males she sees at parties are her relatives and in-laws.

ROLE OF CLOTHES In way of summary, for the young adult, the following needs are the motivating forces in determining what type of clothes the individual will select: compensation, identification, and regression.

Compensation The adult who is dissatisfied with his appearance has already dis-

covered, during the adolescent years, that clothing can improve his appearance so greatly that he is often barely recognizable. This is done by selecting clothes of the styles and colors that will enhance his good features and camouflage his unattractive features.

Identification To an adult, it is even more important than it is to an adolescent to be identified in the minds of others with the social group he wants to be identified with. If he is able to create the impression that he is identified with that group by dress and grooming that conforms to the accepted standards of the group, it helps to give him business and social prestige.

Regression Social and business success are enhanced by a youthful appearance. As the telltale signs of aging begin to appear, the young adult uses clothes of the color and style that make him look younger than he actually is (2,12,132,160,202,235).

All clothes affect the individual's concept of self and, thus, evoke some degree of ego involvement. As a result, most men and women feel that clothes play so important a role in their lives that they are willing to deprive themselves of pleasures and even some of the necessities of life in order to be in style. Professional advancement, the desire to climb the social ladder, and an attempt to put up a "good front" are powerful motives in determining whether young men and women will spend a disproportionate amount of money on their clothes and grooming (12,34,202,232).

Because clothing plays a dominant role in adjustments in all areas of adult life, interest in clothes does not lag as adulthood progresses but remains strong or may even increase in intensity if it is apparent to the individual that success in some area of ad-

justment that is important to him can be aided by an attractive appearance which is enhanced by stylish, becoming, and expensive clothing (119,138,242).

MATERIAL POSSESSIONS Interest in material possessions generally reaches its peak during the early years of adulthood. The young adult who, as an adolescent, envied those whose economic status was superior to his and those who, as a result, had material possessions which enabled them to win acceptance in the leading groups of school, is motivated by a strong desire to earn enough money to have the possessions he formerly wanted but was unable to have. He regards them as important status symbols which, he believes, will enhance his status in the adult social group just as he found the material possessions of adolescents enhanced their status in the social groups of school and college (5,58). Many young women, after marriage, continue to hold jobs not so much because they enjoy their work but rather because they want the money that will enable them to have the things they crave (10,199).

Because success in the business world is generally judged by the economic and social status of the individual, as shown by his clothes, his home, his cars, and his other possessions, the typical young man of today is eager to rise as fast as possible in the business world in hopes of getting the things he and his family want. While the home and its furnishings may mean a comfortable pattern of living to older people, to the young adult it means prestige in the eyes of others (65,74,134,166).

Why the home is so important a status symbol for young adults has been explained thus by Packard (182):

The home during the late fifties began showing signs of supplanting the automobile as the status symbol most favored by Americans for staking their status claims. There are a number of explanations for this change, but the most important one, undoubtedly is that with the general rise in incomes and installment buying a luxuriously sculptured chariot has become too easily obtainable for the great multitudes of status strivers. A home costs more money, a lot more. Another explanation is the appearance in profusion of mass merchandisers in the home-selling field, who have become skilled... in surrounding their product with status meanings.... Finally, visible signs of culture have their value in conveying the impression of high status.... One reason the home is replacing the automobile as a favored way for demonstrating status is that a home can be a showcase for "culture." In a home you can display antiques, old glassware, leather-bound books, classical records, antiques. These are things a car can't do.

This, of course, does not mean that young adults are substituting homes for cars as status symbols: they are merely adding homes to cars as essentials to their happiness. The young adult who, as an adolescent, regarded car ownership as a necessary possession for all who wanted to belong to the right groups of the school, continues to feel that a car is a "must," regardless of his economic status. He feels much the same way about having a television set, a record player, a transistor radio, and a dishwasher (111,182).

Much of the unhappiness and discontent of young adults stems from the fact that they do not have the material possessions

they want or that their friends and neighbors have. This is especially true of young adults who married in the teens or while they were still students and dependent on their parents or scholarships for support. How seriously this can affect their adjustments to marriage has been explained thus by Herrmann (115):

The optimistic expectations of teenagers about their first home after marriage and the high priority assigned to car ownership both appear to be potential sources of financial problems for teenagers entering marriage... these expectations and attitudes are almost certain to be carried over into marriage and are almost equally certain to become stumbling blocks for young couples.

MONEY The young adult is interested in money because of what it can do for him now, not what it will do for him in the future. If he can have and do what the other young adults he wants to be identified with have and do, he believes this will increase his chances for acceptance and will solidify the acceptance he has already achieved (148,164,170).

How he spends his money, indirectly, signifies his status in the socioeconomic group. As Packard (182) has explained:

The way we spend our money and pay our bills—for clothes and other items—also is to a considerable degree a reflection of class-induced attitudes.... As you go up the class scale, you find that people tend to develop, as a status right, a more delaying attitude toward monthly bills. A workingman's wife who neglects to pay a bill by the fifteenth is likely to find her credit cut off at the butcher's and, if de-

linquent more than a few days, to find a collector on her door step. A semi-upper-class wife, in contrast, is likely to consider it "plebeian" to pay bills promptly and expects tradespeople to maintain a patient, hat-in-hand attitude.... In the real upper class, you are likely to see a monumental casualness about bills.

Some of the problems relating to money that young adults face come from lack of knowledge of how to use money wisely or from values they have carried over from the peer-group standards of their adolescence. As adolescents, they were primarily concerned with earning money or getting enough for their needs from their parents. They showed little interest in the management of the family finances and little desire to learn about the costs involved in family living (122).

Furthermore, as adolescents or even as young adults living with their families before marriage, they had little training in the use of money. Parents may offer advice to younger adolescents about how they are using their allowances, but older adolescents usually have complete freedom to use their money as they wish (86,170,187). As a result, they are ill prepared, as young adults, to budget the income they have to live on, and they frequently buy on credit or on installment, thus putting themselves in a position where they are always in debt (115,117,228). Figure 10-4 shows how widespread the practice of buying on installment is.

RELIGION By the time the individual reaches adulthood, either he has resolved his religious doubts and formulated a philosophy of life, based on religion, that is satisfactory to him or he has rejected reli-

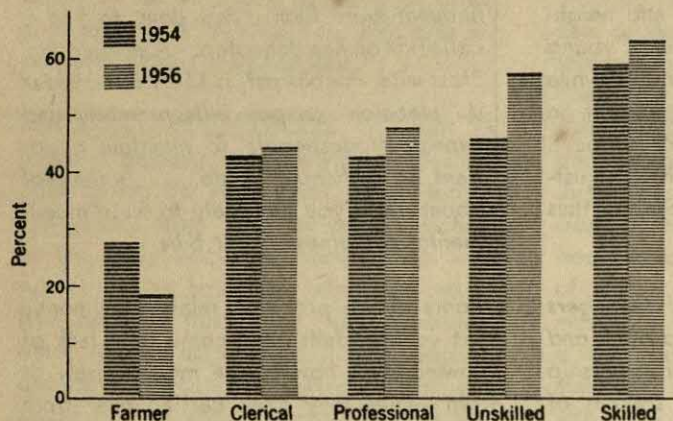


FIGURE 10-4 INSTALLMENT BUYING AMONG ADULTS IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS. (ADAPTED FROM E. HOLMES: WHO USES CONSUMER CREDIT? *J. Home Econ.*, 1957, 49, 340-342. USED BY PERMISSION.)

gion as having little or nothing to offer him (15,22,25). In both cases, religion has less interest for him than it had when he was younger. That is why the early twenties have been called the "least religious period of life" (185). This lack of interest in religion is shown by decrease in church attendance and by indifference to other religious observance (90,136).

However, few young adults find indifference to or rejection of their earlier beliefs a satisfactory solution to their problem. In fact, many develop feelings of guilt because they lack a religious faith (94,156, 192). They feel the lack of security that religion can give, and they feel that their lives lack meaning (104). As a result, many young adults seek a new religious faith, hoping that it can give them what the faith of the childhood days has failed to give them (85,224).

When the responsibilities of parenthood are assumed, there is generally a return to religion, or at least a show of interest in religion (27). Parents of young children

feel that it is their duty and responsibility as parents not only to teach their children the fundamentals of their own faith and to see that they receive proper religious instruction in Sunday school, but also to set a good example for them. Consequently, religious practices which prevailed in their own homes are now revived in homes where there are children, even if these religious practices are somewhat modified to fit into the pattern of life today. Regular attendance at church is now part of the parents' life, and they begin to take an active part in some of the church organizations (42, 182).

That religion is not always as strong a force in their lives as it was earlier has been emphasized by Packard when he discussed the role religion plays in the lives of young adults (182):

Going to church is a deeply felt, soul-searching experience for many millions of Americans. . . . For the majority of American Christians, however, going to church

is the nice thing that proper people do on Sundays. It advertises their respectability, gives them a warm feeling that they are behaving in a way their God-fearing ancestors would approve, and adds (they hope) a few cubits to their social stature by throwing them with a social group with which they wish to be identified. And even those who take their worshipping seriously often prefer to do it while surrounded by their own kind of people.

VARIATIONS IN RELIGIOUS INTEREST

Strength of religious interests and the forms in which these interests are expressed vary markedly. For some adults, their needs are met by observances; for others, by faith; and for still others, by a combination of faith and observances (54). *Women*, on the whole, are more interested in religion than are men. They also engage more in religious observances and take a more active part in church affairs than do men. *Men*, on the other hand, are often low in belief but high in activity. In addition, men are "unconverted" more than women (42,56,147).

Members of the *middle class* are not only more interested in religion than are those of the upper and lower classes, but they also participate more in church functions of all types and assume leadership roles in different church organizations. Lower-status people are inactive in all community organizations, and this includes religious organizations (48,72,246). As Goode has explained: "Church participation clearly means something quite different for members of the white-collar occupational level than it does for manual laborers. . . . For the former it is in part an extension of their over-all associational participation" (98). Those who achieve social and economic success and those who are anxious

to improve their social status in the community are more active than those who are satisfied with their present status (79,139,193).

Interest in religion and participation in religious activities varies somewhat according to the adult's *place of residence*. Adults who live in rural and suburban areas tend to show a greater interest in religion, through participation in religious activities, than do adults who live in urban areas (48,246). However, urban migrants attend church more than do rural migrants, because they find it a center for meeting people (121).

Adults who were brought up in *homes* where religion played an important role in their lives and who became affiliated with a church during their adolescent years tend to continue to show a greater interest in religion in adulthood than do adults whose early religious experiences were less important to them (46,95,139,140). Furthermore, if their *neighbors* and *friends* are active in religious organizations, they are more likely to be too than if their friends show little interest in religion (48,137).

Adults who are somewhat *unconventional* in their thinking and behavior tend to be less interested in religion than do those who are more conventional. The more authoritarian the *personality* pattern of the adult, the more interested he is in religion and the more intolerant of religions other than his own. The better *adjusted* the adult, the more tolerant he is of other religions and the more interested he is in active participation in religious activities (13,54,100,198). Adults who are concerned about *death* or who have a morbid preoccupation with the thought of death are far more interested in religion than are adults whose concern is more realistic (126).

When parents are of *different faiths*, they

are less active in religious affairs than when they are of the same faith. If the father has no church affiliation, there is usually little interest in religion on the part of either parent and little encouragement to the children to become active in Sunday school or church. Lack of interest in religion on the part of one or both parents usually is accompanied by limited religious practices in the home (9,42,233).

The most difficult problem related to religious adjustments in early adulthood stems from family pressures in mixed marriages. From both sides, there are parental pressures to have the mate accept the religious faith of one side of the family and to bring up the children in that faith. Even when the young adult has limited interest in religion, he resents being forced to accept another faith; he objects to having the religious training of the children dictated by grandparents on either side; and he resents the implication that his religion is inferior to that of his mate—an implication inherent in the insistence that the change be made (20,113,137,139). Furthermore, he has to contend with the pressures of his own parents to whom adherence to the family faith may also be important. Adjustment problems in religion often complicate marital adjustments and are at the basis of "in-law" problems, one of the most difficult problems in the area of marital adjustments (42,182). See pages 620 to 624.

RECREATIONS IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Young adults in America today have more leisure time for recreations than was true in the past and than is true of adults in most other cultures. This results, in part, from the shorter workweek and in part from the fact that has made the running

of the home less time- and energy-consuming than it formerly was (37).

In spite of these opportunities for recreation, many young adults do not find their recreations satisfactory. One of their major adjustment problems is to learn how to use their free time in a way that will be enjoyable (204). There are several major reasons why recreations present a major adjustment problem for young adults. First, while they were in school or college, they had recreations readily available, at no cost or at only a minimum cost, and with plenty of peers to engage in these recreations with them. Second, they were encouraged by parents and teachers to engage in the readily-available recreations as an important part of school and college life. And, finally, schools and colleges provided them with guidance and supervision in recreations so that they learned how to use their leisure time in a way that gave them satisfaction (49,172).

The young adult suddenly finds that he and he alone is responsible for his recreations. He must make provision for them; he must pay for them; and he must learn to use his time in a way that will give him satisfaction without guidance and help. Even more important, he discovers that there are not always people readily available to engage in his recreations with him as there were during his days as a student. These changes in the pattern of his life mean radical changes in his recreations (75).

In spite of the shortening of the workweek, most young adults find that they have less time for recreations than they had as adolescents. Some of their leisure time must be devoted to family responsibilities, some to obligations related to their work or to their status in the community, and some to "moonlighting" or working on a second job to enable them to have the status symbols

they crave (37). They then narrow down their recreations to those that give them the greatest satisfaction and that are most practical for them from the point of view of time and money (145,207).

A study of how teachers use their leisure time will serve to illustrate what a radical adjustment young adults must make in this area of their lives. For the most part, the teachers reported that time spent in recreation for fun involved "taking it easy," both physically and mentally. Activities most often participated in by the teachers included watching television; listening to the radio; attending religious services; making social telephone calls; visiting people; listening to records; attending movies, theaters, concerts; going window shopping; and handling personal correspondence—all of which require a minimum of energy as compared with the strenuous recreations of adolescents (145).

When school and college life end, the young adult's pattern of life is individualized. How he will use his leisure time is now more dependent on his choice than on the pressures of the peer group. As a result, there are more marked differences in recreational interests in adulthood than there were earlier (75,163;172,176).

In spite of this, each adult uses his leisure time for recreations that give him enjoyment in the sense that they provide a welcome change from work, give him an opportunity to be with his friends, and fit in with the expectations held by other people (108,163,222). In discussing the sources of enjoyment different people can derive from different uses of leisure time, Havighurst (108) has explained:

teristics, its significance may be more closely related to his psychological characteristics. . . . People of different age, sex, and social class can derive similar values from their leisure, even though the content of the activities is different.

Factors Influencing Adult Recreations

There are many factors that influence the pattern of adult recreations, and these, to a marked extent, are responsible for the differences that exist. Some of the factors that play especially important roles are marital status, socioeconomic status, and sex.

MARITAL STATUS Young unmarried people of both sexes not only have more time and money for different recreations than do those who are married, but also more of their recreational interests are outside the home than is true of those who are married. However, as they grow older, their recreations gradually become more home-centered (207,240).

How young married adults spend their recreational time will be influenced by whether or not they have children and by their interest in "togetherness." Men who have a concept of the traditional role of husband and father participate little in recreations with their families. Instead, they go off on their own for recreations "with the boys" (176). Those who have a more modern concept of their roles participate in family-centered recreations. When the family is large, many of these family-centered recreations are also home-centered—watching television, going on family picnics, reading, playing games with family members, or going on auto rides for pleasure. Vacation trips are shorter and less frequent when there are young children in the family

Even though what a person does in his leisure may be limited and to some extent defined for him by his sociological charac-

than when children reach the teens or when the couple is childless (7,63,207).

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS Recreational interests are markedly influenced by the social class to which the adult belongs. When children and young adolescents are in school with contemporaries from different socioeconomic backgrounds and when the recreations are influenced by the school program, there are only limited social-class differences in recreation. After eighteen years, however, the patterns of life begin to change, and this change will be influenced greatly by the social class to which the young person belongs (37,207,240). As White (240) has pointed out:

The tendency to choose leisure activities on the grounds of membership in a particular social class begins in adolescence and becomes more pronounced in maturity.... As people get older and settle into the class to which they belong, they choose leisure activities which are congenial to their class.... Class differences are reflected by young people but are not fixed until maturity.

How markedly the socioeconomic status of the adult affects his recreational interests has been stressed thus by Packard (182):

College-educated women are seven times as likely to play golf and eight times as likely to play tennis as women who never went to college. On the other hand, the non-college women are more likely to go bowling, fishing, and boating.... Bridge playing is largely confined to the upper two classes, and bingo playing to the lower three classes.

Adults of the middle class have more time

for recreation than do those of the lower, and they engage in a wider variety of recreational activities. Members of the middle class spend more of their recreational time as spectators, while members of the lower and upper classes spend more time as nonspectators. Commercialized leisure activities, such as dance halls, taverns, radio, and television, appeal more to the lower-class adults, as is true also of craftsmenlike activities of the "do-it-yourself" type. Members of the upper middle and upper classes spend more of their leisure time on activities related to their work, such as reading, while adults of the lower class spend theirs on activities unrelated to their work (37,207,240). When asked what they would do with extra leisure time if they had it, a group of higher-class adults said, "Read and study," while a group of lower said, "Rest, relax, and loaf" (53).

Family recreations, as well as individual recreations, are influenced by the socioeconomic status of the family. In the lower-class families, family recreations are mostly out of the home and involve commercial entertainment, while those of the middle-class families are more in the home. Lower-class families spend less time on family-centered entertainments than do middle-class families. Lower-class fathers, especially, devote less time to recreations with their children than do fathers of middle-class status (59,63,207).

How markedly the pattern of the adult's life—his "life style"—affects his recreations in adult years is illustrated in Figure 10-5. For those whose life style is primarily home-centered, recreations will be mainly with family members. By contrast, those whose life style is community-centered will have more recreational interests outside the home than with family members. Which

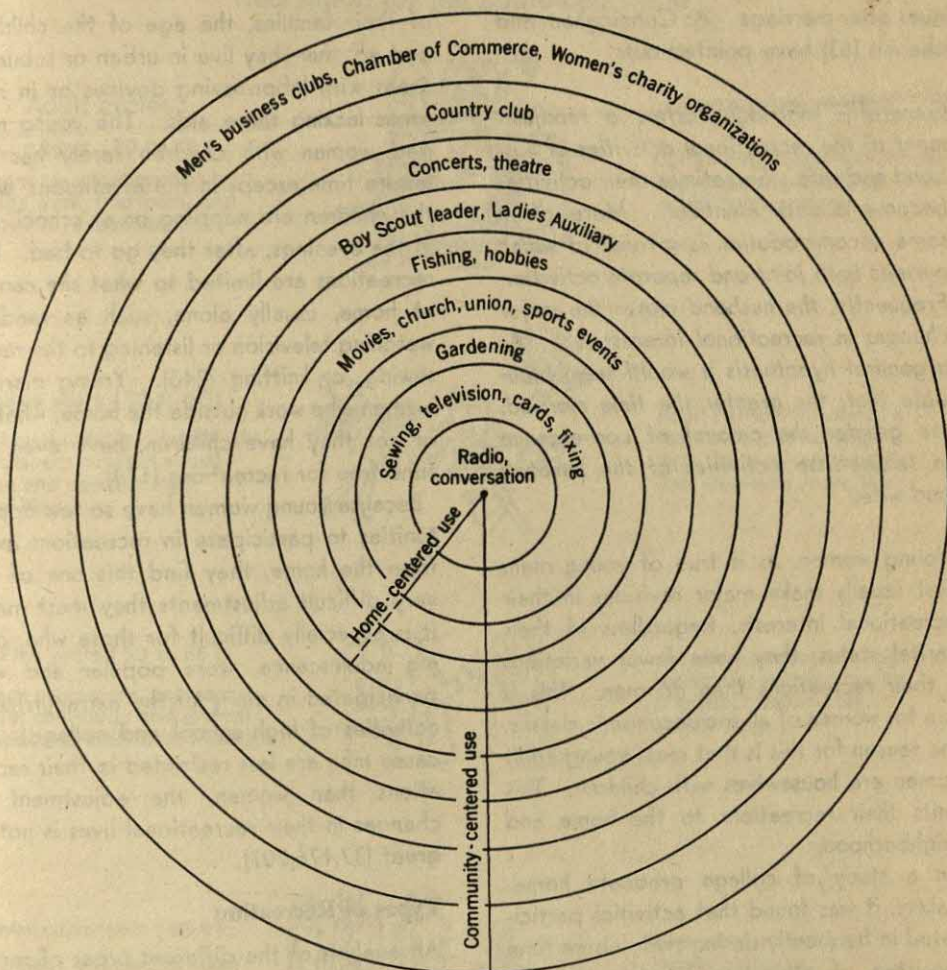


FIGURE 10-5 CHARACTERISTICS OF HOME-CENTERED AND COMMUNITY-CENTERED USE OF LEISURE TIME. (ADAPTED FROM R. J. HAVIGHURST AND K. FEIGENBAUM: LEISURE AND LIFE STYLE. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1959, 64, 396-404. USED BY PERMISSION.)

life style he will adopt will depend mainly on his social-class identification (110).

SEX Most young men, whether they are married or single, must make some readjustment in their recreational interests when they enter the work world. Being an active participant in sports—their favorite recre-

ation during adolescence—is often impossible because of the time and money involved. During courtship, when the major part of their leisure time is spent with members of the opposite sex, they engage in activities that are congenial to women more than those preferred by men. This trend toward changed interests among men con-

tinues after marriage. As Cunningham and Johannis (63) have pointed out:

Generally, marriage fosters a readjustment of the recreational activities of husband and wife. Sometimes their activities become almost identical. More often some accommodation is arrived at which permits both joint and separate activities. Frequently, the husband makes the major changes in recreational interests. . . . As a general hypothesis it would seem plausible that: the greater the time married, the greater the amount of convergence in leisure-time activities of the husband and wife.

Young women, as is true of young men, must usually make major revisions in their recreational interests. Regardless of their marital status, they have fewer variations in their recreations than do men. This is true for women of all socioeconomic classes. The reason for this is that most young adult women are housewives with children. This limits their recreations to the home and neighborhood.

In a study of college graduate homemakers, it was found that activities participated in frequently during their leisure time consisted of attending religious services (when the children are in Sunday school), hobbies, watching television, and informal visiting. Activities in which they participated infrequently or never consisted of church auxiliaries, political groups, dancing, drama participation, college-level courses, hunting, and horseback riding. Only when they were older and their children nearly grown did these women become active in community recreations (205).

For women, not only are there limitations on the types of recreation they can engage in, but their time is also limited by the size

of their families, the age of the children, and whether they live in urban or suburban areas with labor-saving devices or in rural areas lacking these aids. The young married woman with children rarely has any leisure time except in the afternoons, when the children are napping or at school, and in the evenings, after they go to bed. Her recreations are limited to what she can do at home, usually alone, such as reading, watching television or listening to the radio, sewing, or knitting (240). Young married women who work outside the home, whether or not they have children, have even less time free for recreations (179).

Because young women have so few opportunities to participate in recreations away from the home, they find this one of the very difficult adjustments they must make. It is especially difficult for those who, during adolescence, were popular and who participated in many of the extracurricular activities of high school and college. Because men are less restricted in their recreations than women, the adjustment to changes in their recreational lives is not as great (37,176,207).

Types of Recreation

An analysis of the different types of recreation engaged in by American men and women today will show what marked changes there are from the interests that were dominant during the adolescent years. Many of these changes are a result of necessity rather than of changed interests. While the children of the family are still young, for example, many of the recreations are centered around them. Even when the children reach adolescence, the parents' recreations are largely family-centered (165). This is illustrated in Figure 10-6.

A hasty survey of the most common recre-

Recreation for the adulthood cycle

Adult cycles

Young adult (20 to 35)

Concern for vocational skill and life work, marriage, and own home responsibilities.



Form of recreation

Community recreation should recognize the family as a unit in its program.

Middle years (35 to 50)

Vocational prestige; family life established; possess social status and community recognition.



Adult recreation concerns the family relationship with the teen-age world and employee recreation.

Free years (50 to 65)

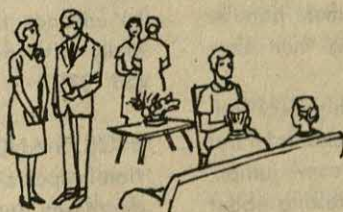
Toward retirement. Increased leisure; continuity and growth in social and individual interests.



Blending of vocation and avocation; allows time for a broader community relationship.

Senior citizenship (65+)

Retirement. Longer life span gives more time to revitalize social and economic status; past experience contributes to society.



Individual recreation: hobby activities. Organized groups: opens new ways to happiness and companionship.

FIGURE 10-6 CHANGES IN RECREATIONAL PATTERNS IN THE ADULT YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM H. D. MEYER: THE ADULT CYCLE. *Ann. Amer. Acad. pol. soc. Sci.*, 1957, 313, 58-67. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ations of the young adult years will show how many of them are home- or neighborhood-centered and how radically different they are from the recreations of adolescence.

TALKING Talking, especially with those whose interests are similar, is a popular pastime of both men and women. It is especially popular with married women whose home responsibilities keep them in

the home for the major part of the day and who, when there is an opportunity, enjoy talking to neighbors or friends. Much of this talking must be done over the telephone because of the restrictions placed on the young woman's activities by children in the home.

Men, by contrast, do much of their talking to friends outside the home, at work or over drinks at some meeting place after work or in the evenings, such as bars, taverns, or recreation centers (182,234). Some of the young adults' talking is with family members—spouses and children or relatives. How much talking of this type there will be will depend on how much time the family members are together and how much congeniality there is (42,214,248).

Young adults, whether men or women, talk mostly about personal, day-to-day matters relating to their families, their work, social affairs, clothing, and other personal matters. Gossiping about friends, neighbors, and acquaintances is also common, especially among women. When talking to members of the opposite sex, women try to discuss matters of interest to men more than men try to adapt their conversations to women's interests. Public affairs are a more popular topic of conversation among men than among women (234).

When interpersonal relationships lack intimacy, there is need for some superficial but universally interesting topic of conversation. Much of this need is met by talking about the newspaper comics. They are sure to bring a laugh, they serve as a source for "kidding," and they bridge the gap between those who have little or nothing in common. Men, much more than women, use this device to "break the ice" and start a conversation with their neighbors (40,60,97). Women can generally bridge the gap

by talking about their families or domestic problems, topics which are of universal interest to individuals whose patterns of life are similar (234).

DANCING Dancing, which is one of the most popular and prestigious recreations in adolescence, is engaged in only infrequently during early adulthood. Home and business responsibilities are assumed, and dance places become less easily available than they were during high school and college days. And since most young adults do not have money to join clubs or go to public dance halls, many adults, of all socioeconomic groups, dance only infrequently during the early twenties and even less during the thirties (37,165,205).

Among young adults, it has been found that the quality of dancing goes down as the individual's status in the social group rises. The reason for this is that young unmarried adults of the lower social classes have fewer places where they can socialize and meet members of the opposite sex than have those of the middle and upper classes. For them, therefore, being a good dancer, as is true during the adolescent years, helps to enhance their social acceptance, especially with members of the opposite sex (58,182).

SPORTS AND GAMES Active participation in sports and athletic events of all sorts decreases during the adult years. This is not because adults are poorer in health but rather because they have less time and money to engage in these activities than they had in school and college when provision was made for their participation. Participation reaches a low point as the adult approaches middle age. This is more true of members of the lower socioeco-

nomic groups than of the middle and upper who have more places to engage in sports, such as clubs and recreation centers (75, 172, 182, 207).

The type of sports engaged in also changes during the years of adulthood. Women engage in many fewer sports requiring expenditure of energy than do men. Even women of the higher social classes who have gone to college and participated in sports during their college years abandon them in favor of less strenuous recreations and recreations that do not require them to be away from home. Men of the lower social classes concentrate on baseball, swimming, and bowling which do not require club membership, while men of the middle and upper classes are more likely to play tennis or golf (182, 205, 207, 223, 240).

Because they have fewer opportunities for active participation in sports, adults of the lower social classes show their interest in this form of recreation by reading and talking about sports, by attending athletic contests, by listening to them over the radio, or by watching them on television. This passive participation is not limited to adults of the lower social groups: men and women, but especially men, of the middle and upper classes engage in this form of recreation with increasing frequency as they approach middle age (37, 172, 182, 223).

Interest in games of strategy and games of chance, which began during adolescence, increases in popularity during adulthood. Games of *strategy*, where winning is dependent on the skill of the player—as in the case of bridge—appeal more to adults of the middle and upper socioeconomic groups. Games of *chance*, where winning is more dependent on luck than on the skill of the player, have a strong appeal for members of the lower socioeconomic

groups. Women prefer bingo, while men prefer poker, though these games are by no means limited to members of one sex (62, 182, 223).

ENTERTAINING Limited budgets and parental responsibilities restrict the amount of entertaining young adults do. Entertaining relatives is far more common among young adults who are married than is entertaining friends and neighbors. Even unmarried adults do relatively little entertaining, and what little they do is more often outside the home than at home.

When friends and neighbors are entertained, it is usually informal. During the summer months, picnics or barbecue suppers in the back yard where children can participate also are the favorite forms of entertainment. In the colder seasons, entertaining is done inside the home, with emphasis on playing cards and serving simple refreshments. Home entertaining may be concentrated on conversations accompanied by smoking and drinking.

Members of the lower social classes do little home entertaining, except in the case of relatives at holiday seasons. They meet their friends outside the home, in bars, taverns, or at church social events (42, 182, 240).

HOBBIES There are many adults who do not have hobbies until financial success gives them leisure to engage in them. Other adults who find their work boring and frustrating develop hobbies as a form of compensation. Men and women of high intelligence have more hobbies than those of lesser abilities. Men who are vocationally the most successful have, as a rule, more avocational interests than do those who are less successful (37, 165, 182, 227).

Adult hobbies are, for the most part, of a

constructional nature. They include such activities as cooking, gardening, painting, sewing, knitting, crocheting, making and repairing furniture, taking pictures and developing films, music, and making collections. Most of these hobbies can be carried out in the home and do not require the companionship or help of others (37,49,165, 172). In a survey of a large number of adults, Bliven found that constructional hobbies and gardening were most common. According to him (37):

When a typical sample was checked as to their most recent activities, it was found that after the omnipresent television, watched by three-fifths of the total, some two-fifths just "visited" with friends or relatives, and one-third worked around the house and garden. Many, of course, did two, or all three, of these things.

READING Because of his many responsibilities, the young adult generally has less time for reading than he had during adolescence. Consequently, he must be more selective in what he reads. There are also marked shifts with age in the interest value of different topics. Interest in romance, for example, decreases, while interest in governmental and religious activities increases. There is also a rise in the quality of the material read with age (16,88).

Adults spend less time reading books and more of their reading time on magazines and newspapers—reading media which can better be fitted into the pattern of their lives. Among men, newspaper reading is more popular than magazine reading, while, among women, the reverse is true. Single women read newspapers more than do married women. Newspapers that are classed as "superior" are read less than the illustrated dailies by adults under thirty years

of age. With advance in age, however, the better type of newspaper is read, and there is also a shift in the quality of material read within the newspaper (7,67,182).

PREFERRED READING TOPICS The range of reading interests for adults is narrower than it is for adolescents. In newspaper reading, for example, most adults read the headlines and then read more thoroughly the sections of the paper that appeal especially to them. In magazine reading, they concentrate on short stories, humor, and continued stories. In both newspapers and magazines, the preferred topics relate to sports, fashions, personalities, society, personal violence, crime, and finance; the least preferred topics relate to education, religion, homes, gardens, and economic news (7). Comics are read by more than three-quarters of all newspaper readers at all ages and of both sexes (169).

SOCIAL-CLASS DIFFERENCES Adults of the higher classes read more books and magazines than do those of the lower classes, and they concentrate on the more "serious" types of books and magazines. They also read more nonfiction than do both men and women of the lower classes (193). When lower-class adults read books, they strongly prefer fiction and avoid nonfiction (182).

Social-class differences are especially apparent in magazine and newspaper reading. Women of the lower social classes concentrate on the "family behavior" magazines—popularly called "romance" or "confession" magazines—while women of the middle and upper classes prefer the "women's service" magazines, such as *Good Housekeeping*.

In newspaper reading, adults of the higher classes are more interested in news of national and international affairs, while those

of the lower classes concentrate on local news (182,193). These patterns of difference are apparent in large families as well as in small families (7).

READING OPPORTUNITIES What the adult reads is influenced, to some extent, by how much reading material is available for him to read. Even though he might prefer a certain type, he may have to read another type if he does not have an opportunity to read what he prefers.

In rural districts, for example, where books are rarely available in libraries, what the adult reads will depend on what he can afford to buy. This is usually limited to a few magazines and a weekly newspaper. As a result, rural people read their magazines and weekly papers more fully than people from small towns read the daily paper. In small-town papers, concentration is on local news, while in urban areas, where more reading material is available, many adults concentrate on the pictures and comics of their magazines and newspapers, ignoring much of the other material (169).

In large families, when income is limited, fewer books, magazines, and newspapers can be bought. This encourages the different family members to read more fully what reading matter there is available (7).

LISTENING TO MUSIC The young adult likes to listen to music. This is partly because the young adult's life is more restricted to the home than is the child's or adolescent's and, hence, he can use this form of recreation when recreations outside the home are not available to him.

Radio and television programs provide music for listening, but many adults like to have collections of their favorite records which they can listen to when the type of

music they like is not available over the air. As a carry-over of his favorite music in adolescence, the adult in his twenties generally prefers modern to classical music. As he approaches middle age, his preference changes to classical music, though he still likes some forms of modern music (58,111, 182).

MOVIES Going to the movies is a less practical, though not necessarily a less interesting, recreation in adulthood than it was in adolescence. Many young adults cannot get away from home to attend movies after there are children in the family, except occasionally when they can take the children with them or when they can make other provisions for their care.

Among unmarried adults, going to the movies is a common dating pattern, as it is in adolescence. It is a popular form of entertainment with members of their own sex among young unmarried women who are working. After work or on weekends, they often go to movies together. It is a far less popular form of recreation for young, unmarried men, except for dating (59,67,172).

Adults, as a whole, are more selective about the movies they see than are adolescents. This is partly because they are less free to attend movies than are adolescents. When they are able to see movies, they want to see those rated as "good" or "excellent." While adolescents are generally guided in their choice of movies by the actors or actresses performing in them, adults are more often guided by the publicity the movies have had, what their friends and acquaintances say about them, and what movies are available at the time or at the theater they are able to go to. If they go with their children, they are influenced by what is suitable for them to see.

Women, as a group, prefer romances, while men prefer comedies, farces, and adventure themes (182,190).

RADIO Many young women, who lack time to read, can listen to the radio while they work, and men can listen while they drive to work, thus getting their news and entertainment in that way instead of by reading. Housewives spend more time on radio listening than on television watching, not through preference but through necessity. Business and professional men, as is true of women in business and professions, listen to the radio more than they watch television, because it is more expedient for them. Only in the evenings and in free time over the weekends or on holidays have most young adults time free to watch television (59,67,190).

Of the radio programs available, young men show a preference for news, sports, and dance orchestra music. They prefer television for sports events, such as football games. They also prefer comedies on television to those on radio. Women, especially those of the middle class, like to listen to radio programs of the "soap opera" type, which offer the listener opportunities for identification (180).

TELEVISION Watching television is one of the most popular recreations among young American adults of all social classes today. This is especially true for those who are confined to their homes by children. In the evenings, when they are free from work responsibilities, they can watch television in their homes and have, indirectly, the enjoyment they would get from going to a movie or a sports event.

Studies of large groups of young adults have revealed that they spend approximately 80 percent of their leisure time on

this recreation, with women spending even more time than men (3,37,103). The larger the family and the lower the income, the more time adults spend in television watching (7,182).

What programs adults watch will depend largely on what is available at the times when they are free to watch. Because producers know that most adults in their audiences will be watching in the evenings, over weekends, and on holidays, they try to gear their programs to meet the tastes of their adult audiences. Men prefer programs that emphasize sports, news, and adventure, while women like romance, family-life comedies, and fashion shows (14,26,172).

Since television owning has become almost universal in the United States, it has had a tremendous impact on the pattern of family life, especially the recreational life of adults. Its most pronounced effect has been to cut down on the time adults spend on other recreations, especially on reading, going to the movies, driving for pleasure, listening to the radio, talking, and playing games.

At the same time, it encourages adults to bring guests into the home for simple entertainment, and it brings the family members together as a unit. It has proved to be a great asset to young adults of limited means and with limited access to other forms of recreation (57,67). Figure 10-7 shows the increase in use among adults of television and radio as forms of recreation since the turn of the present century and the gradual decline in movies and newspaper reading as recreations.

SOCIAL INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

The early years of adulthood are frequently lonely years for men as well as for women. When young men are living at home or are

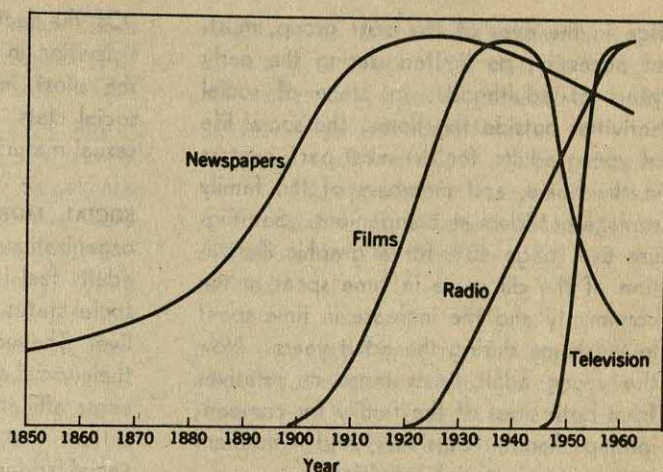


FIGURE 10-7 THE USE OF RADIO AND TELEVISION AS LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES IS GRADUALLY REPLACING MOVIES AND NEWSPAPER READING. (ADAPTED FROM M. L. DEFLEUR: MASS COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE. *Soc. Forces*, 1966, 44, 314-326. USED BY PERMISSION.)

away from home, they often find themselves at loose ends during their leisure time. Their friends of earlier years and their business associates, as is true of the unmarried woman, are occupied with family activities or are preoccupied with courtship. As a result, young men miss the type of social life they enjoyed during adolescence, when there was always a congenial group to talk to or do things with.

Even the young adult who is married finds himself lonely at times and craves the companionship he enjoyed during the adolescent years. Tied down with the care of young children, limited by a budget that will permit little beyond the necessities of life, and often in a community away from family and former friends, the married adult may be as lonely as the unmarried and in a less favorable position to solve the problem of his loneliness.

Havighurst has explained that early-adult

loneliness occurs because of a "relatively unorganized period in life which marks the transition from an age-graded to a social-status-graded society." No longer can the individual count on readily available companionship in school or college. Now, in adult society, he must make his own way, form his own friendships, and establish himself through his own efforts (107).

As he reaches the thirties, the adult, whether married or single, has usually made adjustments to these changes and has established a satisfactory and relatively stable social life for himself. Of the many changes in social interests and activities the young adult must make, the major changes are in social participation, friendships, social groupings, popularity, and leadership.

Social Participation

Participation in social activities, so important to an adolescent because of its pres-

tige in the eyes of the peer group, must, of necessity, be limited during the early years of adulthood. In place of social activities outside the home, the social life of young adults, for the most part, centers in the home, and members of the family replace outsiders as companions. See Figure 8-4, page 409, for a graphic illustration of the decrease in time spent in the community and the increase in time spent in the home during the adult years. Now the young adult relies more on relatives from both sides of the family for companionship than on outsiders, and with them he engages in social activities.

Belonging to a club or lodge is the ambition of many adolescents. By adult years, this interest wanes. Most men belong to such organizations mainly for business or professional reasons. That their interest is not strong is shown in the fact that many do not attend meetings or attend only infrequently. Many young women have neither the time nor the money to belong to social or community clubs. Those who are married are able to attend only infrequently and cannot take an active part in the affairs of the organizations (153,182).

VARIATIONS IN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION Because the pattern of life is not the same for all adults, it is understandable that the amount of their social participation, as well as the form it will take, will vary greatly. On the whole, there is more participation in social activities outside the home as adults approach middle age, during the mid- to late thirties, than there is during the early twenties or even the late twenties. Furthermore, the pattern of social participation and the amount will differ for adults who are married as compared with those who are unmarried (97,245).

Of the factors that influence social participation in the early years of adulthood, the most important are social mobility, social class, environment, sex, and age of sexual maturing.

SOCIAL MOBILITY Participation in social organizations is a status symbol which many adults feel is important in improving their social status in the community in which they live. The more anxious they are to improve their social status, the more they try to become affiliated with the community organizations that will help them to rise on the social ladder. As Packard (182) has pointed out:

Americans are tremendous joiners, especially among the three higher classes. Some of this joining . . . is a symptom of our gregariousness in the face of growing loneliness. And, possibly, it may reflect a growing inability of Americans to draw upon their own inner resources. Much of it, however, clearly represents an effort to improve one's social standing.

Newcomers to a community are, at first, relatively inactive in community affairs. However, recognizing that one of the quickest and surest ways of meeting people and forming new friendships is through community organizations, many young adults whose business requires them to move from one community to another join community organizations and become active participants in them. While they may, at first, participate in fewer organizations than the natives of the community, there is an increase in the number of organizations they belong to and in the amount of their participation as residence time increases (182, 241).

SOCIAL CLASS Adults of the higher social classes are more active and diverse in their social participation than are those of the lower classes. Members of the upper middle class belong to more community organizations than do the lower classes, are more active in these organizations, and tend to dominate them and assume leadership in the life of the community. They have more intimate friends, entertain and visit more, and spend less time with relatives than do members of the lower classes (193,241,245). Members of the working class, by contrast, have memberships in few community organizations and participate little in them except for athletic and church-affiliated groups. Their main social contacts are with family and relatives, or with cliques made up of childhood friends, neighbors, or fellow workers. They have relatively few intimate friends, and what entertaining they do is mostly for members of the family and for relatives. There is also, at this social level, a tendency for the sexes to split up in their socializing. The women have their "hen" circles, and the men get away from their wives and female relatives by chatting and drinking with their male friends and relatives (182).

During the early years of adulthood, the individual's "life style," or characteristic way of combining the various social roles he is called on to play, becomes well established. According to studies made by Havighurst and Feigenbaum, adults fall, roughly, into four life-style patterns: the community-centered, high home-centered, low home-centered, and isolated or with a few friends of the same sex. The "activity radius" for the community-centered, shown in Figure 10-5, page 551, is much greater than for the home-centered or for those who limit their social contacts to a few

neighbors or people with whom they are associated in work. Life styles are markedly influenced by the social-class background of the individual (110).

Social-class differences in social participation are also apparent in the type of organization adults of different social classes affiliate with. As Packard (182) has explained:

The two upper classes in their joining habits today prefer clubs that are by invitation only. This is especially true of the upper class, which participates primarily in social and charity clubs.... At the semi-upper-class level—or upper middle—you have the bulk of the country-club membership.... At the three lower-class levels, the clubs joined are mainly of the patriotic or mystical type with a higher mixture of secrecy and emotional symbolism than the upper classes consider to be dignified these days.

ENVIRONMENT In cities, approximately three-quarters of the younger men belong to at least one formal group organization, though the amount of their participation is influenced by their social-class status. Relatively few younger women in the cities belong to clubs or community organizations and even fewer are active participants. For the majority of young adults in cities, social life is limited to informal group associations, mainly with relatives. Less time is spent with friends, neighbors, or coworkers (17,24,97,241).

In rural areas, there is more "neighborliness" and more social participation. However, adults who have come to the cities from farm areas participate less in community activities in the cities than they did in the rural areas. They also participate

less than those trained in the cities because they have not acquired the urban cultural traits and, as a result, feel inadequate to cope with the urban social life (245).

For the most part, *suburban* dwellers are young married people with children and a middle-class social status. Their social life is more informal than formal, and neighborliness, based on common interests, leads to social interactions with outsiders more than with relatives. In the suburbs, women take a more active part in social and community affairs than do men who, for the most part, commute to the cities to work and have established their interests and associations largely in the cities (31,84,155).

Regardless of the environment, whether urban, rural, or suburban, the more integrated the neighborhood, the more social participation there will be (70). How much integration there will be will, in turn, depend on how much families in the neighborhood have in common. This is determined by the type of people involved, their conduct and standards, the kind of recreations they enjoy, the behavior of their children, their interest in "neighborliness," and many other factors. When families have interests in common, as in a university community, there will be more intimate relationships and, in turn, more social interaction than in neighborhoods or communities where there are fewer common interests (70,150,182).

SEX Sex differences dictate differences in social participation. Men, on the whole, are more free to engage in activities outside the home than are women. This is especially true during the early years of marriage when women are tied down with the care of young children. Consequently, men participate more in social activities outside the home while women are limited,

through necessity, to social participation in the home or the immediate neighborhood (70,182).

In the thirties, when women are less tied down by the care of young children, how much they will participate in the different community organizations will be greatly influenced by their social class. The working-class concept of "wife" conflicts with the demands of active membership in community organizations. The middle-class concept of "wife," on the other hand, is more compatible with membership. Therefore, middle-class wives, when they are free from the responsibilities of care of young children, lay aside housework for outside activities (182,213).

Among unmarried adults, women are often more active in the community life than are men. The reason for this is that, through participation in the different social and service organizations of the community, the young woman has opportunities to meet people, especially men, and has opportunities for the social life formerly provided by school and college.

Many unmarried men prefer the companionship of men to that of women and spend their leisure time in bars, taverns, clubs, or other meeting places where they can talk, drink, and smoke with their friends. Their participation is more in social than in service organizations in the community (70,182,206).

AGE OF SEXUAL MATURING Studies of deviant maturers (refer to pages 368 to 371) have shown that, during adolescence, early maturers tend to be more active in the extracurricular affairs of school than late maturers or than those who mature at approximately the average age. Follow-up studies of deviant maturers among men

have revealed that, as adults, the patterns established during adolescence persist. Men who, as boys, were early maturers are more active in the affairs of their communities and more often play leadership roles than do men who, as boys, were late maturers (8,123).

While there is less evidence concerning how age of maturing affects the social participation of women, there is evidence that, during adolescence, the early-maturing girl is socially more active than the late maturer. If circumstances in her life permit her to be socially active in adulthood, there is reason to believe that the satisfaction she derived from social participation in adolescence would motivate her to continue to be socially more active as an adult than the woman who, as a girl, was a late maturer and found less satisfaction in social participation (123).

Friendships

The craving for popularity and for a large number of friends, which started to wane during the latter part of adolescence, wanes still further during the early years of adulthood. This is especially true of married men and women who have each other for companionship and whose lives are preoccupied with home and family responsibilities. Even among the unmarried, there is a more selective attitude toward friends than there was earlier. As a result, the individual has fewer but more intimate friends than he wanted to have when he was younger.

It is popularly believed that friendships established during childhood will persist throughout life and that the friends of one's youth, because they are "old" friends, will be one's best friends. There is no evidence to prove that such is the case. Rather, as

interests and patterns of living change, old friends may have less in common than newly formed friends (149).

As is true of every age, friends in adulthood are selected on the basis of congeniality. The adult who, in his work or social life, comes in contact with people whose interests and values are similar to his finds them more congenial than those whose interests are different or who do not use the same values in their judgments of people and behavior. As Packard has emphasized, "For better or worse, most people feel more at ease with their own kind" (182). When adults find their "own kind," a friendship is established.

Young adults who are married generally have two sets of friends, those of their own sex who are congenial because of similar interests and those who are "family friends" or friends agreed upon by both husband and wife. The adult's personal friends are selected by the adult himself, and the relationship is a mutually satisfying one.

Family friendships, on the other hand, are generally initiated by the husband and are established on the basis of interests in common between the men, such as business, college, education, background, or recreations. When the husbands are friends, the wives are expected to be friends, regardless of how much they have in common or how congenial they are. Married adults in the lower social classes have fewer "family friends." Their friendships are mostly individual rather than couples' friendships, and they are chosen by the individual on the basis of congeniality and accessibility (18).

Even though married adults may have a fairly large number of acquaintances in their work or among their neighbors, they usually have a small number of personal friends—three or four—because of their

limited time for association with outsiders (18). How many family friends they will have will depend on the presence or absence of children, the amount of social activity the family can afford to engage in, and how much money they have for outside recreation.

The more successful the husband is in business, the more family friends there are likely to be. If the wife works outside the home, there will be little time for entertaining or for social activities with other couples. This will reduce the number of family friends. When there are marital troubles, there are fewer family friends but more personal friends (106,236,247).

Among unmarried adults, all friends are personal friends and are selected because of congeniality of interests. Even though the unmarried adult may have close relationships with different members of his family, he is far less likely to regard the friends of his family members as "his" friends than the married adult is to consider the spouse's friends as "his" friends also. The unmarried adult feels no obligation to form friendships with friends of his family and does so only when he finds them congenial.

Social Groupings

The same social distance that marked off degrees of friendship in adolescence is operative in adulthood. There is a small group of intimate friends or confidants which frequently is made up of old friends unless the life interests of the individual have changed so that old friends are no longer congenial.

How many intimate friends the adult has depends also on how much he is willing to disclose of his interests, problems, and aspirations to them as he did to his confidants during adolescence. Many adults are re-

ticent about discussing their personal affairs with outsiders as they grow older, partly because they want to create a favorable image of themselves and partly because they do not want to run the risk of having their personal affairs discussed with others by their confidant (125). Figure 10-8 shows how the target person for self-disclosure changes with age and how self-disclosure lessens from the mid-thirties.

In addition to his intimate friends, there are less intimate friends belonging to the "crowd" whom the individual sees infrequently, for parties or other social gatherings. And on the outer rim of the friendship circle is the large list of acquaintances whom the individual knows but slightly and with whom he comes in contact infrequently.

In business, there are cliques just as in social life. The younger workers are more closely knit as a group than the older. They form friendships more easily, are less discriminating in the choice of their clique members, and have more clique interactions both in business and after business than the older workers (149,182,247).

Degrees of social distance within the friendship circle change from time to time during adult years. Intimate friends may drift apart as their interests change or their places of residence change. This ebb and flow within the friendship circle is to the adult of little consequence. His major interest is in the family circle and, therefore, friendships are of less importance than they were in either childhood or adolescence.

By the late thirties or mid-forties, most men and women have a circle of friends as large as they want. Because their interests are stabilized by this time, their friends are not so likely to change as they did when the individual was younger. This results in a tightly knit social group, similar to the

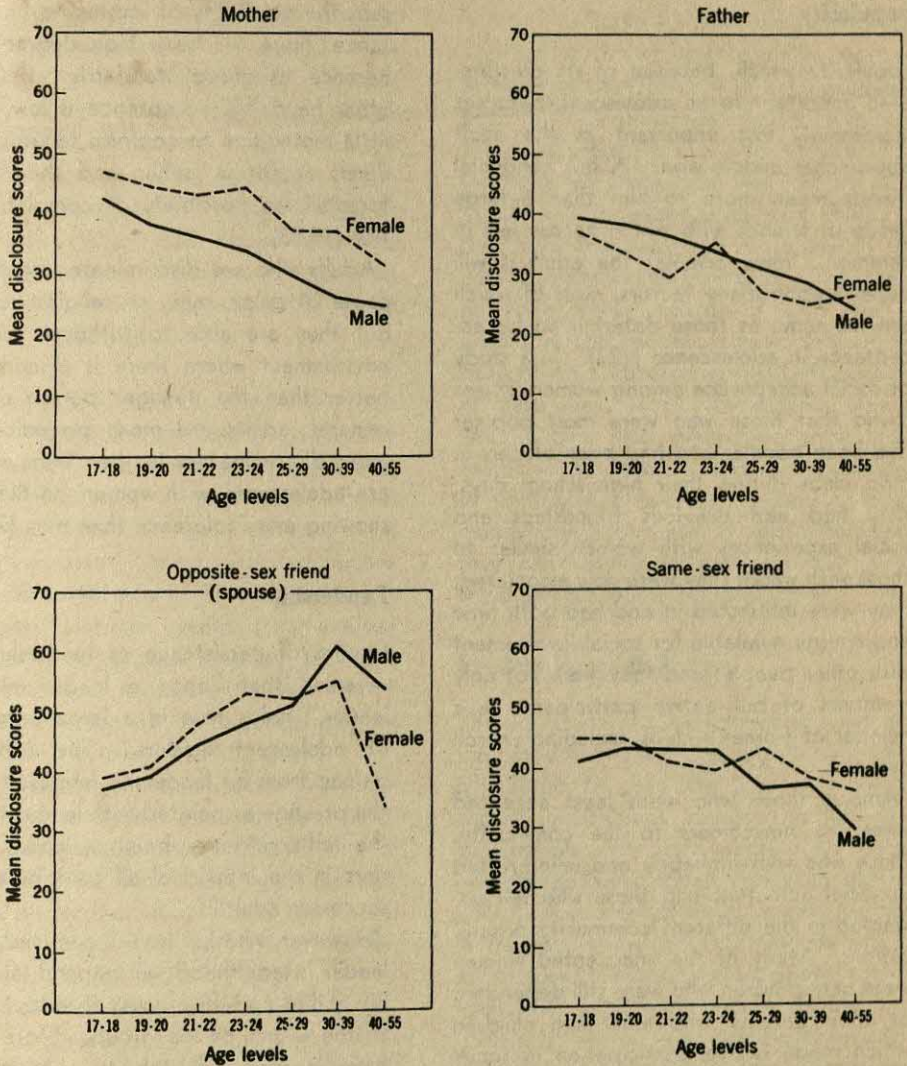


FIGURE 10-8 WILLINGNESS TO TALK TO OTHERS ABOUT PERSONAL MATTERS DECLINES WITH AGE. (ADAPTED FROM S. M. JOURARD: AGE TRENDS IN SELF-DISCLOSURE. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1961, 7, 191-197. USED BY PERMISSION.)

cliques of early adolescence, which is difficult for outsiders to penetrate. One of the problems of occupational mobility (to be discussed later in this chapter) is the diffi-

culty of establishing new friendships when change of occupation requires the family to move to a new community or to a new neighborhood in the old community.

Popularity

Popularity which, because of its prestige, is so important to an adolescent, becomes increasingly less important as the adult approaches middle age. A few congenial friends mean more to him than a large group of friends with whom he has less in common. How popular the adult is will depend upon many factors, most of which are the same as those determining his acceptance in adolescence (123). In a study of social acceptance among women, it was found that those who were most popular had been popular and had been officers in girls' clubs during their high school days; they had had previous friendships and social experiences with women similar to those with whom they were now associated; they were interested in and had both time and energy available for social involvement with other people; and they were not only members of but active participants in a number of women's clubs, including church groups.

Among those who were least accepted were the newcomers to the community, those who were unhappy and uninterested in social activities, and those who felt unwanted in the different community organizations. Many of the unaccepted women were only children who were still dependent on their parents, and most had children which made active participation in social life difficult or impossible (153).

EFFECTS OF POPULARITY The adult is affected in much the same way by social acceptance or lack of it as the adolescent is, but to a lesser extent. The more he is accepted by a group with which he would like to be identified, the more he conforms to group pressures. When he enjoys somewhat less than complete acceptance but

sees the possibility of improving his acceptance, there will be a high degree of adherence to group standards. If, on the other hand, his acceptance is low, he has little motivation to conform to group standards except in public and then only to forestall the possibility of complete rejection (19,73).

Adults who are discriminated against because of color, race, or religion resent it, but they are able to withdraw from the environment where there is discrimination better than the younger person can. In general, adults are more prejudiced and more discriminatory in their behavior than are adolescents, with women, on the whole, showing more tolerance than men (73).

Leadership

Studies of persistence of leadership have revealed that "once a leader, always a leader," holds true in a large percentage of adolescent leaders. The experience gained from his leadership status in school, the prestige associated with leadership, and the self-confidence being a leader engenders in the individual all contribute to his success in adult life.

However, whether he will continue to be a leader in adulthood will depend largely on his ability and willingness to adapt himself to the wishes of the group. Most leaders have learned adaptability. As a result, they are flexible enough to adjust to groups of many different structures. This is especially true of very bright individuals who, during high school and college, participated in many extracurricular activities and played roles of leadership in these activities (51,109,191,201).

Adults achieve their leadership status in different ways. Some are elected to an office in a community organization, busi-

ness, or industry, while others are appointed. Some are informal leaders in the community or the "influentials" in that others look up to them and try to follow their patterns of behavior. Some who are elected or appointed to an office in community organizations are not perceived as influential. As a result, they are not as powerful influences in community life as are the informal leaders who often have great influence (70,82,128,238).

QUALITIES OF ADULT LEADERS Men who hold executive positions in business or industry, or who are elected or appointed to leadership roles in community affairs, have been found to have many of the qualities necessary for successful leadership in the adolescent years. These include high frustration tolerance, realistic self-evaluation, ability to express hostility tactfully, ability to accept success or failure without too much emotion, ability to accept authority, and ability to set realistic goals.

In addition, most leaders come from the higher socioeconomic statuses; they have higher occupations, more education, and higher incomes than those who do not achieve leadership roles. These contribute to greater competence and a more liberal outlook on life (55,68,70,171,243).

The power that comes with leadership enhances the prestige that higher education and socioeconomic status bring.* As a result, the leader acquires a "halo," which causes him to be chosen for leadership roles in areas where his training and abilities may be limited. As Marak has pointed out, "A leader's authority extends to many areas not justified by his abilities, after the group members develop conceptions of him as a rewarding person" (152).

Women who become leaders in social activities in adult life show a clear-cut supe-

riority in adjustment over nonleaders. Office holders in women's organizations are superior in dominance and self-confidence but are not significantly different in sociability and self-sufficiency from those who do not hold leadership positions (195,201).

Lack of self-confidence and lack of leadership skills, whatever their cause, are fundamentally responsible for the fact that there are fewer women leaders in every area of adult life than one would anticipate on the basis of the number of women participating in these areas (131). Even those women who, as girls, have played leadership roles are often prevented from playing such roles in adulthood in business, industry, or community affairs because of the limited time they can devote to such activities as a result of their home responsibilities.

Leaders versus Followers

The adult who, as an adolescent, was accustomed to playing a leadership role, finds it difficult to play the role of follower, should circumstances require this. A man, for example, who was a leader in his school and college days because he was an athletic "hero," is frustrated when leadership roles in business, industry, or community affairs go to men of higher socioeconomic status and prestige in the community than he has.

Similarly, women who, during their adolescent years, played leadership roles resent having to play follower roles in adulthood, while the leadership roles go to women who have a higher socioeconomic status than theirs or who, because they lack home responsibilities, have more time to devote to activities required by leadership roles (70, 201).

Nor is the adult who is given a leadership role because of his socioeconomic status and the "halo" this brings to him always

happy. If he has not played leadership roles often enough in the past to feel confident of his abilities or if he knows that the role was assigned to him because of his "halo," he finds it difficult to adjust to playing this role (131,152). This is shown by the fact that members of groups who are placed in leadership roles function in a nondirective manner and allow leadership to be taken over by the group. Leaders, on the other hand, when placed in a non-leadership role find this adjustment difficult and function in a less active way than do those who are unaccustomed to leadership roles (131,201).

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Some adults are satisfied with their social status, but most are not. Most Americans would like to have better education, a better economic status, and to be identified with a higher social class than that of their families. They want this not for themselves alone but also for their children (50). This desire is especially strong among young adults who discovered, during their adolescent years, that those who were most popular and held most of the leadership roles came from the higher socioeconomic groups (58,111).

The desire to move up the social ladder has been increased by the knowledge that the trend in mobility in America is upward, not downward, and that this trend has grown more marked in recent years with prolonged national prosperity and with governmental emphasis on "rights" for all, regardless of sex, race, religion, or nationality (77,118,143). Opportunities for upward mobility are greater in the United States for members of the lower socioeconomic groups than in most countries in the world (182).

Because men and women in American society today usually achieve their highest economic and social status in middle adulthood, from thirty years of age on, the young adult is motivated to do all he can to rise above his present status as rapidly as possible to guarantee that he and his family will be in a position to enjoy the benefits of higher-class status (29,80,239).

Stepping-stones to Upward Mobility

Occupational success and advancement are the most usual methods of achieving higher social status. Fundamental to occupational success and advancement is education, which provides "a primary means by which a person becomes socially mobile in our society" (33). How important a role education plays in occupational success has been stressed thus by Packard (182):

A lower-class boy who is bright enough and fortunate enough to get a college education has a good chance for upward mobility, although not as good a chance as a boy with the same education from a well-to-do family. However, for the boy who goes to work for a company without the benefit of the college education, the prospects for upward progress are distinctly less promising than those that a boy in the same situation faced a generation ago.

Although occupational success, made possible by higher education, is unquestionably the most common and most successful stepping-stone to upward social mobility, it is by no means the only one (33,80). Other methods include marriage to a higher-status person, inheritance of wealth, association with and acceptance by people

of higher status, transfer of membership to a higher-status church, purchase of a better home in a better residential district, use of money to purchase status symbols, and the acceptance and adoption of customs, attitudes, and symbols of a higher-status group. Usually a combination of several of these methods must be employed to achieve higher-status identification. In the case of women, marriage into a higher-status family is sufficient, provided she is willing to learn the patterns of life of the new group with which she is identified (42,182).

Higher education is valuable not only in making occupational success possible but also in bringing the young adult in contact with members of a higher-status group and of helping him to learn the patterns of living which are essential to acceptance by the group. Geographic mobility, in that it offers the adult an opportunity to "bury his background," likewise facilitates upward mobility (36,39,196).

Mothers are more anxious than fathers to have their children rise on the social ladder, and they often make this rise possible even when it means taking a job outside the home to earn money for higher education (80). Firstborn children, especially boys, are the ones most likely to be given opportunities to rise above the status of their families (182,244).

A study of college students has revealed that firstborns are overrepresented in the student population, not only at the undergraduate but also at the graduate level. As Altus has pointed out, there is a "kind of academic primogeniture operating at the college level." He goes on to stress that the "dice are loaded in favor of the firstborn," not in terms of innate ability but rather in terms of greater opportunities for education which make rise on the social ladder possible (6).

Effects of Social Mobility

The socially mobile person faces far more social dilemmas than does the relatively immobile one because he is torn from his social roots and must adjust to new social groups with new social values and standards of behavior. As families move upward, it means moving from poor to better neighborhoods, giving up old associations and values, choosing between associations with members of two classes, joining new social organizations, and giving up most of their social life with relatives and former neighbors. This increases the loneliness that is characteristic of the early years of adulthood (39,64,87,105).

If the individual clings to his relatives and old friends, he is likely to feel superior when he is with them. This will often affect his relationships with them unfavorably. When he tries to affiliate himself with people of the higher class with whom he wants to be identified, he is likely to feel inferior. Often he is not accepted by this group or is in a marginal position (39). The chances of social acceptance are less if the individual's occupation carries him across major occupational lines, as from a day laborer to a white-collar worker (35,167).

Social mobility often causes stresses and strains in the family, not only between husband and wife but between parents and children as well. If the husband feels that his wife is not presenting a favorable image to the new neighbors, there will be a critical reaction to her behavior. Or, if the parents are anxious to have their children take advantage of the opportunities to become associated with a "better" group which they have provided for them by their move to a "better" neighborhood, they will be aggressive and punitive in their treatment of the children (42,80,144,182).

Even when families that have risen in the social ladder change their pattern of life and adopt the attitudes and values of the new group they are aspiring to be associated with, they still feel that they do not belong—that they are "outsiders." In time, and with more contacts, they may become more similar to their new group, but these changes are often only surface changes (80,105). As Ellis and Lane (80) have explained:

While the upwardly mobile may depart significantly from the modalities of behavior generally observed in the lower class, their prior learning experiences result in only a segmental assimilation of the varied norms and values that make up the middle-class subculture. With the passage of time and continued social contacts with middle-class reference individuals, these subcultural discrepancies tend to disappear, though it is questionable whether the upwardly mobile ever develop a fully middle-class outlook on the world around them.

Individuals who, for one reason or another, are forced to move downward in the social hierarchy find little in common with the members of the social class with which their occupational status identifies them. As a result, they tend to isolate themselves. Furthermore, their former friends and neighbors are likely to drop them because they no longer live in the same neighborhood or have money for the social activities they formerly engaged in (35,77,83,226).

While social mobility with its stresses and strains tends to predispose young adults to neuroticism and mental illness, this predisposition is far more common among the downwardly mobile than among those who climb the social ladder (116). The same is

true of suicide: it has been found to be far more common among downwardly mobile adults than among upwardly mobile (44).

SEX-ROLE ADJUSTMENTS

Unquestionably, one of the most difficult adjustments of early adulthood is adjustment to the sex role society expects the adult to play. While adjustment to the sex role of adulthood begins for the individual during adolescence, it is far from complete when he reaches adulthood. This is more true for adults whose adolescent years were spent in educational institutions than for those who began to play adult roles in business, industry, and society, and it is more true for adolescents of the middle and upper social classes than for those of the lower classes.

Long before adolescence is over, boys and girls are well aware of what the approved sex role for adults is. But, knowledge does not necessarily lead to acceptance. Many adolescent girls want to play the role of wives and mothers when they reach adulthood, but they do not want to be wives and mothers in the traditional sense—playing roles subordinate to those of their husbands and devoting their entire time to home and children with few or no outside interests. Many hope they can "educate" their husbands to accept a more equalitarian-role concept and to allow them to make use of the education and training they have received, in addition to the care of home and children (41,130,161,181).

College girls, for example, when questioned about their preferred adult roles, overwhelmingly agreed that they wanted a career before and after marriage, until their children arrived, and part-time work or community activities until they reached middle age, when their children would be

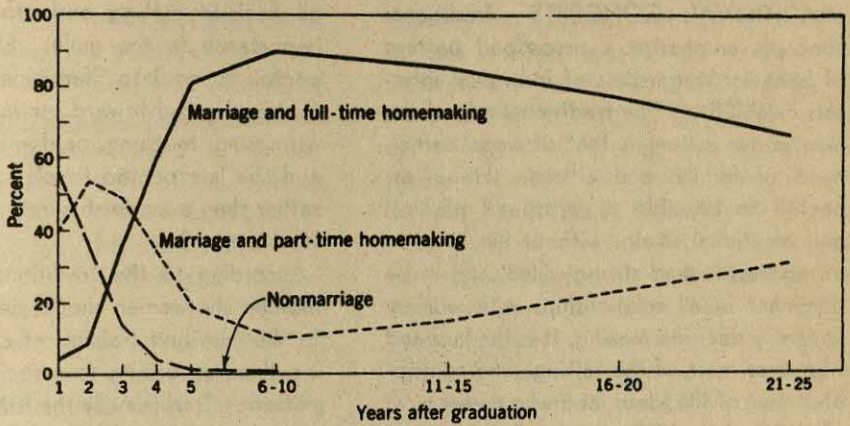


FIGURE 10-9 ROLE PREFERENCES OF COLLEGE WOMEN FOR THEIR ADULT YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM H. T. CHRISTENSEN AND M. M. SWIHART: POSTGRADUATE ROLE PREFERENCES OF SENIOR WOMEN IN COLLEGE. *Marriage fam. Living*, 1956, 18, 52-57. USED BY PERMISSION.)

grown and they could resume their careers (52). These preferences are illustrated graphically in Figure 10-9.

This hope for equalitarian marriages is not based on wishful thinking but on realization that there are marked changes in the adult pattern of living today. This change has come from increase in urban and suburban living, which puts the burden of responsibility for care of the home and children on the wife's shoulders, while the husband is away from the home most of the working day; from increase in early marriages which necessitate the wife's working until the husband finishes his education and becomes established in business; and from the desire for status symbols that cannot be obtained without the financial help of the wife. These changes in living patterns have brought about some changes in the concepts of adult roles for men and women, though the changes are more pronounced in the middle and upper classes than in the lower (93,142,231). As Blood has pointed

out, "The old symmetry of male-dominated, female-serviced family life is being replaced by a new symmetry (38).

Concepts of Adult Sex Roles

In every culture there are certain patterns of behavior approved for men and others for women. While most cultures have rigidly prescribed roles, in America today the roles are not as rigidly defined as in the past. In fact, the traditional concepts are gradually being modified or even replaced by new, more developmental concepts—concepts that stress behavior patterns that are similar for members of the two sexes.

It is this change in concepts that is at the basis of much friction in many homes, of dissatisfaction with the roles they must play on the part of some men and more women, and of difficulties encountered by adults who are socially mobile (92,133,168). To understand how conflicting these concepts are, it is essential to know what are the characteristics of each.

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS Traditional concepts emphasize a prescribed pattern of behavior, regardless of individual interests or abilities. The traditional role of the *man* in our culture is that of wage earner, head of family, and citizen. He is expected to be able to withstand physical and emotional strains without flinching, to be aggressive and strong-willed, and to be dominant in all relationships with women. In family decision making, it is the husband who does most of the talking, who contributes most of the ideas, and who makes most of the final decisions, especially when they relate to economic problems. Closely related to this concept of masculine supremacy is an intolerance for any trait that hints of femininity or any work that is considered "woman's work," such as nursing or beauty culture (4,124,129,161,209).

For the *married woman*, there are three separate roles she may play: the traditional role of wife and mother, the companion role which permits her to share pleasures with her husband and enjoy individual pursuits, and the partner role with economic independence and equal authority in family matters. According to the concept of the traditional role, the woman is other-oriented in the sense that she gains fulfillment by proxy—from serving others in the home, whether husband, children, or elderly parents. Because service to others is, according to tradition, most satisfying to a woman if it is for her own family, the stereotype of an adult woman is a married woman (194,209,215,216).

While the *unmarried woman* is free to choose her own role, she is subject to severe social criticism if her behavior deviates from the traditional concept of femininity. Whether in the home of parents or relatives, or in work outside the home, she is expected to play a subordinate role, leaving

all decision making and other matters of importance to the male. She is also expected to go into "feminine work"—work that is oriented toward serving others, such as nursing, teaching, or domestic service—and she is expected to play a subordinate rather than a leadership role in these areas (41,66,146,194).

According to the traditional concept of *mother*, the woman should devote her time to the care and training of children, molding them according to a socially approved pattern. Traditionally the *father* is the person who provides for his family, disciplines and advises the children, and sets an example of masculinity for his sons to imitate (59,216,225).

DEVELOPMENTAL CONCEPTS Developmental concepts of sex roles emphasize the individuality of the person, whether of the spouse or the child. These concepts put emphasis on an equalitarian status for parents and a near-equalitarian status for the child. The developmental concept of the role of *men* is of a man who shares with his wife in the home duties and care of the child, who allows her to have a voice in decision making, and who does not object to her desire for personal fulfillment through activities outside the home, whether to earn money or on a volunteer basis. Most important of all, this concept emphasizes that the man does not have delusions about his masculine superiority nor does he feel like a "henpecked husband" when he treats his wife as a companion and equal (45,92,124).

According to the developmental concept of *women*, the woman gains self-fulfillment through actualizing her own potentials rather than by proxy through helping others to achieve their potentials. In the home, her role is on a par with her hus-

band's. She has no feelings of guilt about using her abilities and training in activities that give her satisfaction, even when these activities mean that she is away from the home and employs someone to do the housework and take care of the children during her absence (81,93,141,216). Figure 9-13, page 503, shows some of the important components of developmental concepts of adult roles.

The developmental concept of *mother* emphasizes the guidance of the child according to his abilities, with the mother having more freedom as an individual; just as the child has. In the developmental concept of *father*, emphasis is placed on sharing in the care of the child, playing with him and teaching him how to play, and taking over the care of the child when the mother is away from home for work or pleasure (45, 59,124,225).

Variations in Acceptance of Concepts

While the trend is for adults in the lower socioeconomic classes to accept the traditional concepts of sex roles more widely than the developmental concepts and for adults of the middle and upper classes to favor the developmental concepts, there are variations within each socioeconomic class.

Adjustment Problems

When there are *conflicting concepts* of the role the individual is expected to play, there will be uncertainty, confusion, anxiety, and feelings of futility. The person who knows exactly what is expected of him will make quicker and easier adjustments, even though he may rebel against the role he is expected to play. But when rebellion is accompanied by confusion and uncertainty, not only is the difficulty of adjustment in-

creased, but feelings of futility arise and, in turn, militate against the individual's motivation to conform. Because there is more confusion about the approved role for women than for men, the adjustment problem is more difficult for women than it is for men (11,58,71,99,168).

The *personal adjustments* of adults are markedly influenced by their adherence to traditional concepts of sex roles. To avoid being considered "unmanly" or "effeminate," the man will often go to any length to prove to himself and others that he is typically masculine. This may take the form of overtaxing his strength to prove that he is big and strong, disregarding warning signals of poor health in the belief that poor health is effeminate, or devaluing feminine characteristics to the point where he tries constantly to assert his masculine superiority in his relationships with women (4,23,92,112,158). If he has, since adolescence, shunned interests that might be considered "feminine," he may have developed an independence, aloofness, and feeling of superiority which makes good adjustment in adult life difficult. As Mussen has pointed out, in discussing men who emphasized their "manliness" in adolescence, "As a result, they may encounter important social, vocational, and personal frustrations which weaken their previously established self-confidence and underlying emotional security" (168). By contrast, men who, during adolescence, had relatively feminine interests develop characteristics of social orientation which provide the foundations for future social and vocational success and, consequently, for greater feelings of adequacy and more positive self-concepts (168).

Women, as a result of being looked upon and treated as inferior to men, often develop a typical "minority-group complex."

This is expressed in being critical of members of their own sex; in having misgivings about women's ability to compete with men successfully in business, industry, or the professions; in feeling inadequate to play a leadership role in the business or social worlds; in being unwilling to work under women; and in having a strong wish that they had been born men (23,30,41,45,101, 127).

Added to this common feeling of inferiority, married women often add a feeling of being "trapped" in a situation that is not what they had anticipated and from which they see little hope of escape. If the woman finds her role of wife and mother little appreciated by those for whom she has sacrificed her personal interests, if she finds the work she must do dull, lonely, confining, and below her abilities and training, and if she finds the romanticism she had associated with the role of a married woman lacking, she is disillusioned and resentful (130,151,237). See Figure 10-10. This unfavorable attitude is exaggerated by "lazy-husband syndrome"—the resentments a wife feels when she sees her husband "taking it easy" and enjoying himself while she works more or less continuously from morning to night, seven days a week (173, 175). (Refer to pages 536 to 537 for a more complete discussion of the "lazy-husband syndrome" and its effects on the woman.)

For women of the higher socioeconomic and educational levels, conflict between the roles they wanted to play in marriage and those they are forced, through necessity, to play is especially damaging to their personal and social adjustments. As Korner has emphasized, "Becoming a housewife requires considerable value adjustments from many women" (135). How great these value adjustments have been explained by Kiell and Friedman (130) thus:

The college girl feels that she is entering a world where the horizons are unlimited. If she has had glimpses and perhaps a taste of unlimited horizons and aspirations which are then closed to her and replaced by a role which she has always regarded as drudgery, it is not surprising that active discontent results from her ability to conceive of a better alternative to her present condition and from her inability to realize such a better alternative. . . . The rewards of housewifemanship are frustration and lowered self-esteem. Plowed under is the healthy self-concept she had before marriage.

Even unmarried women who do not have to divide their time and energies between family and career and who do not suffer from the feelings of being "trapped," often find barriers to advancement in their chosen fields of work. They find that men, less able than they, are often given larger salaries and positions with greater prestige and responsibility, mainly because the policy of the organizations for which they work is to favor men (23,41,135,181,183).

Marital adjustments are often seriously affected by conflicting concepts of the role the husband or the wife should play. The wife who, because of her childhood training and lack of emancipation from her parents, shows a greater closeness to her family than the husband shows to his may cause resentments on the part of her husband because he feels she is too influenced by her parents or because she favors her own family rather than his. Or, if the wife feels that her husband is devoting so much time to his work that he neglects her and the children, there will be discord (11,69,89, 91,162).

A dominant wife will cause more discord in the family than a less dominant one un-

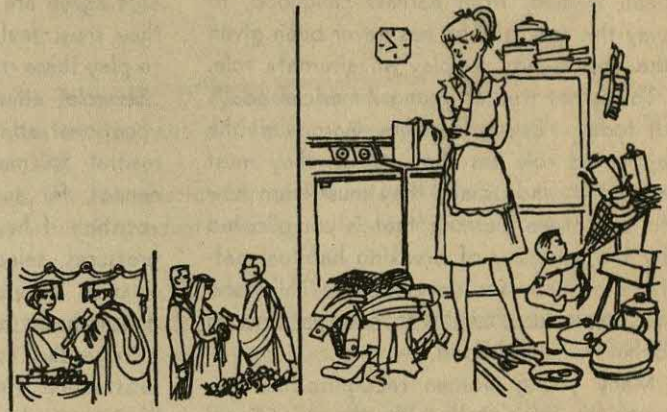


FIGURE 10-10

DISILLUSIONMENT OFTEN COMES FROM ROMANTICISM ASSOCIATED WITH MARRIAGE. (ADAPTED FROM *The Saturday Evening Post*, OCT. 1, 1960. USED BY PERMISSION.)

less her husband is willing to be dominated and play the role of a "henpecked" husband (219). Marital rifts and divorce are more often the result of conflicts arising from opposing concepts of the role each partner should play than from any other single cause. Among American men and women today, the best marital adjustment comes when the relationship between husband and wife is equalitarian or a "democratic partnership" (11,32,186).

How adults adjust to their sex roles as parents will have great impact on their personal and social adjustments, on family relationships, and on the happiness of every member of the family (45,61,127). Many women feel insecure because their concepts of what a mother should be conflict with the concepts held by their husbands and relatives. Furthermore, women discover that social and cultural patterns cause the role of mother to be personally unsatisfying, especially as the children grow older and become critical of the mother and look upon her role as inferior to that of the man (96,209,217).

If the man accepts the traditional role of the father as the authoritarian head of the family, he is considered "soft and unmasculine" if he loves his sons. If he conforms to this role, he makes his sons into bullies and alienates their affection (32,161). If, on the other hand, he tries to conform to the developmental concept of father, playing an active role in the care of the children, this often interferes with his advancement in his career, thus making him resentful and frustrated (23,162,186). In addition, when this role makes him feel that he is only a "mother's helper," he is frustrated and ashamed of the role. Only when he can feel like a father within the structure of his masculinity can he be happy in this role and make good adjustments to it (124,168).

Importance of Sex-role Adjustments

In cultures where sex roles are rigidly prescribed, acceptance of and adjustment to the approved role for one's sex is relatively easy. The reason is that the individual has

been trained, from earliest childhood, to play this role, and he has never been given the opportunity to play an alternate role.

This is not true of young American adults of today. Even after they learn what the approved role for their sex is, they must accept it, and usually they must learn how to play it—a learning that is complicated by the necessity of breaking habitual patterns of behavior developed in childhood and replacing them with new patterns of behavior in adulthood.

Many young women recognize the low prestige associated with the traditional, feminine role of wife and mother and, consequently, they have little motivation to learn this role. And yet, when they become wives and mothers, they see little opportunity for escape from this role to be able to play a role they previously found more satisfying and personally rewarding. Conflict between what they would like to do and what they know they must do further weakens their motivation to play the traditionally prescribed role for members of their sex.

Among the important developmental tasks of early adulthood, the most numerous and the most important involve adjustment to marriage and parenthood, and to a chosen vocation. In both of these areas, sex roles are fundamentally important. If adults are to make successful adjustments to marriage and parenthood, they must play roles that are mutually satisfying to both spouses, and they must derive satisfaction from playing these roles. In addition, if they are to derive satisfaction from their roles as parents, they must select roles that both par-

ents agree are best for their children, and they must feel confident of their abilities to play these roles successfully.

Sex-role adjustment is fundamental to vocational adjustment, just as it is fundamental to marital adjustment. A man cannot, for example, be satisfied with his vocation if he, through parental or social pressures, selects a vocation that is considered "masculine" when his interest is in and he has a preference for a vocation that is regarded as "effeminate." Work dissatisfaction is not limited to his vocational life: it soon becomes a general dissatisfaction and colors every area of his life.

Women who aspire to play a vocational role in addition to the role of wife and mother far too often derive little satisfaction from either. Through necessity, they must give less time than is needed to their chosen vocations to advance to the levels their abilities and training justify. In addition, they feel guilty about turning over the care of their homes and children to someone else—a guilt that is intensified by unfavorable social attitudes toward working mothers.

Even unmarried women, accustomed during their school and college days to playing equalitarian roles with their male peers, find adjustment to the treatment of women in industry, business, and the professions difficult. Playing a subordinate role as an adult, after playing an equalitarian or near-equalitarian role during the formative years of childhood, makes their adjustment to their vocational roles far more difficult than it would have been, had they played subordinate roles earlier.

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Among the developmental tasks of early adulthood, those relating to occupation and family life are the most numerous, most important, and most difficult to accomplish. Even though the adult, as an adolescent, has had some work experience, has selected a life mate, has married, and has become a parent, the major adjustment to these new roles must be made in adulthood.

Only in the case of adolescents who complete their education at high school graduation, or who leave college before graduating, is work experience on a full-time basis. Even then, most adolescents are in the "exploratory stage" of vocational selection, trying out one type of work after another in the hopes of finding the right niche for themselves. As a result, almost all adolescents face their major adjustments to their occupations as a new, or relatively new, experience in adulthood.

The other developmental tasks of adulthood—finding a congenial social group, adjusting to changes in recreations necessitated by adult patterns of living, and taking on civic responsibilities through participation in community life, as described in the preceding chapter—all have a background of previous training and experience in the childhood and adolescent years. Such adjustments are, therefore, mainly revisions of patterns already established.

In the adjustments to be described in this chapter, there is less foundation on which to build. As a result, the adjustments are

more difficult, they require a longer time, and the end results are often far from satisfactory. Furthermore, the adult must usually make these adjustments without guidance and help from others. This further adds to the difficulties he must cope with.

By far the most important aspect of the problem is the fact that the success or failure of these adjustments will affect the areas of his life most closely related to his prestige in the eyes of others, his concept of himself as an individual, his own happiness, and that of every member of his family. For these reasons they can justifiably be classed as the "major adjustments" of adulthood.

VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

Vocational adjustment becomes increasingly difficult for each successive generation of young adults. This is partly a result of the ever-increasing number of different types of work available from which the individual must make his choice, partly the long and often costly preparation needed for the type of work the individual selects, partly the stereotypes he is constantly confronted with in different forms of mass media as they depict workers in different occupations, and partly the individual's ignorance of his capacities, because of lack of work experience, vocational guidance, or both (16,22,65,73,167,183,242). Figure 11-1 shows the cultural stereotype of the scientist.

The choice is further complicated by the unrealistic vocational aims that children and adolescents often have (128,167,214). These unrealistic aspirations are intensified by values carried over from adolescence. At that time, the individual envisioned an occupation for his adult life as having high prestige and a degree of autonomy he did

not have in his school and college life (158, 175,176,200,285). In addition, he wants work that will fit into his other plans for the future. He does not want to sacrifice the good times of his youth to become a cog in a big machine, nor does he want the kind of work that will be so competitive that it will produce a constant state of anxiety (228).

Above all, he wants the kind of work that will give him unlimited opportunities to advance to the top of the vocational ladder in his chosen field. His interest is focused more on what his work can do to make this possible than on the satisfaction he derives from the work. As Riesman (228) has explained:

College students often act as if they believed that work in large corporations, and, beyond that, work in general, could not be basically or humanly satisfying... but was primarily a way of earning a living, to find a place in the social order, and to meet nice or not-so-nice people.

Even though few adults are able to do the type of work they want and have to settle for what they can get, this does not eliminate their feelings that they are working at jobs below their capacities and expectations. As Turner has pointed out, "The decisions made in the senior year of high school have far-reaching consequences... They describe a structure which is likely to enter into the choice process and the initial experiences in marriage and career" (288).

Importance of Vocational Selection

To the average man, adult happiness is largely dependent upon a satisfactory vocational adjustment. In speaking of the importance of vocations, Abramovitz has

stressed, "Religion apart, no aspect of human affairs has such pervasive and penetrating consequences as does the way a society makes its living—and how large a living it makes" (3). This is equally as true of the individual as of a society, because the individual's whole pattern of life is influenced by how much he earns and how he earns it (128,214).

It is not only men who experience vocational maladjustments. With the increasing number of women, both single and married, in the vocational field, women of today are subject to the effects of vocational adjustment, just as men are. According to statistics released by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor in 1966, 27 million American women are now in the labor force. Of these, six out of every ten who work are married, and two out of every five are mothers of school-age children (195,292).

Women find many of the lines in which they are interested either shut to them or so dominated by men that the woman's progress is blocked (257,292). According to the Women's Bureau report, referred to above (292):

Women now account for only half of 1 per cent of all U.S. engineers, 3 per cent of the nation's lawyers, and 6 per cent of its physicians.... Men are actually moving into top jobs in a number of occupations once considered "safe" for women—teaching, library work, and social work.

Most women find their employment in the low-paying jobs and in lines of work which hold little prestige and which require limited ability and training (288). That they are "concentrated in the relatively less skilled, less rewarded and less rewarding



FIGURE 11-1 THE POPULAR AMERICAN STEREOTYPE OF THE SCIENTIST.

fields of work" is shown by the fact that approximately 30 percent of working women are holding down clerical jobs, 25 percent are in service occupations, and 15 percent in semiskilled factory jobs (292). Under such conditions, vocational adjustment becomes an even more serious problem for women than for men (25,257).

Even if women are able to adjust to the frustrations and resentments that are inevitable when occupational doors are shut to them because of their sex, they sublimate by wanting the men they marry to achieve greater success in their vocations than they themselves are able to achieve. As a result, many women have higher

ambitions for the men whom they marry than the men have for themselves (288). Figure 11-2 shows occupational ambition and eminence of position as aspired to by women for men.

Difficulties in Vocational Selection

Each year, as new discoveries and inventions appear, new types of work are created, and old jobs formerly done by human labor are replaced by machines. Many young people, trained for a certain type of work, find they have skills that are of little or no value in the type of jobs that are available (42,53,128,224). Commenting on this dilemma, Crow and Crow (59) have pointed out:

Many young people are much disturbed over the present vocational situation. . . . It can be understood easily that the youth's uncertainty regarding vocational planning is increased by the fact that it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty what the occupational opportunities may be ten, or even five, years from now.

Many young adults who have had little specific training for a particular line of work in high school or college go through a period of trial and error in which they try out one job after another. Even though the individual's first vocational choice has little relation to the parental occupation, he generally finds himself in the general occupational group of his parent when the final decision is made (53, 144,232,251).

Stability of Vocational Choice

How stable the young adult's vocational selection is will depend partly upon his job experience and partly upon his vocational

values. In high schools and colleges, attempts are made to help students choose careers suited to their abilities by counseling and by placing the students in part-time jobs that give them opportunities to learn something about the work they are interested in and to see if they have the necessary abilities to do such work successfully (89,127,269,289).

On the basis of this *job experience*, they can make vocational choices that will be far more satisfactory than the choices made by individuals who lack job experience (65,224). When vocations that follow the individual's lines of interest, as revealed in his choice of subjects in high school or college, are selected, he is more satisfied with the decision he makes and is, therefore, less anxious to change (18, 269).

Vocational values are even more important in vocational stability than is job experience. Work has different meanings for different people, whatever their occupations. It may be a source of prestige and social recognition, a basis for self-respect and a sense of worth, an opportunity for social participation, a way of being of service to others, a source of intrinsic enjoyment or of creative self-expression, or merely a way of earning a living (115).

Individuals from the lower economic groups stress the economic value and the easy nature of the job, while those of the upper groups stress the satisfaction to be derived from the work and the freedom the work offers the worker (95,172). Vocational values vary for the two sexes. Women are interested in less active, less adventuresome, and less dangerous occupations than men. They prefer work that is social in nature and offers them opportunities to help others, such as teaching,

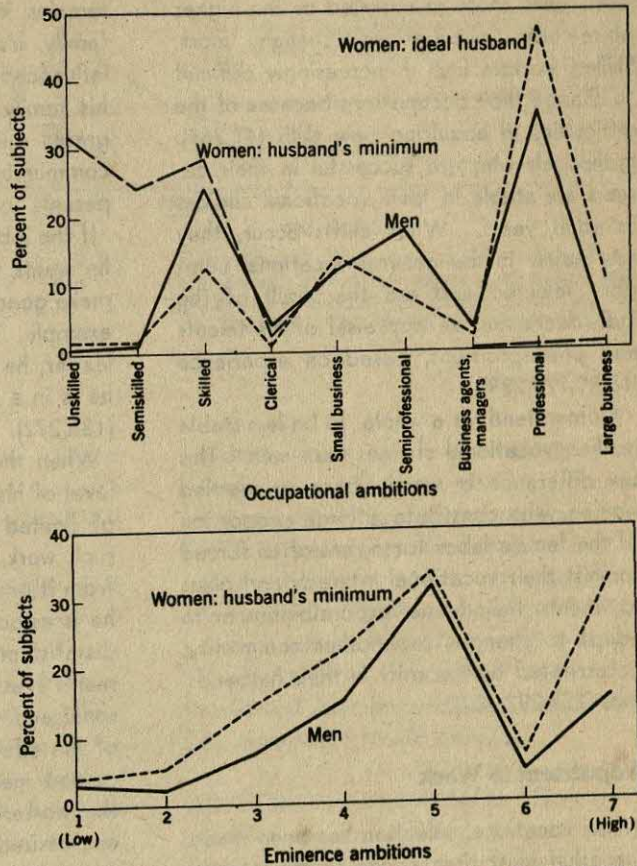


FIGURE 11-2 OCCUPATIONAL AMBITIONS AND EMINENCE OF POSITION ASPIRED TO BY WOMEN FOR MEN. (ADAPTED FROM R. H. TURNER: SOME ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S AMBITION. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1964, 70, 271-285. USED BY PERMISSION.)

social service, nursing, and office work (36, 302).

For both men and women, there is a tendency to change vocational values as a result of experience. More emphasis is placed, as adults grow older, on independence and work in which one is more or less on his own than on interesting jobs, fame, or profit (95).

Studies of stability of vocational choices throughout adulthood have revealed that stability increases with age. Those who change either have changed their interests or are in jobs of lower prestige value, showing a change to a more realistic goal (41,269). Job changes within an occupation are more frequent than occupational changes. Professional workers change

least, while those in unskilled or the higher white-collar occupations change most. Skilled workers find it increasingly difficult to change their occupations because of the difficulties in acquiring new skills (41,269). Individuals who are successful in their careers are stable in their vocational choices in adult years. When shifts occur, they are mainly in the general vocational category selected and are the result of the individual's mature appraisal of his talents and predispositions, based on experience (18,89,127,289).

Women tend, as a whole, to be less stable in their vocational choices than men. This sex difference is mainly because married women, who constitute a large proportion of the female labor force, are often forced to shift their vocational interests and plans to fit into their home responsibilities or to adapt to changes to another community, necessitated by the shift in their husbands' jobs (257,292,302).

Adjustment to Work

When vocational selection has been made, the adult must then adjust to the work he has chosen. This involves adjustments to the work itself, to the hours of work, to coworkers and superiors, to the environment in which the work is done, and to the restrictions on personal interests and activities imposed by the work. Some of the conditions that aid or militate against adjustment are the same for men and women; others are different. Therefore, they will be discussed separately.

ADJUSTMENT BY MEN Because the status of the individual, as well as that of his family, in adult society is determined largely by the occupation of the man, he and his family must adjust to this. If he

remains in the same community with his family, his vocational status is likely to be influenced by the general social status of his family. If, on the other hand, he migrates out of a small or moderate-sized community, he is likely to rise above his parents' occupational status (6,18,224).

If the job allows the adult to play the role he wants to play, he will be satisfied and make good adjustments to his work. If, for example, he wants to play the role of leader, he will be satisfied with his work if he is in a position of authority over others (186,272).

When the adult's abilities are above the level of his work, but he is forced, because of limited education and training, to do such work, he will derive little satisfaction from it or from the social group with which he is associated because of his work. This dissatisfaction soon spreads to all areas of men's lives and plays havoc with their personal and social adjustments. In speaking of the effects of downward social mobility, caused mainly by working in a job below the worker's capacities, Packard (201) has emphasized how widespread are its effects:

Many socially declining or downward-mobile people turn to alcohol or drugs for support. Some become promiscuous. They often become known as trouble-makers, with chips on their shoulders. Even their best friends become perplexed as to how to approach them without being snarled at. Wives find them disagreeable as mates. Such declining males are gloom-ridden, and those becoming seriously disturbed emotionally tend to develop sadistic-masochistic attitudes.

With each passing year, men expect to be paid more than they were during the

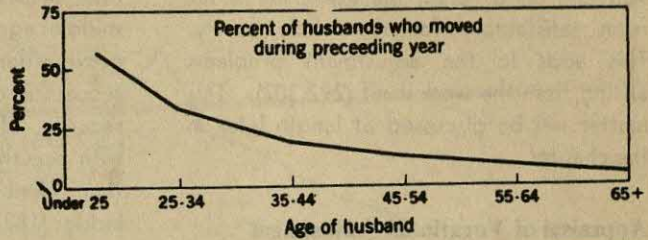


FIGURE 11-3 VOCATIONAL MOBILITY OF MEN DECREASES WITH AGE. (ADAPTED FROM P. C. GLICK: *THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE FAMILY*. *Marriage fam. Living*, 1955, 17, 3-9. USED BY PERMISSION.)

preceding year and to be slightly higher up on the vocational ladder. If they see that they are advancing, they are satisfied, or at least partially satisfied.

Even climbing the vocational ladder does not necessarily guarantee good adjustments on the part of the worker. This is especially true if he feels that his advancement is due to "pull" rather than to ability. This makes him feel inadequate for the work he is now expected to do. If occupational advancement can be achieved only by a move to another community, it means adjustments for the man and for his entire family (102,201,271). Figure 11-3 shows the percentage of men who move at different ages in their work careers.

Packard has highlighted some of the adjustment problems that vocational mobility brings (201):

The people who succeed in moving up the class scale in a conspicuous way must typically pay a price.... The resolute striver is a lonely man making his way on a slippery slope.... The person who succeeds dramatically in moving up the class scale tends to be, to begin with, relatively rootless. He or she has become isolated from the way of life that the

average young person has with its neighborhood.... Upward mobility also can put a severe strain on a marriage if the wife is less skilled than the husband in taking on new habits, attitudes, and friendships.... Children, too, often find living with a rapidly upward-moving couple a strain. They tend to feel isolated and insecure, and many compensate by becoming chronic talkers.

ADJUSTMENT BY WOMEN The attainment of an occupational status that fits their abilities is frequently denied women because of their sex (25,257,292). This results in frustrations which militate against good adjustment to the work to be done and to coworkers or superiors. Added to this is the problem of adjusting to two jobs, as happens when the woman worker is married.

The working wife must, of necessity, neglect many of the homemaking duties, with the result that they remain undone or the children are called upon to assist her. The recreational activities of the family must be curtailed, and the mother is often too busy or too tired when she returns from work to take an active part in her children's interests. This they re-

sent and, as a result, the home life is far from satisfactory for the whole family. This adds to the adjustment problems arising from the work itself (292,302). This matter will be discussed at length later in the chapter.

Appraisal of Vocational Adjustment

How successfully the young adult adjusts to his chosen vocation can be judged by two criteria: first, his achievements or the success he makes in his work and, second, the degree of satisfaction he and his family derive from his work and the socioeconomic status associated with it.

ACHIEVEMENTS The desire to "get ahead" and to achieve success, so strong in adolescence, carries over into the early years of adulthood (42). This motivates the young adult to put forth tremendous effort, often at the expense of his health and the neglect of his family and other interests (31,291). This results in the peak of his vocational achievement during the thirties, when both the quantity and quality of work are the outcome of initiative, ambition, and hard work (162,240). Figure 11-4 shows the most creative years for one group of young adults—psychologists.

In any business or industry, there are levels of jobs based on the abilities, education, and special training of the members of these levels. These levels are: the managers and planners; the technical aides and functionaries; and the workers. And the "overwhelming majority of the personnel begin and end their careers at the same level" (201).

This means that the individual who has not made a satisfactory adjustment to his work or who has not shown at least reason-

able success in it by the time he reaches middle age is not likely to do so as he grows older. By middle age, the drive for success is often replaced by a desire for security. For many adults, having a job with security back of it now means more than climbing higher on the vocational ladder (162,201).

The poorest vocational adjustment is found among the unemployed. Even in periods of national prosperity, their achievements in the vocational area are on such a low level that they cannot get or hold a job. This may be because they want to work at a higher level than their abilities and training justify, because they have found working conditions in the previous jobs not to their liking and have become choosy about what work they will do, or because they are unwilling to do the types of work that are available (105,186, 201,272,293).

How a period of unemployment will affect the individual's vocational adjustment in the future and how this, in turn, will affect his future achievements, will be greatly influenced by how the individual reacts to his unemployment (45). If it lasts a relatively short time, he will be far less affected than if it is prolonged to the point where his whole standard of living must be radically revised.

Far more important is the source of blame for his unemployment. Among workers in the higher social classes, there is a tendency to regard unemployment as their fault, to think of themselves as failures, and to develop defensive attitudes which militate against good adjustments to any job they may obtain in the future. In the lower social classes, by contrast, the blame for unemployment is usually placed upon society—whether that be a corpora-

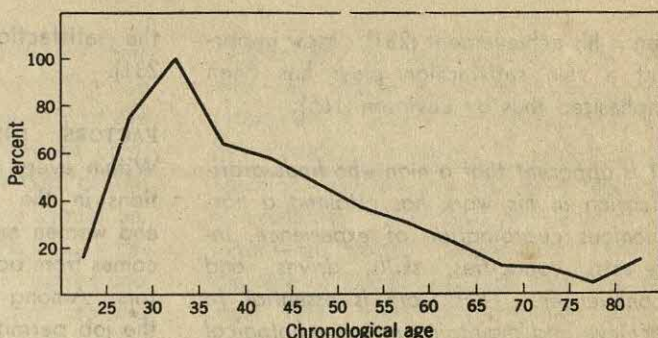


FIGURE 11-4 THE MOST CREATIVE YEARS FOR ONE GROUP OF YOUNG ADULTS—PSYCHOLOGISTS. (ADAPTED FROM H. C. LEHMAN: THE PSYCHOLOGIST'S MOST CREATIVE YEARS. *Amer. Psychologist*, 1966, 21, 363-369. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tion or a private employer. Not taking the blame personally eliminates many of the psychological scars that interfere with subsequent vocational adjustment (45,105, 201).

Opportunities to achieve what they are capable of achieving on the basis of their abilities and training are far fewer for women than for men. Therefore, unemployment in periods of economic recession or depression is far greater for women (25,288). As was stressed earlier, occupations that are highly valued by society, such as the professions and managerial jobs, are blocked to all except a small percentage of women workers. As a result, women who want to work or who must work to help support their families are forced to choose a vocation that is not highly valued by society—such as work in the aesthetic, social, and educational fields (288,292).

Even when they are highly successful in these areas, their achievements are not rewarded by money or prestige as is true

of success in areas that are predominantly open to men. This has been suggested as one of the reasons why women are less represented in *Who's Who* and other listings of achievement (255).

Relatively few men, and even fewer women, realize their vocational aspirations or even their vocational potentials. The reason for this may be some environmental obstacle, or it may be a personal obstacle in the form of limited training, inadequate motivation to make the most of their training and abilities, or unrealistically high aspirations. Some may become dissatisfied workers, while others are satisfied if they are economically secure and can compensate for lack of vocational satisfaction by transferring their vocational aspirations to their children, deriving vicariously the satisfaction they themselves have never had from their own achievements (6,162).

SATISFACTION The satisfaction the adult derives from his chosen vocation is an even better index of his adjustment

than is his achievement (231). How important a role satisfaction plays has been emphasized thus by Levinson (165):

It is apparent that a man who finds gratification in his work has attained a harmonious coordination of experience, interests, capacities, skills, drives, and consciences. Thus work is essential to achieve and maintain one's psychological balance. It should be no surprise, therefore, that one of the indications of emotional disturbance is a man's inability to find gratification in work. Work becomes a fundamental resource, something to hold onto as long as possible. It is a psychological glue which often holds a man together.

VARIATIONS IN SATISFACTION There are age cycles in vocational satisfaction for both men and women. In the early twenties men are glad to have a job, even if it is not entirely to their liking, because it gives them the independence they crave and makes marriage possible. With the confidence of youth, they believe it will be just a matter of time until they are promoted to a job more to their liking or until a better job opens up. By mid-twenties, when they have not risen as rapidly as they hoped, dissatisfaction begins to set in (162, 165, 231, 292). If family responsibilities make it impossible for them to change, this adds to their dissatisfaction. This period of unrest and dissatisfaction lasts generally until the early- or mid-thirties, after which there is generally an increase in satisfaction resulting from greater achievement and better financial rewards. Most men in their thirties like their work, but they do not "love" it. They enjoy the social contacts work gives them, the feeling of being a part of the world of action, and

the satisfaction from achievement (162, 231).

FACTORS INFLUENCING SATISFACTION

Within every age group, there are variations in the vocational satisfaction men and women experience. Their satisfaction comes from both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Among the *intrinsic* factors are what the job permits in self-actualization or the ability to make use of one's capacities and training, what the worker can contribute to the job, and what recognition, responsibility, and advancement he receives.

The *extrinsic* or environmental factors include expectations of what management or the employer will contribute—working conditions, salary, and fringe benefits. While job satisfaction is influenced by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors, the extrinsic play a less important role than the intrinsic (94, 117, 288, 306). If the work itself is unsatisfactory to the individual, unsatisfactory extrinsic factors increase the worker's dissatisfaction (94).

In discussing the role intrinsic and extrinsic factors play in job satisfaction, Wernimont (306) has pointed out:

People approach their jobs with two different types of expectations. First, they desire and expect to have responsibilities, achievements, and an interest in their work. People generally like to be recognized for their efforts and to be praised not only in their work, but most other times and places as well. Many people also desire and expect to advance formally in the company for which they work. The attainment of these aspirations and expectations produce feelings of satisfaction. The lack of attainment, or the frustration of these objectives causes people to be dissatisfied with their

jobs. . . Second, people bring to their jobs certain expectations regarding the amount of their salary, the quality of the working conditions, the fairness of company policies and practices and of the kind of person their supervisor should be. These are the extrinsic factors. . . . Extrinsic factors cause both satisfaction and dissatisfaction less readily than do the intrinsic factors but individuals are more likely to say they have bad or dissatisfied feelings about these extrinsic factors.

In one study in which workers were questioned about what they liked or disliked about their jobs, the most common reasons given for *liking* the work included: freedom from interference, intellectual stimulation, association with young people, serving others, salary, variety in work, and working time. The reasons most commonly given for *disliking* the work were: lack of appreciation of efforts by administration and colleagues, bad working conditions, no room for advancement, salary, pressure of time, and working hours. Very few mentioned the prestige of the job as playing an important role in their attitudes toward it (98).

Of the many intrinsic and extrinsic factors that influence the degree of satisfaction the worker derives from his job, the most important have been found to be: the opportunity to choose the work; the expectations the worker brings to the job; previous work experience; the relation of the work to the worker's capacities; vocational security; opportunities for advancement; glamour and prestige; the nature of the work; the reasons for the vocational choice; the degree of career orientation; favorable working conditions; the attitudes of significant people toward the work; and the forms of compensation.

Opportunity to Choose Work The adult who can choose a job in the area he is interested in and with working conditions he considers favorable is usually better satisfied than the one who must take what is available. As Latham has pointed out, "Although young people are perfectly capable of performing jobs they find they must take, some dissatisfaction accompanies this change in plans" (161).

The married adult for whom earning money is essential cannot afford to be as choosy as those who have no one to think of but themselves. The unmarried adult, for example, who lives with his family can look around until he finds a job that he considers satisfactory (22,293).

Expectations Many young adults expect working to give them the autonomy they did not have when they were younger, and they expect to rise rapidly enough to earn money adequate to provide them with the status symbols they were unable to have when they were younger. If this does not happen, they become discouraged and dissatisfied with their jobs. Adults who, during their school and college days, were "big wheels" on the campus far too often expect to be equally "big wheels" in the work world. Finding themselves at the bottom of the totem pole, they become dissatisfied with their jobs (167,202,260, 272).

Work Experience Work experience during school and college days, especially when combined with vocational counseling, helps the young adult to be more realistic about his abilities and about what working means. As a result, he is better satisfied with his job than is the adult who, lacking such experience, enters the work

world with unrealistic hopes (65,112,167).

Work Related to Capacities After the first excitement of being an adult in the work world and of earning money wears off, the individual's satisfaction with his job will be markedly influenced by whether or not it fits his capacities. If he is in a job beyond his capacities, because of "pull," or if he is in a job that is too routine and too simple to tax his capacities, he will be dissatisfied with it.

Many underachievers in school and college, handicapped in getting the advanced training their capacities would justify by their poor performances on lower educational levels, find themselves doomed to jobs that do not tax their abilities. School and college dropouts, having no diploma to act as "open sesame" to the work they are capable of doing, are in a similar position (26,293).

Vocational Security The more responsibilities the adult has for the support of others, the more important vocational security is to him. Reasonable security in his job will contribute to his satisfaction with his job. If, on the other hand, he feels that his job may, at any time, be wiped out by automation or that he may lose his job because of an antagonistic superior, he will literally be "sitting on the top of a volcano"—hardly a position to contribute to satisfaction (105,293).

Opportunities for Advancement If, in his assessment of the work situation, the worker sees a possibility of getting ahead, his attitude will be far superior to that of the worker in a situation which he knows is a "dead-end" one (58,94;202). Those who are most likely to be dissatisfied because they see little hope of getting much

above their present level are the younger and less well-paid workers, or those who are self-employed and meet stiff competition with the large corporations (202).

In discussing the dissatisfaction of workers on the lower vocational levels, Packard (201) has explained:

Look, for a moment, at what is happening to the working class, which consists mostly of solid, conscientious people who would like to believe in the American Dream. . . . A hard-working, semi-skilled operative learns, after twenty-five years on the job, that the seventeen-year-old kid next to him, who just quit high school to go to work, is making, within a few pennies, the same hourly wage he is. . . . This average worker also typically has little aspiration. And it is not because he is lazy. He is just realistic. . . . The foremen, too—who are the top sergeants of industry—are typically without aspiration. They realize that they have gone as far as they can. . . . Only 1 foreman in 5 believes he will ever get above the foreman level. The technicians, engineering aides, etc.—although considered by workers to be an elite—know there is a ceiling of realistic aspiration for them. . . . Management should remember that many workers are aggressively hostile because they have lost hope for tomorrow.

As we have seen, even more women than men experience job dissatisfaction because they realize that the professions and jobs in business and industry that carry responsibility, prestige, and high pay are, with few exceptions, closed to them. They know that they are subject to job discrimination, just as members of minority groups are (25,202). They are fully aware of the fact that "'Full equality' for women ap-

pears far off. Little talk is heard of electing a woman as President of the United States—or of General Motors—in the near future" (292).

Complaints about low pay and promotion discrimination among women workers show what is at the basis of their job dissatisfaction. As one young woman put it, "As a commercial artist, I am paid considerably less than a 24-year-old man who has a fifth of my education and background—and much less talent" (195).

Glamour and Prestige Many adults, during their childhood and adolescent years, made their vocational selections for adult life on the basis of the glamour and prestige associated with these occupations. If they discover, as adults, that their early perceptions of these occupations were correct, they will be satisfied with being identified with such lines of work. If, on the other hand, they must go into work that they regard as unprestigious, regardless of other advantages the work may have, they will be far less satisfied or even dissatisfied (58,125,158,175,176,200).

Stereotypes about different occupations, and the manner in which they are depicted in mass media, play important roles in determining how satisfied the worker will be with his job. If the stereotype is favorable, the job will have a halo which will enhance his satisfaction with the work. Unfavorable stereotypes cause dissatisfaction because they make the worker ashamed of his association with a job that is unfavorably regarded by others (16,22,73,242,276). Images of teachers in mass-media fiction and drama in the American culture, for example, lack the prestige they have in other cultures (100). Figure 11-5 show the ratings given to teachers in the American as compared with the U.S.S.R.

culture. Note the lower ratings given in the American as compared with the U.S.S.R. culture.

One of the reasons why adults like to be in occupations that carry titles or which require the wearing of uniforms is that they identify the individual with these occupations. If it is a prestigious occupation, the identification brings satisfaction to the worker, even if the work itself is not to his liking (26,125,305).

Another source of satisfaction is the glamorization of some aspect of the work to compensate for the aspects that do not, in themselves, give satisfaction (228). Studies of psychiatric attendants, for example, revealed that many compensated for the dissatisfaction they experienced from the low pay, the low prestige, and the routine nature of the work by being able to wear a hospital uniform and by emphasizing their service to others who need help—a quality that is highly valued by the social group (252).

Nature of the Work Much of the dissatisfaction workers in the automated and highly routinized lines of work experience comes from sheer boredom. Work, on the other hand, that is challenging to the individual, or that satisfies some personal need, such as a need for association with others, will give him a satisfaction that makes his working day an enjoyable experience (18,202,250).

Because the needs of different adults are different, work that satisfied the needs of one would not necessarily bring satisfaction to another. A person who needs a feeling of security to be happy wants a "safe" job; one who needs excitement and adventure will be unhappy in such work. A person who likes children and wants to help others will be satisfied with service

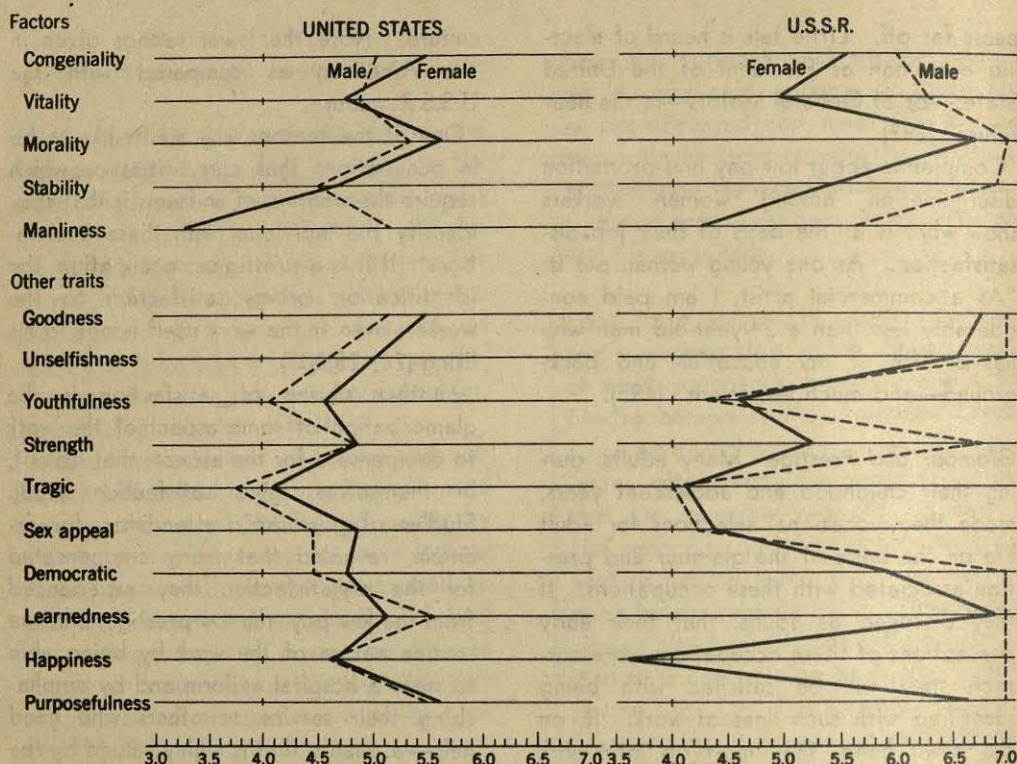


FIGURE 11-5 THE CULTURAL ATTITUDE TOWARD AN OCCUPATION AFFECTS PRESTIGE IN THE EYES OF THE GROUP. COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHERS IN U.S. AND U.S.S.R. (ADAPTED FROM G. GERBNER: IMAGES ACROSS CULTURES: TEACHERS IN MASS MEDIA FICTION AND DRAMA. *Sch. Rev.*, 1966, 74, 212-230. USED BY PERMISSION.)

jobs, such as nursing and teaching, while a person who wants people to serve him would find such work distasteful (48,313). As Kuhlen has pointed out, for many jobs there is "a conflict between the type of person needed to do a particular job and the potential of the position for satisfying fundamental career needs of the person who can do that job" (157).

Reasons for Vocational Choice An adult who, in his school or college career, enjoyed science would be far happier in a

career that involved scientific work than would an adult who, when he was younger, "hated" science. Adolescents who enjoy baby-sitting or doing things for children will be far more satisfied with teaching as a career than they would be in work that involved working with abstract problems, such as engineering or banking (48,313).

Disregard of interests and abilities, in favor of prestige, glamour, or some other factor, inevitably leads to job dissatisfaction. That is why adults who make their vocational choices early, before they know

what their interests and abilities are, are often dissatisfied workers. That is why, also, adults who are in types of work to please their parents or to compensate for the vocational aspirations that their parents were never able to satisfy, are usually dissatisfied with their work (144,251).

Degree of Career Orientation A career-oriented worker is willing to work up to his capacity, to try to improve his skills in the work he is doing, and to make personal sacrifices in time and effort in the hopes of climbing the vocational ladder. The career-oriented individual becomes ego-involved in his work; his work becomes a personal matter, a source of pride and prestige (186,228,251).

Many women workers do not become ego-involved in their work because they often are forced to go into jobs that are not of their choosing and do not involve work for which they were trained. Under such conditions, they do not become career-oriented (85,288,292). As Smuts has pointed out, "Most of today's working wives show no strong internal commitment to work. . . . They work mainly in order to earn money they don't absolutely have to have" (257).

For many women, the main goal in life is marriage, with or without a job. As the unmarried woman approaches the thirties and sees no prospect of marriage, stress increases, and this affects her attitude toward her work. After thirty, she shifts her goals and orients herself toward her work, working hard for a promotion or a change to work that will offer her more opportunities. How successfully she achieves this goal will affect her job satisfaction (85, 157,288,292).

Favorable Working Conditions Favorable working conditions, especially when they

offer independence of action, congenial associations with coworkers, fair treatment and consideration from superiors, and liberal fringe benefits, add to the worker's job satisfaction. If, however, the work itself is boring to the worker or if it does not meet his needs, the effects of favorable working conditions will be largely counteracted (94,96,202,301). As Packard (201) has pointed out:

Even if the plant is a marvel of engineering and the bosses are as nice as they can be, the operative is still bored. A study at a meat-packing plant, celebrated in management circles for its solicitude for the worker, showed that the workers, while grateful for the effort, were just as bored and uninspired as assembly-line automobile workers have been found to be.

When the worker's earnings are sufficient to provide his family with living conditions that match their aspirations and a social status that is satisfying to them, while at the same time giving the worker membership and status in a group with which he wants to be identified, he will find satisfaction in his work even though the work itself is not entirely to his liking (58,201, 228,301).

Job dissatisfaction is usually greatest among those who feel that their employers are taking advantage of them, that they are unwilling to consider their requests, that they provide inadequate working conditions, or that they discriminate against them because of their sex, their religion, or their race. While dissatisfaction with working conditions may appear at any occupational level, it is usually greatest among workers on the lower levels. It tends to be stronger among members of

minority religious and racial groups and among women than among any other segments of the labor force (25,201,288,292).

Attitudes of Significant People The attitudes of the worker's family and of members of the social group with which he is identified play an important role in job satisfaction. This is true of women workers as well as of men workers. When the members of a man's *family* are dissatisfied with his job because of the salary, the time it requires him to be away from home, or the lack of prestige of his job in the eyes of members of the social group, they complain about his work, they criticize him for not "getting ahead," and they put pressures on him to change jobs. Wives, it has been reported, are more concerned about their husbands' standing in their occupations than in their occupations as such (28,79,177,201,288).

Many husbands and children are critical of the working mother, not so much because of the nature of the work she does, the prestige status of the job, or the money she earns, but because it means that she cannot do many of the things for her family that the homemaker is expected to do. Older children and adolescents object mainly because it interferes with their social lives (25,28).

These unfavorable attitudes on the part of her family have a marked influence on the woman's attitude toward her job. Even when the work is to her liking and the money she earns makes it possible for the family to have many of the things they want and otherwise would be unable to have, these satisfactions are counteracted by feelings of guilt on her part that stem from the dissatisfactions of her husband and children.

When, in addition to family dissatisfac-

tions, the woman feels that family responsibilities make it impossible for her to compete on equal terms with unmarried women, or that her lack of advancement results from the fact that she is a woman, her dissatisfaction with her work will be greatly increased (24,174,249).

Attitudes of members of the *social group* with which the individual is identified are likewise important influences in determining how the worker feels about his work. When, for example, a man selects a vocation that is considered sex-inappropriate, he realizes that members of the social group have an unfavorable attitude toward him. How being a male nurse affects the worker has been described by Segal (244):

Male nurses are suspect because they enter an occupation that is traditionally female. They fail to meet the expectations that are supposed to govern men's career choices, and so they are involved in a status contradiction between characteristics ascribed to men in our society and characteristics that are supposed to inhere among members of the nursing profession. The effects of that contradiction show that a man's prestige and self-esteem may suffer when he is in an occupation that is mostly staffed by women.

It would be impossible for his "prestige and self-esteem" to suffer without having it affect his attitude toward his work.

When members of the social group have an unfavorable attitude toward a woman's working, either because they feel that her working means that her husband is a "failure" or because they feel she is neglecting her family for selfish reasons, it inevitably affects her attitude toward herself, and this, in turn, affects her attitude toward her

job (10,101,174). Figure 11-6 shows the attitudes of women toward the working woman with children of different ages.

Forms of Compensation Many adults, when they are dissatisfied with the work they are doing, try to compensate for their dissatisfaction by some avocation that does give them satisfaction or by the satisfaction they derive from a happy home life and the realization that they are providing well for their families (85,94,252).

A man, for example, may find the practice of law "boring." If, however, he has a family to support, he may feel that it is impossible to shift to another line of work that would necessitate a long period of training. To compensate for the dissatisfaction he derives from his work, he develops a hobby in the form of a sport, active participation in community organizations, or some creative activity, such as painting or writing.

When a woman is dissatisfied with her work, she may compensate for this by the satisfaction she derives from what she is able to do for her family with the money she earns or by helping her husband to rise in his work through helping him with his work, through giving him advice and listening to his problems, or through being a "charming hostess" for his work associates (193).

SERIOUSNESS OF SATISFACTION The degree of satisfaction the young adult has with his work has a marked influence on the quality and quantity of his work. Satisfaction increases his *motivation* to do what he is capable of doing and to learn more about the work so that he can perform it more efficiently. It increases his *ego involvement* in his work, and this further increases his motivation (301).

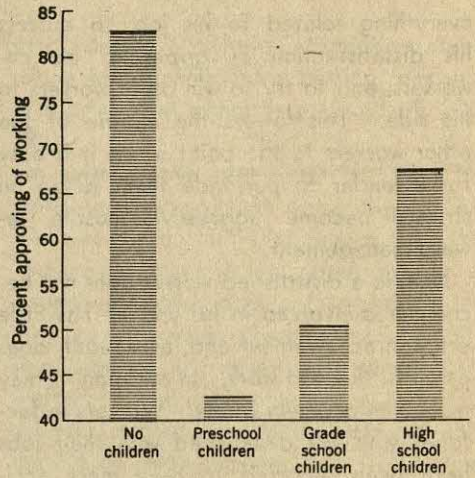


FIGURE 11-6 ATTITUDES OF WOMEN TOWARD WORKING MOTHERS WITH CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM H. M. GLENN: ATTITUDES OF WOMEN REGARDING GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN. *J. Home Econ.*, 1959, 51, 247-252. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Workers who are satisfied with their jobs become *dedicated* to their work and *loyal* to their organization. As a result, they play an important role in keeping worker morale at a high level. From the personal point of view, job satisfaction contributes to the worker's self-satisfaction and this, in turn, contributes to his *happiness* (85, 94,228,288,293,301).

By contrast, dissatisfaction with one's job plays havoc with the worker's *motivation*. As a result, he becomes an underachiever in the sense that he does no more than necessary to "get by," and he becomes a "clock watcher" who gives his employer no more than the minimum time required on the job. Dissatisfaction encourages the worker to *find fault* with anything and

everything related to his job, to express his dissatisfaction in *gripes* to his co-workers, and to try to win other workers to his side. This lowers the *morale* of the other workers to the point where it is easy for a leader to persuade them to go on strike or become "aggressively hostile" toward management.

Because a dissatisfied worker does not become *ego-involved* in his job, he has little pride in achievement and, as a result, does careless, slipshod work. In addition, it may make him *accident-prone*. Workers in factories who are dissatisfied with their jobs have been reported to have more accidents than do the more satisfied workers (66).

Lack of job satisfaction leads to lack of *dedication* and lack of *loyalty* to work and employers. Under such conditions, workers will walk off their jobs at a moment's notice if a job more to their liking is offered to them; they will constantly look around for another job; and they will report that they are "sick" when a difficult assignment is given them.

And, last but by no means least, job dissatisfaction is very damaging to the worker's *self-esteem* and *happiness* (85,94, 228,288,293,301). Concern about this has been reported "among sociologists who warn that the U.S. may be building up a new generation of 'unhappy women'" (292).

The seriousness of job dissatisfaction is not limited to the immediate present: it has long-term consequences of great significance. Young adulthood is regarded in the work world as the "testing stage"—the time when the worker's abilities are assessed to determine how far he is capable of rising on the vocational ladder (162,201,202).

Of the many serious long-term conse-

quences, three stand out as most important. First, motivation is lowered to the point where the worker becomes an habitual underachiever, working constantly below his capacities. As a result, he will be overshadowed in his competition with other workers who, because of greater motivation, will work harder to climb the vocational ladder. Being thus outdistanced, the dissatisfied worker will become increasingly more dissatisfied and more certain to stay on the lower rungs of the ladder.

The second long-term consequence of vocational dissatisfaction is that, if dissatisfaction is strong and if the worker verbalizes it, he will soon gain the reputation of being a "griper" and a "troublemaker"—a reputation he cannot always bury as he goes from one job to another. In a period of economic prosperity, this may not be as serious as it is when competition for jobs is keen and jobs are scarce.

The third consequence of dissatisfaction is that it can and often does become habitual, thus coloring the worker's whole attitude toward work and toward those in authority over him in the organization for which he works. Much of the "aggressive hostility" of workers that makes them "strike-prone" stems from the habitual dissatisfaction they experience in their work (201,202).

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

Most young adults recognize that marriage is the most important and, at the same time, the most serious adjustment they must make. To be successful, adjustment must be made to the areas of behavior which fulfill the five major functions of marriage. They are: solidarity, sexuality, external relations with family members

and outsiders, internal instrumentality or work at home, and division of responsibility (278).

While the adolescent thinks almost exclusively in terms of love, ignoring such important factors in marriage happiness as congeniality of interests and family backgrounds, the adult approaches marriage in a more realistic manner, facing the many problems that marriage entails. He knows how important it is to choose the right mate for himself and then learn to get along well with that person. His happiness and that of the entire family will be affected by how well he makes this adjustment (278,311). Success in his work is likewise greatly influenced by the attitude of his family toward it. And, not of least importance, the happiness of his children, as well as their attitudes toward their parents and toward marriage for themselves will be affected by the marital success of their parents (79,304).

Factors Influencing Marital Adjustment

Marital adjustment is difficult for people throughout the world, whether primitive or civilized. However, in America today there are certain factors that contribute to this difficulty and, as a result, intensify it. These factors are: limited preparation; inadequately defined roles in marriage; early marriages; mixed marriages; shorter courtships; and romanticism.

LIMITED PREPARATION Young people in America today, unlike those in most cultures, receive little preparation for marriage. True, there is more emphasis than in the past on sex instruction in the home, schools, and colleges, but this is limited mainly to information related to sexual adjustments (40,76,140,226). Many

young adults also have information about sexual adjustments from petting, necking, and premarital intercourse (20,49,148,226, 282).

In spite of this, many feel the need for more preparation than they have. This is shown by the fact that they turn to the "advice columns" in magazines and newspapers for additional information (116, 211). Furthermore, there is more discussion, and of a franker sort, about such matters as sexual behavior, number of children desired, childbirth methods, and the use of contraceptives than would have been considered "proper" in past generations (140,154). However, such important areas as domestic skills, child rearing, getting along with in-laws, and money management receive little attention in the preparation of young people of today for marriage (76,88,278,311).

ROLES IN MARRIAGE Modern adolescents know, in a general way, what roles members of the two sexes are expected to play in adult life. The boy knows, for example, that as a man his role will be that of breadwinner for his family. The girl knows that her first role, after marriage, will be to "become a housewife" followed by the "expanding circle stage," with the arrival of children, and the "peak stage," when the last child is born. Then there will be the "full house" plateau when no new members are added to the family circle—a plateau that usually persists until the end of early adulthood (169).

However, with the trend, in recent years, toward changes in these roles for both men and women, with the increased preference for equalitarian roles, especially on the part of women, and with differences in concepts of these roles by different social classes and religious groups, adjustment

problems arise in today's marriages which were not present in the past when the roles of men and women were more rigidly prescribed (156,278,311).

With the trend toward interclass and interfaith marriages, with the marked increase in higher education for women and their greater participation in work outside the home, and with the scarcity of outside help for domestic chores, there is likely to be a conflict between husband and wife about the roles each should play. When the husband does not feel that his spouse is performing her role satisfactorily, according to his concept of it, conflicts arise. This makes marital adjustments difficult for both spouses (156,274,299).

EARLY MARRIAGES In the past, marriages in the teens were common among members of the lower social classes. Today, there is a trend toward earlier marriages in *all* social classes, with the greatest gains among the more educated members of the middle class (189,192). Figure 11-7, which shows the trend in age of marriage in the United States, for each decade from 1890 to 1960, emphasizes the marked change that has taken place since 1940—the period following World War II, when student marriages began to be popular on college campuses and when many young women worked to put their husbands through college or graduate school (37, 49,311).

While the tendency in the past was for the man to be older, more mature in experience, and better established in his vocation, today's trend is toward marriages where the husband's age is nearer that of his wife. Recent statistics show that the average age at first marriage for women is twenty years and, for men, twenty-three years, though many men and

women were married when they were still in their teens (189,192). Refer to Figure 11-7, page 609.

There are many reasons for this shift to earlier marriages, especially among individuals of the social classes where increasingly longer time is needed for preparation for their life work. These include the widespread belief that thwarting of the sex desire is both physically and psychologically bad, widespread knowledge of how to regulate childbearing by the use of contraceptives, family help in the early years of marriage, employment of the wife, and changed concepts of the prerequisites for marriage, especially concerning financial security on the part of the husband (192,278,311).

Perhaps the most powerful factor in this change has been the change in sex *ratio* since shortly after the turn of the century. In 1910, the ratio of males to females was 106 to 100 in the early adult years. By 1940, it had dropped to 100.7 to 100, and in 1956, to 96.6 to 100 (192,195,292). This change in sex ratio, which for the first time in the history of our country puts young women in a position of disadvantage in marriage selection, has had a marked influence, not only on the courtship pattern, but also on the trend toward earlier marriages.

That this trend has added to the problem of marital adjustments is readily apparent in the marked increase in divorces, especially among the members of the middle class (see pages 637 to 639). Because young adults have had little or no experience outside school and college, and because early marriage occurs before they are economically independent, they are ill equipped to meet the problems of marriage (37,76,130,292).

Even though early marriages may not

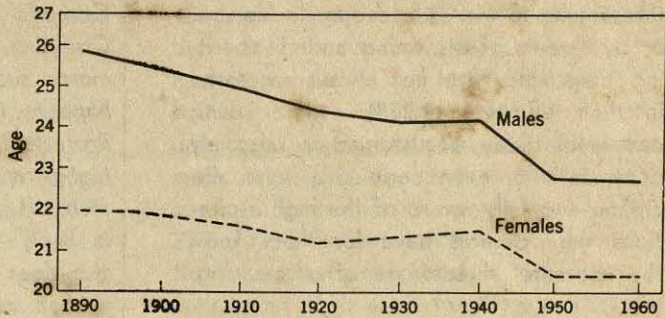


FIGURE 11-7 TRENDS IN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR MALES AND FEMALES FROM 1890 TO 1960. (ADAPTED FROM J. J. MOSS: TEEN-AGE MARRIAGE: CROSS-NATIONAL TRENDS AND SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE DECISION OF WHEN TO MARRY. *J. Marriage Family*, 1965, 27, 230-242. USED BY PERMISSION.)

end in separation or divorce, they are often unhappy because the husband does not achieve the success his wife had hoped for. Scott has explained why this is true (243):

The time of a successful man is always dear, while the adult male who is "still finding himself" is the one with the leisure to invest in courtship. This applies also at the college level, where the pre-professional student who is going places occupationally has little time for dating and leaves most of the social life to the less ambitious campus playboys. This means that women who expect their suitors to spend a great deal of time in dating are likely to marry men of modest achievements in other areas.

rental wishes. They look upon the choice of a life mate as their prerogative, and they resent and often ignore parental wishes (219,243,245,258,311). As Mannes has pointed out (177):

We like to think—indeed, we are expected to think—that while marriage in older societies is part of an institutionalized pattern in which the choice of husband or wife is not only governed by others, but fixed in specific grooves of duties and functions, our unions are truly companionable. . . . Among the concepts cherished by most Americans is that of romantic, companionable marriage: the free selection of a mate for himself or herself alone on the basis of love.

MIXED MARRIAGES Many young people today date individuals their parents disapprove of because of their race, religion, or socioeconomic status, and they often marry these individuals against pa-

While many parents, faced with the problems of mixed dating and the possibility of a mixed marriage for their children may try to control their children's dating and mate selection, by providing a social milieu for "proper" courtship, by persuasion, by

threatening to withdraw economic support, or by threats of disowning and disinheriting them, they are not always successful in their efforts (243,273). Most young people of today, accustomed to relatively democratic or even permissive home discipline and fully aware of the high aspirations their parents have for them, know that parental threats are often meaningless.

For the most part, the selection of a mate is greatly influenced by past experiences, attitudes formed from these experiences, and the values the individual has formed. As a result of greater independence in dating, the emphasis on tolerance in school and in social life, and experiences in the business world, young people of today develop more liberal attitudes and have values that differ markedly in many respects from the values of their parents (55, 84,122,164,219,233,243,258,311).

A factor of major importance today in mixed marriages is the desire on the part of the woman—whether conscious or subconscious—"to get ahead" in life. As Scott (243) has emphasized:

Women can gain a tolerable status through work, but a better one can usually be gained more easily through marriage. Where men move up most directly by competing for good jobs, women move up mainly by marrying men who move up. Marriage thus becomes the means of mobility for women. Insofar as she responds to the American dream of upward mobility, every unmarried American girl has a bit of the gold-digger in her.

How this desire to move upward affects her choice of a husband has further been explained by Scott in the case of inter-faith marriages. According to him (243):

Catholic girls are expected to marry Catholic boys, but they also want to marry successful men. And it just so happens that, for most of the country, Protestant men on the average hold higher-ranked positions than do Catholic men. If the Catholic girl marries up, she is likely to marry out. And evidently this does occur, because more Catholic women marry outside their faith than do Catholic men. Among Jews, however, the situation is reversed. Men in this group are eminently successful and are "good catches" for girls of any faith who want to marry up. Evidently they do get caught, for many more Jewish boys marry Gentiles than do Jewish girls.

That mixed marriages require more difficult adjustments than do those between individuals of similar backgrounds is shown by the greater number of separations and divorces than in marriages between people of more similar backgrounds. Furthermore, mixed marriages increase the difficulties of parenthood and in-law adjustments—two areas where satisfactory adjustment is important to family happiness (27,28,55,164,258,273,311).

SHORTER COURTSHIPS With the new trend toward "going steady," the courtship period is shorter than in the past. Usually the time interval between being engaged and being married is reduced to a few months (149,209,311). Even though the intimacy of the engagement period provides young adults with opportunities to discuss matters that may give rise to disagreements after marriage and to agree upon a mutually satisfactory solution to them, in most cases it is too short to permit the solution of many problems which

will make the adjustments to marriage difficult (27,278,311).

ROMANTICISM Many young adults—women more often than men—carry into adulthood the "romantic complex" they formed during the adolescent years (279). This romantic complex is greatly influenced by the way love, courtship, and marriage are depicted in the different forms of mass media (67,84,123,129,177).

Most young adults view marriage more realistically as they approach the time of the wedding and are forced to face the problems of marriage. However, the excitement of the engagement period and of the preparations for the wedding tends to militate against a truly realistic concept of what marriage means (67,123). That this is likely to make adjustment to marriage difficult has been emphasized thus by Hobart (123):

The widespread emphasis on romanticism in the American culture—the so-called romantic cult—which appears to be particularly associated with advanced courtship may in effect be preparing engaged couples for inevitable disillusionment in marriage.

The overly optimistic expectations of what marriage will bring in the type of home, furnishings, and appliances they will have, in the "fun" they will have in being together constantly, and in the new pattern of their lives often leads to disenchantment. Many a bride, for example, quickly discovers that it is a "big step from the wedding veil to the garbage pail." Disenchantment, in turn, leads to difficulties in adjusting to the duties, responsibilities, and roles marriage demands (121,177,290).

Because adjustment to the mature status that accompanies marriage requires a mental, emotional, and social maturity not found in those whose outlook on life is dominated by romanticism, the more romantic the adult is, the more difficult will be his adjustments to marriage (68,206,279). As Dean has pointed out, "Romantic love—the 'Hollywoodish fiction-type' conception of love—is for the emotionally immature. Marriage is for the emotionally mature" (67).

Areas of Marital Adjustment

The first year or two of marriage is the time when the major adjustments to one another, to members of the families, and to friends of both husband and wife normally take place. This can be a very stormy period in the marriage career, and it often is. Marriages in the thirties or in middle age frequently require a longer time for adjustment, and the end result is usually not as satisfactory as in earlier marriages (27,76,182).

Of the many adjustment problems in marriage, the most common and the most important for marital happiness are adjustment to mate, sexual adjustments, adjustment to economic conditions, and in-law adjustments.

ADJUSTMENT TO MATE Interpersonal relationships play as important a role in marriage as in friendships and business relationships. However, in the case of marriage, the interpersonal relationships are far more difficult to adjust to than in social or business life because they are complicated by factors not present in any other area of the individual's life (55,164,233).

The more experience in interpersonal relationships both men and women have had in the past, the greater social insight they have developed, and the greater willingness to cooperate with others, the better they will be able to adjust to one another in marriage. Adults who have been popular throughout their childhood and adolescence have acquired the ability to adjust to others and the social insight necessary to make adjustments. These experiences will go a long way toward helping them make good adjustments to marriage (54).

FACTORS INFLUENCING MATE ADJUSTMENT How easy or how difficult mate adjustment will be will depend upon many factors. Of these, the following have been found to play the most important roles: concept of the ideal mate; early experiences; similarity of backgrounds; common interests; similarity of values; role concepts; and adjustment of life patterns.

Concept of Ideal Mate In selecting a mate, both men and women are guided to some extent by a concept of an ideal mate—a concept that is often built up during the romantic years of adolescence. Men, as well as women, have such ideals, though men's ideals tend to be more realistic than women's (12,218,258,266). In their concepts of the ideal mate, women stress the importance of achievement, affection, love, and understanding from a husband, while men want their wives to make good impressions on their friends and acquaintances, to be home-loving, to be good managers, to adjust to a routine that will fit into the pattern of their lives, to be even tempered, and to avoid friction (177,310).

The intimacy of marriage often unmasks

the illusions that mates initially have about one another. When this happens, idealization gives way to reality. The more the individual must readjust his ideal to fit into reality, the more difficult the adjustment will be (17,67,68,123).

Early Experiences The early experiences of the adult determine what sort of adjustment will be made to the mate. Men who, because of their inferior height, have been outsized and outdistanced by their peers, frequently select a woman smaller than they as a wife and make satisfactory adjustments in their relationships in the home because they feel dominant (17,164).

Women, on the other hand, who protest against masculine domination make better marital adjustments to men equal in size or smaller than they. Women who rebelled against strict discipline in their childhood days are often predisposed to play a dominant role in marriage, thus leading to conflicts when the husband feels that the dominant role should be played by the male (25,67,290).

Unfulfilled needs stemming from early experiences must be filled by the mate if good adjustments are to be made. If the adult needs recognition, achievement, and social status to be happy, the mate must help him to meet these needs if the marriage is to be happy (12,30,171,258).

Similarity of Backgrounds Every married adult must learn to live with a person whose interests, values, and expectations, based on the early experiences in his background, differ, to some extent at least, from his. Even when backgrounds appear, on the surface, to be very similar, each adult has built up an outlook on life that is unique. The more marked these unique

outlooks are, the greater the chance for friction and the more difficult the marital adjustment (122,245,258).

Common Interests It is popularly believed that good adjustment in marriage depends upon common interests. But the type of interest is more important than the number of interests held in common. Mutual interests that are *familistic* in character have been found to lead to better adjustments between husbands and wives than mutual interests that are *individualistic* in character (27,30).

A study of leisure pursuits by young married couples has shown how important a role common interests play in marital adjustment. One of the most important factors in the failure of marriage, according to Bowman, is "the use, or misuse, of leisure time." The use of time spent in leisure is important because "leisure pursuits serve as common interests or as points of departure for conflicts." They can increase tension between husband and wife, or they can dissipate it. If the husband, for example, goes off on his own to engage in separate recreations "with the boys," resentments and conflicts are likely to arise (194).

Similarity of Values Well-adjusted couples have been found to have more similar values than couples who are poorly adjusted. Although similar backgrounds are likely to produce similar values, this is not always true (245,247,258). If, for example, both husband and wife are "conforming" in the sense that they accept the values of the social group with which they are identified, or if they are both "mobile" and strive for a pattern of life better than the present, they will make more successful

adjustments to one another than if they are "divergent," each having a different set of values and a different goal (201,202).

Role Concepts Each mate has a definite concept of the role a husband and wife play. Refer to pages 571 to 576 for a more complete discussion of this matter. Furthermore, each mate expects the other to play that role. When role expectations are not fulfilled, there is conflict. Unless the conflict is handled to the satisfaction of both, there will be poor adjustment and unhappiness (21,156,199,259).

Adjustment of Life Patterns Adjustment to a mate means reorganizing the pattern of living, revamping friendships and social activities, and changing occupational requirements, especially for the wife. Even young people whose life patterns are not fully established find adjustment to these changes difficult and these adjustments are often accompanied by conflict with emotional upsets (27,64,88).

SEXUAL ADJUSTMENTS Of all the adjustments to marriage, sexual adjustment is unquestionably one of the most difficult to achieve and the one, if not satisfactorily achieved by both husband and wife, most likely to lead to marital discord and unhappiness. Unlike other adjustments adults must make to marriage, there has been less opportunity for either men or women to have preliminary experience related closely enough to this adjustment to enable them to make it easily and with a minimum of emotional tension. Furthermore, there are complications which are likely to increase the difficulty of the adjustment for many, though aiding others (205,311).

FACTORS INFLUENCING ADJUSTMENT

There are many factors that influence the sexual adjustments young adults make to marriage. Of these, the following have been reported to play the most important roles: attitudes toward sex; past experiences in sex behavior; strength of sex desire; early marital sex experiences; and attitudes toward the use of contraceptives.

Attitudes toward Sex Although young adults of today have more information and more accurate information about sex before they marry than was true in past generations, this is no guarantee that their attitudes toward sex will be favorable (160). How they get this information, what form the information takes, and from what sources it comes will have a marked influence on their attitudes. When, for example, the major emphasis in sex education is placed on the negative aspects of sex, such as fear of contracting a venereal disease or of premarital pregnancy, a favorable attitude would be impossible (148).

Nor could a young woman be expected to have a favorable attitude toward sex if, during her early dating experiences, she was subjected to aggressive and offensive forms of petting (27,80,205). In a study of female frigidity, it was found that many cases were the result of crude and vulgar approaches to sex during childhood or adolescence. In cross-class marriages, unfavorable attitudes often develop because of basic differences in sex values between the spouses (296).

Once unfavorable attitudes toward sex develop, it is often difficult or impossible to eradicate them completely. As a result, they persist into adulthood and influence the individual's reactions to members of

the opposite sex and to sexual behavior. As Mussen et al. (190) have emphasized:

Clinicians have found that when unfavorable sexual attitudes have been built up ... it is extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to shift them through the use of rational advice given in adolescence. Even extensive psychotherapy may fail to change attitudes which have become too deeply ingrained.

Past Experiences in Sex Behavior Most children and adolescents engage in some forms of sex play, either with members of their own sex or with members of the opposite sex, and most engage in masturbation at some time or other in the early years of their lives. Being made to feel guilty about sex play and masturbation can distort attitudes about the marital relationship (148,179,205,226).

Petting provides both boys and girls with an understanding of a heterosexual relationship, but it can, at the same time, color their attitudes unfavorably. If petting is accompanied by feelings of guilt, fear of social disapproval, or nervous exhaustion, it will leave an impression that can have far-reaching effects on sexual adjustments in marriage.

While petting may help to release men from inhibitions that would plague them in marriage, this is not always true of women. Girls know that they must control how far the petting will go and, as a result, they build up inhibitions. Frequent petting before marriage may therefore establish an inhibitory pattern that will militate against good sexual adjustment in marriage (146,182,226).

If the petting experiences of a girl have been so aggressive that she feels helpless,

they can be traumatic experiences that will leave an indelible impression on her mind and, thus, color any future experiences with sex (114,149,182,225). Petting "with affection" develops more favorable attitudes toward sexual behavior than does petting motivated by curiosity or a desire for sexual release (226,283). Passive petting has been found to be more predictive of satisfactory sexual adjustments in marriage than is participant petting. In the former, the female is the object of sexual advances by the male; in the latter, the female is active, reciprocates, and stimulates the male by various techniques (88, 225).

However, regardless of the motivation for petting or the type of petting engaged in, too much petting or petting of too advanced types is more likely to lead to sexual maladjustments in marriage than to good sexual adjustments (80,139,226). In discussing the effects of petting on marital adjustment, Kinsey et al. (145) have emphasized its positive effects:

The girl who, as a result of premarital petting relations, has learned something about the significance of tactile stimulation and response, has less of a problem in resolving her inhibitions after marriage. ... There is, then, considerable evidence that premarital petting experience contributes definitely to the effectiveness of the sexual relations after marriage.

Premarital intercourse may have a favorable or an unfavorable effect on sexual adjustments in marriage. If it is engaged in because it is the "thing to do" or to hold the affections of a loved one, it will lead to more unfavorable attitudes than if it is done because of sincere love and

the belief that, as the couple is engaged, there is no reason to wait for the marriage ceremony (76,170,225).

When either the man or the woman feels guilty, on the other hand, premarital intercourse will color their attitudes unfavorably, even if they rationalize their behavior by saying that they plan to be married shortly (20,282). Should intercourse lead to pregnancy and an unplanned marriage, the attitudes toward one another and toward sex are more likely to be unhealthy than healthy (114,275,283).

Studies of premarital heterosexual behavior have revealed that men more often cross class lines and date women of a lower social class than women do. Furthermore, extremes in heterosexual behavior occur when men are in the company of women of a lower class more often than when their dates are with women of their own or a higher class. This may result in the development of a proprietary attitude toward women on the part of the man and a defensive, resentful attitude on the part of the woman, which can have serious effects on sexual adjustments in marriage (80,296).

Strength of Sex Desire Among men, the peak of the sexual drive which influences the strength of sex desire comes in the late teens or early twenties and then begins to decline. There is evidence that it reaches its peak even before the average man is married, during the early twenties, and then begins to wane as he approaches the thirties. Early-maturing boys have a higher rate of sexual outlet throughout adulthood than do late-maturing boys (88,145,147, 164,179,248,308).

Among women, by contrast, the peak of sexual desire does not come until the late

twenties, several years after the average woman is married. This discrepancy in ages of maximum sexual desire is especially important in cases where women marry men a year or more older than they. Because the peak of the woman's sexual desire does not come until the male sexual desire has started to wane significantly, sexual adjustments in marriage are often difficult for both men and women (88,146, 205,225).

Added to this is another matter of great significance in sexual adjustments, the *periodicity of the female sexual desire*. The cycle of this desire is regulated by the ovarian hormone, with the desire reaching a height about the time of ovulation, then waning to reach another height just before menstruation. This bimodal curve of sexual desire may vary slightly for different women, but it is always present (164, 179, 205, 308).

This is not true of men. While the strength of their sexual desire may fluctuate from time to time, owing to physical causes such as fatigue or poor health, to psychological causes such as worry or depression, or even to the stimuli in the individual's immediate environment such as the presence of a member of the opposite sex who excites or revolts them, these fluctuations are far less pronounced than are those among women (146,179,248).

While pregnancy usually lowers the level of sexual desire for both men and women, especially in the months immediately following the birth of the child, there is no evidence that it has any lasting effect on sexual adjustments for either men or women (159,164,179,205).

A strong interest in and enjoyment of sex has been found to decline from the middle to the lower social classes. The explanation for this, given by Rainwater,

is that middle-class couples enjoy jointly organized activities at home and outside, while those from the lower classes go their own separate ways. This trend shows a close relationship to their sexual activities. In speaking of lower-class couples, Rainwater (221) has explained:

The couples emphasize separateness in their other activities: therefore separateness comes to be the order of the day in their sexual relationship. . . . Close and gratifying sexual relationships are difficult to achieve because the husband and wife are not accustomed to relating intimately to each other. . . . Thus, the sexual relationship is an extension of an overall husband-wife relationship which emphasizes 'togetherness,' mutual involvement and give-and-take.

Early Marital Sex Experiences For the majority of young adults, the first sexual experience comes after marriage. And, because such relationships are new and difficult for them, the first marital sex experience may be unsatisfactory to one or both mates. Furthermore, the belief that sexual relations produce states of ecstasy not paralleled by any other experience has led many young adults to be so disillusioned at the beginning of their married lives that later sexual adjustments are difficult or even impossible. Fear of pregnancy is likewise a common handicap to good adjustment in early marital adjustments (88,205,223).

When sexual relationships are satisfactory, marital success is aided but not guaranteed. From the point of view of good marital adjustment, it is more important that sexual relationships be satisfactory to the wife than to the husband, though satis-

faction to both will go a long way toward helping them to adjust to other problems that are inevitable accompaniments of marriage (27,146,160,205,223,277). As Gebhard has pointed out, greater marital satisfaction is associated with higher percentage of coitus resulting in orgasm for the wife. Women, he found, who reach orgasm in 90 to 100 percent of their marital coitus claim greater happiness than women of any other marriages. In addition, Gebhard found that the orgasm rate increases with the duration of marriage. This might raise the question concerning whether early divorce means disappointment and disillusionment because the early romanticized expectations of sex have not been fulfilled (97).

Attitudes toward Use of Contraceptives

If both mates agree to the use of contraceptives, there will be less cause for friction with its emotional accompaniment than when each mate has his own feelings about the matter. Because the use of contraceptives is influenced, to some extent, by the religious background of the individuals, this is one of the many hazards in interfaith marriages. The greatest objection to the use of contraceptives comes from those of the Catholic faith and the least, from men and women of the Jewish faith (13,32,88,93,296,311).

The emotional tension that arises when there are different attitudes on the part of the spouses toward the use of contraceptives may, and often does, lead to infertility. This adds to the emotional strain of the woman who feels guilty about not having the children her husband wants. The greater the desire for children, the more resentful the husband will be if his wife takes any measures to prevent having them (81,88,223).

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS Money or lack of it will have a profound influence on the adult's adjustment to marriage. Traditionally, the money is earned by the husband and the control of it is in his hands. Today, as a result of premarital experience in the business world, many wives resent not having control of the money needed for the home, and they find it difficult to adjust to living on their husband's earnings after being accustomed to having money from their own earnings to spend as they wish (121,311).

Many men, likewise, find financial adjustments after marriage very difficult to make. These adjustments are made more difficult if the wife has worked after marriage and their combined incomes have provided them with what they want. Then, with the arrival of the first child, the income is not only reduced but the husband's earnings must be spread over a wider area to cover the expenses of the children (25, 174,292). In commenting on the importance of the economic factor in marital adjustment, Freedman and Coombs (93) have stressed the role of child spacing:

Those who have their children very quickly after marriage find themselves under great economic pressure, particularly if they married at an early age. Opportunities for education—or decisions involving present sacrifices for future gains are difficult. They are less able than others to accumulate the goods and assets regarded as desirable by young couples in our society. They are more likely than others to become discouraged at an early point and to lose interest more quickly than others in the competition for economic success.

AREAS OF INFLUENCE—There are many areas of married life in which economic

conditions play roles of major importance in marital adjustments. The most important of these are: sharing of the work load; economic security; desire for material possessions; desire to improve status; and actual level of social status.

Sharing of Work Load With the modern labor-saving devices and the ease with which all the necessities for running a home can be obtained in our present culture, adjustment to managing a home would appear to be the simplest adjustment the adult must make. If money were unlimited and if domestic help were readily available at a price the average young couple could afford to pay, this would be true. But, during the early years of marriage, when rearing a family takes the major part of the mother's time and when labor-saving devices and domestic help would be of the maximum help, the family income can usually not provide such help.

The tendency is for most families to leave the burden of responsibility for the management of the home in the hands of the wife. Some women are quick and efficient with the result that they run their homes with minimum effort and need little help from the other members of the family. Other women, by contrast, are slow and inefficient. To help them carry the burden of running the home, women call on their husbands for help, and this frequently causes friction, especially when the man's concept of homemaking is that it is "woman's work." See pages 571 to 576 for a more complete discussion of adult sex roles.

The "lazy-husband syndrome" discussed in detail earlier (see pages 536 to 537) stems from the emotional tension that occurs when the wife resents a lack of help from her husband. Resentment, in time, is ex-

pressed in friction and friction leads to poor marital adjustments.

Economic Security When there is economic security in the form of savings, regular employment, and absence of debt, and when there is effective economic management in the form of good budgeting and absence of borrowing, marital adjustments are far better than when the income is insufficient to cover family needs, when there is constant debt, or when irregular employment of the husband necessitates the wife's working while her husband is unemployed (121,292,311).

Early marriages have many more economic problems than do marriages between adults who are already established in their life work. That is one of the major reasons why early marriages are often frictional and why the divorce rate is greater than in later marriages (27,121). Because adults of the middle and upper classes have fewer economic problems than do those of the lower classes, they have less friction stemming from money problems (311).

In large families, no matter how successful the wage earner, there are fewer material possessions, less opportunity for recreation outside the home, and less money for each member of the family to spend for his personal wants. This often leads to friction, especially when the children become status-symbol conscious. Furthermore, any crisis, such as the illness or unemployment of the breadwinner, may necessitate downward social mobility for the entire family, a condition that inevitably gives rise to friction in the home, especially friction between the spouses (7,28,201).

Desire for Material Possessions For many adults, acquiring material possessions is

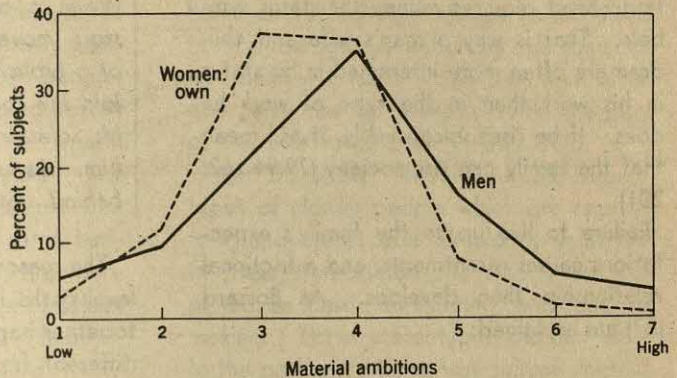


FIGURE 11-8 AMBITIONS FOR MATERIAL POSSESSIONS ARE STRONGER AMONG MEN THAN AMONG WOMEN. (ADAPTED FROM R. H. TURNER: SOME ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S AMBITION. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1964, 70, 271-285. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the "only visible way left for them to advance in the world" (201). The desire for material possessions is especially strong among those who hope to rise above their present status. As Packard (201) has explained:

With each move a family makes, it tries to get a better house and more of the "extras." These families often leave rented city apartments with only a modest assortment of worldly goods and become people of property with a hunger for hard goods (such as cars, appliances, etc.). If they move into an area where quite a number of the neighbors have clothes driers, they feel they must have one, too, and quickly.

It is not only women who are anxious to have material possessions: husbands are often even more anxious than their wives, because they believe that material possessions will act as status symbols to proclaim their success in the vocational world (201,

288). Figure 11-8 shows that the ambition for material possessions is strong among members of both sexes, though slightly stronger among men than among women.

When husbands are unable to earn enough to provide their families with the material possessions the different family members crave, there is likely to be a resentment toward the wage earner, and a frictional attitude develops. This is true of the children of the family as well as of the wife who wants her children to have what the children of her friends have. Many wives, faced with this problem, take jobs to provide the family with such possessions. Many husbands, in turn, object to this because they feel it proclaims to others their inability to provide for their families as husbands of nonworking wives do (10,24,174,292).

Desire to Improve Status The desire to get ahead, to rise above the status of their families and their own status, is strong among many young adults. However, get-

ting ahead requires money for status symbols. That is why a man's wife and children are often more interested in his status in his work than in the type of work he does. If he rises vocationally, it will mean that the family can rise socially (79,94,162, 201).

Failure to live up to the family's expectations causes resentments, and a frictional relationship then develops. As Bossard (27) has explained:

Pressures to strive for higher social position strain family life.... Socially ambitious wives put their husbands on the griddle, forward-looking husbands do the same to their wives and many growing children give both parents the full treatment.

Level of Social Status While it is true that marital adjustments vary in every social class, adjustments tend to be better in families of higher status than in those of lower status. One of the major reasons for this is that money problems are not as acute and as frequent as they are in families of lower status (27,201,311).

Marital adjustments are complicated by cross-class marriages. If the wife comes from the higher class, the adjustments are usually poorer than if the situation is reversed. The reason for this is that it is the wife who must make the major adjustments to marriage, both economically and socially. She finds it harder to "live down" than to "live up" (201,237).

When both husband and wife move ahead of their families, the adjustment is better than when only one is ahead of the families. Packard (201) has illustrated what happens in such cases by the following example:

When a bright young clerk in a chain store moves into a position as manager of a branch store, it is imperative that he join the country club set. But sometimes his salesgirl wife has not grown up with him. As he moves up and out, she is left behind. Many become alcoholics.

The reason that differences in social-class level make it hard for two people to live together happily is that they view life from different frames of reference. If, for example, an upper-level man is dedicated to accumulating an estate for his family, he will find it difficult to understand why his wife, who comes from a lower social class which believes that money is meant to be spent—and as quickly as possible—does not try to be more frugal with her use of the family money. Similarly, a middle-class man who has firm beliefs about the "proper" way to bring up children will be exasperated by the permissive, indulgent attitude of his upper-class wife or the strict authoritarianism of a lower-class wife (120, 201,237).

The best marital adjustment occurs when husband and wife are of the same class at the time of their marriage. Roth and Peck (237) have found that prospects for "good" marriage adjustment are as follows:

Both from same class	53.5%
Spouses 1 class apart	35.0%
Husband from higher class than wife	35.3%
Wife from higher class than husband	27.7%
Spouses more than 1 class apart	14.3%

IN-LAW ADJUSTMENTS With marriage, the adult acquires a whole new set of

relatives, his "in-laws." This group varies in size but might be conservatively estimated to include an average of six people. It is made up of individuals of different ages, different interests, and often markedly different cultural backgrounds. The adult must learn to adjust to people who are not of his choosing and, as often happens in the case of in-laws, who are more critical of him than they would be of others who are not members of the "family." Furthermore, because they regard themselves as members of the family, they assume the privilege of trying to direct his life as they do with those who are blood members of the family (75,106,284,311).

FACTORS INFLUENCING IN-LAW ADJUSTMENTS In-law adjustments have been made more difficult by a number of factors which are of recent origin and which members of past generations, for the most part, were not forced to cope with. These factors are: unfavorable stereotypes; desire for independence on the part of young married couples; feelings of family cohesiveness on the part of one spouse; social mobility; and care of elderly relatives.

Stereotypes There is a widespread and widely accepted stereotype of the "typical mother-in-law" which causes unfavorable mental sets even before marriage. Although mother-in-law jokes are of early origin in our culture, the comic element is now replaced with bitter resentments and strong defenses (39).

In recent years, with the trend toward more equalitarian marital roles, the stereotype of the "henpecked husband" who permits his wife to force him to do "woman's work" has developed. Relatives of the husband who wants to help his wife with

home and child-care chores is subjected to this derogatory label by members of his family—a label which can and often does give rise to resentments on the part of the wife toward her in-laws (268).

Then there are the unfavorable stereotypes of elderly people which are applied to grandparents and all elderly relatives. In these stereotypes, the elderly are depicted as bossy, interfering, and trouble-making. These stereotypes did not exist in the past when there was cultural respect for the elderly (8,152).

Desire for Independence Young married couples of today, as a result of the greater independence they have enjoyed throughout childhood and adolescence, expect complete independence with marriage. They rebel against parental advice and guidance even when they must accept parental financial aid. Many young couples purposely move far enough away from their families to make interference difficult, if not impossible (121,210,267).

In spite of their desire for independence, many young adults remain emotionally dependent on their parents, especially their mothers. This is true of men as well as of women (137,265,266). Even working wives sometimes show a dependency on their mothers and are homesick when their husbands' jobs necessitate their living far enough away from their mothers to make frequent contacts with them impossible (107). Many spouses resent this dependency and show their resentment by an antagonistic attitude toward their in-laws (75,265,266).

Family Cohesiveness Marital adjustments are complicated when one spouse devotes more time to the relatives than the other

spouse wants to, when the spouse is influenced by family advice, and when the spouse has relatives come for extended visits or as a permanent member of the family (75,227,230).

One of the complicating factors in cross-class marriages is the differences in values the two spouses have regarding family cohesiveness. Members of the lower socioeconomic groups generally favor the extended family system, while those from the higher socioeconomic groups favor the concept of the nuclear family. Because the wife is usually the one from a lower class in such marriages, the husband resents her close relationships with her family and shows this by an antagonistic attitude toward them (75,155,201,230).

In families with strongly traditional religious values, such as those of the Catholic or Jewish faiths, family cohesiveness is more highly valued than in families of the different Protestant faiths or in families where interest in religion is weak. A Protestant spouse will tend to resent the close ties with family members of a Catholic or Jewish spouse and will show this resentment in relationships with them (20, 60).

Social Mobility When young adults want to rise above their family status and when higher education makes this possible, they must keep their in-laws in the background unless the relatives have acquired the appearance and behavior patterns of the new social group with which they are trying to become identified. Many parents and relatives resent this treatment, and this leads to hostile relationships with the young people (1,62,201).

Care of Elderly Relatives The increase in the number of old people, especially

women, and the decrease in income, because of retirement and the shrinkage of the value of money in pensions, often necessitates caring for elderly relatives in the homes of young adults. While this has always been a complicating factor in marital adjustment, it is especially so today with the present-day concept of old people as "intruders," "unwelcome guests," and "troublemakers" and with the present belief that young people should be independent of relatives, especially when there are children in the family (4,34,51,270,286).

EFFECTS OF IN-LAW PROBLEMS Although in-law problems do not inevitably lead to friction between spouses, they more often do than not. Dybwad (77) has explained the reason for this thus:

Of course there will always be some conflict between generations. Age differences make this as natural as the friction in moving parts of a machine. But there is more than this to the conflict between the generations today. Young people are deeply confused by the inconsistencies and insincerity of their elders. We push them ahead in adolescence, yet hold them back as they reach the threshold of adulthood. We surround them as children with sexual stimulation in sound, print, and picture, yet try to impose on them rigid taboos against sexual behavior in their adolescence. . . . We are quick to complain when young people cannot get along in the new-fashioned world but show our own limitations by recommending "old-fashioned discipline" for their problems.

The in-law problem is largely a "woman problem" because the woman's life is more family-centered than the man's in that she

is more dependent, both economically and psychologically, than is the man on family relationships. Furthermore, the wife is more in the home than the man and hence is more accessible to all members of the family (39,266,270).

Furthermore, when it is necessary to care for an elderly relative in the home, it is the wife who bears the major part of the burden (4,51,154). With increasing age and early marriages, the family pattern is becoming elongated, with more women than men in this pattern (see Figure 13-12, page 751). As a result, young adults have more family relationships to adjust to and more chances for friction in in-law relationships than formerly (51,75,155).

In-law friction is mainly centered in the mother-in-law and sisters-in-law, especially those on the husband's side. Because the girl's parents exercise more control over the choice of a mate than do the boy's parents, the son-in-law is usually more acceptable to the wife's family than the wife is to the husband's family. As a result, the husband's family is not always receptive to their son's wife, and this causes friction. Women, on the whole, report less favorable attitudes toward their mothers-in-law than do men (303).

There are certain factors that have been found to contribute to good in-law adjustments. These include: approval of marriage by parents of both mates; opportunities for prospective partners' parents to meet and become acquainted before the marriage; friendliness of the parental families toward each other when they meet; separate homes for the young couple and their families; marriage between persons of the same religion; marriage course before marriage, especially for the wife; happy relationships between the grandparents and grandchildren; simi-

larities in the pattern of social activities; happy marriage of the parents on both sides and of the young couple; acceptance of the other family as their own by both husband and wife; and an intimate title of address for the in-laws, as "Mother" and "Dad," rather than "Mr." and "Mrs." (75, 109,166,284,311).

Variations in Effects The trend toward early marriages intensifies the problems of in-law adjustment, especially for the wife. While early marriage may be an advantage in many respects for a woman, it is likely to be a disadvantage for a man. It is especially serious when he must rely upon his parents for economic aid. This makes independence from them impossible and encourages them to try to control his life, a fact which the wife bitterly resents (75,106,121).

The young wife, on the other hand, who has been less emancipated from her parents during adolescence than boys are, is often homesick for her parents, depends on her mother, and wants to live near her parents. This causes friction between husband and wife, especially when it is apparent that the wife favors her family as opposed to the husband's family. Friction is further intensified when the husband's vocation requires a move to another neighborhood or another community which the wife objects to because it will mean leaving her family (107,137,266).

In-law trouble is especially serious during the early years of marriage and is one of the most important causes of marital breakup during the first year of marriage (27,75). In families with no children or a few children, it is more serious than in families with many children, where in-law help is often welcome (191,262). And it is more common in the middle- and upper-

class groups than in the lower, where the traditional concept of an enlarged family group, to include relatives as the chief source of companionships, is more widely held (39,106,280).

During the engagement and early part of marriage, conflicts are mainly with the husband's parents. Later, because of the wife's dependence on her parents, conflicts tend to shift to the wife's parents (75).

ADJUSTMENT TO PARENTHOOD

As LeMasters has pointed out, "Parenthood—not marriage—marks the final transition to maturity and adult responsibility" (163). Bossard has further emphasized the role of parenthood in marital adjustment when he said (27):

Parenthood is underestimated as a force in marriage. . . . It is time, in fact, to remind young marrieds once again that the family is the connecting link between successive generations; that this indeed is the basic purpose of the family and that other functions relevant to it are secondary and incidental.

Adjustment to parenthood is difficult under any conditions; it is especially difficult in the case of premarital pregnancy and unmarried women. As Dame et al. have pointed out, in connection with the problem of premarital pregnancy (64):

Premarital pregnancy imposes additional strains, both emotional and realistic, upon a marriage at a time when the couple has many adjustments to make. Therefore it constitutes a severe hazard unless both partners have considerable ego strength.

The unmarried woman has even more dif-

ficulty in adjusting to her role of parent than has the married whose pregnancy began before her marriage. Unmarried mothers have been found to have resentful attitudes toward their babies and the fathers of these babies and to be more concerned about themselves and their futures than about the babies they are about to have. Because of these unfavorable attitudes, they make poor adjustments to parenthood after their babies are born (52,168).

Factors Influencing Adjustment to Parenthood

Adjustment to parenthood is influenced by many factors, the most important of which are: the attitude toward pregnancy; the attitude toward the parental role; the sex of the children; the number of children; parental expectations; the feelings of parental adequacy; occupational attitudes; and attitudes toward changed roles.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PREGNANCY

Pregnancy, while a normal physiological function, is always a time of physical disequilibrium. Accompanying this is emotional disequilibrium of greater or lesser severity, with mood swings and frequent depressions (229). As Loesch and Greenberg have explained, on the basis of data obtained from a group of young married women (168):

Pregnancy involved a stirring up of certain psychological conflicts and a marked readjustment of their relationships with their husbands and of the expectations they had of their husbands and of themselves. . . . Pregnancy was, for nearly all, a period of mixed feelings with underlying moods of anxiety and depression: this, of course, varied in degree.

Psychological disequilibrium does not end when the baby is born. Instead, it persists for a time, often marked by severe depression and anxiety (229). In the group studied by Loesch and Greenberg (168), it was reported that:

The first year of motherhood produced marked shifts in their psychological equilibrium. Marked conflicts over adequacy, with resulting depression; definitive quarrels with mother or mother-in-law, where there had previously been an equilibrium; flight from motherhood by returning to work; increasingly disturbed relationships with their husbands—these are some of the different reactions seen during the first year of motherhood.

The woman's attitude toward parenthood is colored by her physical condition during pregnancy and her attitude toward woman's biological role. When her attitude is favorable, the woman will adjust to any physical discomforts pregnancy may bring and willingly accept the role of mother when the baby is born (11,56,108).

When attitudes are unfavorable, many women play the "sick role," pretending they are sick without regard to organic impairment. This is more true of women of the lower than of the higher socioeconomic classes (234). It is also more characteristic of women who feel unprepared for parenthood or who are forced into a shotgun marriage because of pregnancy (9,314). Their unfavorable attitudes are often expressed in excessive smoking and drinking (181).

There is more likely to be an unfavorable attitude toward the second than to the first child, especially if the interval between the arrival of the first and second child is short (43). In most cases, when

the woman's attitude has been unfavorable during pregnancy, it improves after the baby's birth. This is true even in the case of unwed mothers (11,297,312).

ATTITUDE TOWARD PARENTAL ROLE

Young parents tend to take their parental responsibilities lightly and not to allow them to interfere too much with their interests and pleasures. Older parents tend to be more anxious and concerned, and this makes them place parental responsibilities ahead of their personal interests and pleasures (28).

High marital adjustment is usually accompanied by concentration on one another with less interest in the child. Medium marital adjustment, on the other hand, results in a more favorable attitude toward parenthood (196,212,311). Adults who are *poorly adjusted*, unhappy, and discontented, not only have unfavorable attitudes toward parenthood but their relationships with their children are such that they cause them to be poorly adjusted too (46,184).

Adults of the middle and upper classes tend to regard parenthood as the fulfillment of marriage and look upon their children with possessive pride and hope. This is shown in their tendency to name their children, especially the firstborn, for a distinguished or loved relative if he is not named for the parent (235). Adults from the lower classes, by contrast, often look upon parenthood as the "inevitable payment for sex relations," a point of view that does not contribute to favorable attitudes toward parenthood (28).

The man who holds the traditional concept of the role of the father will feel that his main contribution is economic and will be motivated to greater vocational achievements. The man with high vocational aims will often resent the noise and

confusion children make in the home and the demands they make on his time; he may even resent giving money that he wants for vocational advancement to the family. Men who hold the developmental concept of father will be "family men" in the sense that they devote time to their children, not only in the care of the children, but also in teaching, guiding, and playing with them (90,220,253). Figure 11-9 shows conflicting concepts of the role of the parent among family members.

SEX OF CHILDREN Most adults, both men and women, want their first child to be a boy. They hope that the second-born will be a girl and that, if the number of children is large, there will be an equal distribution of boys and girls (91).

As the children grow older, parental preferences become apparent in the treatment of the children. Women are more severe with their daughters and show a preference for their sons, while men pamper their daughters and are stricter with their sons (28,83,238,316). How parents treat their children of the two sexes varies, to some extent, with the socioeconomic status of the family (15). Figure 11-10 shows how parents treat their sons and daughters.

Sex preferences thus tend to affect the adult's attitude toward parenthood. If he has a child or children of the sex he prefers, his attitude toward parenthood will be more favorable than if the children are not of the preferred sex. For most adults, parenthood is viewed more favorably if at least one of their children is a son (182, 238).

NUMBER OF CHILDREN Men who believe that a large family is a sign of their masculinity prefer large to small families, especially when there is a preponderance

of sons. Many adults believe that one can have a happy and rewarding life only when there are children, and they prefer large to small families (28,126,215). When families are planned, the size of the family is closely related to the adults' interest in children, the satisfaction they derive from parenthood, and whether they prefer to concentrate on a few children or get more enjoyment from a large group (7,46,91).

When the number of children in the family coincides with the adult's concept of the "ideal family," the attitude toward parenthood will be more favorable than when the number is either larger or smaller than the desired number. A family smaller than the desired size may lead to feelings of masculine inadequacy or resentment on the part of the husband toward his wife because she did not give him as many children as he wanted (13,81,91,307). A family that is larger in number than desired can put such a strain on the time, energy, and budget of a family that the attitudes of both parents toward parenthood can be unfavorably influenced. This is shown by the fact that marital tensions are greater in families with four or more children than in families with one, two, or three children. Tensions are also great in childless families if one or both parents wanted children (86,203).

Marital adjustment is thus not determined by family size per se but by the ability to control fertility in line with the desires of both parents. When there are more or fewer children than either parent wants, adjustment to parenthood and marriage is affected (49).

PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS As has been discussed earlier (see pages 105 and 166), most parents have a concept of their "dream child" which dominates their atti-

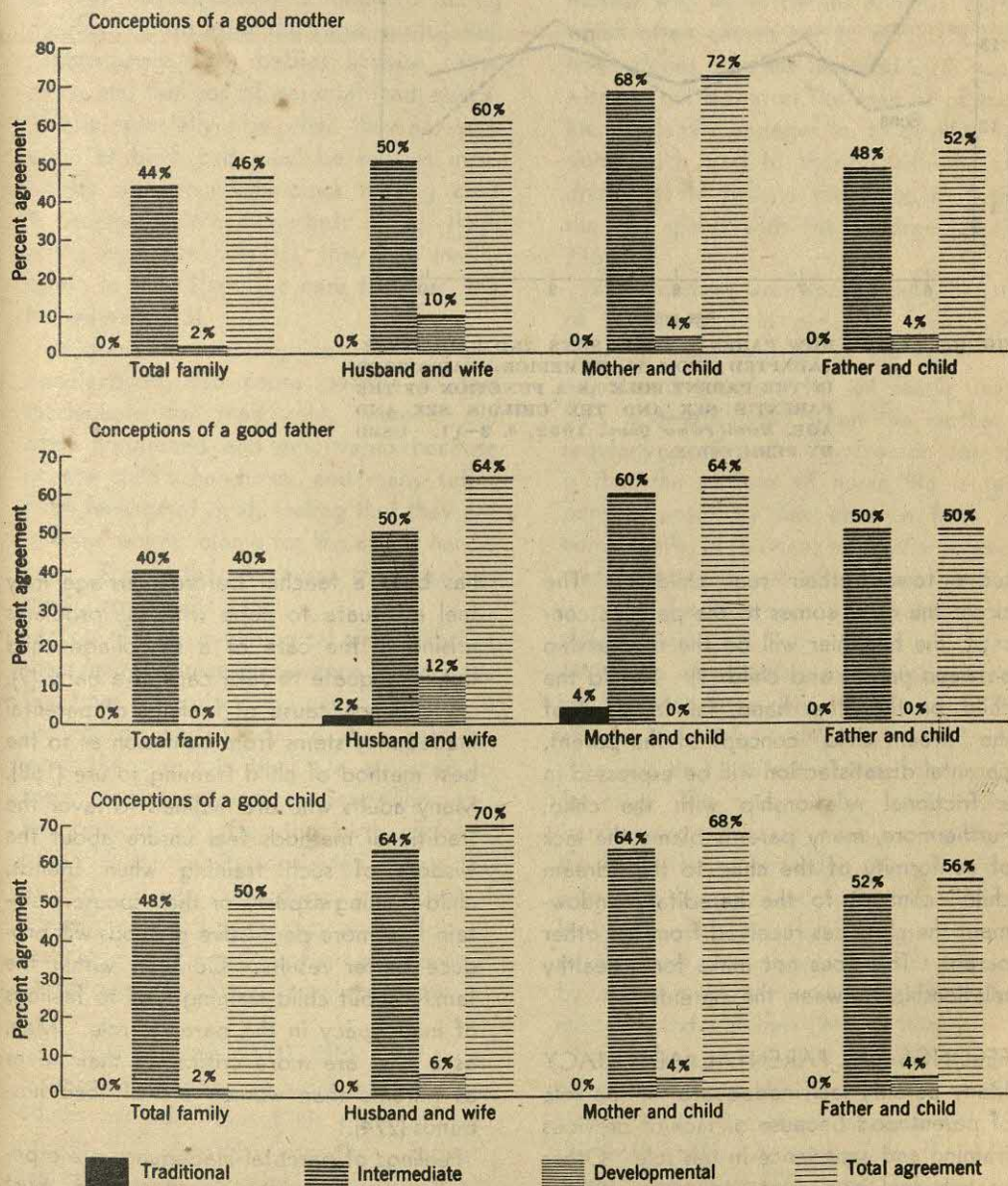


FIGURE 11-9 CONFLICTING CONCEPTS OF THE ROLE OF DIFFERENT FAMILY MEMBERS. (ADAPTED FROM R. CONNOR, H. F. GREENE AND J. WALTERS: AGREEMENT OF FAMILY MEMBERS' CONCEPTIONS OF "GOOD" PARENT AND CHILD ROLES. *Soc. Forces*, 1958, 36, 353-358. USED BY PERMISSION.)

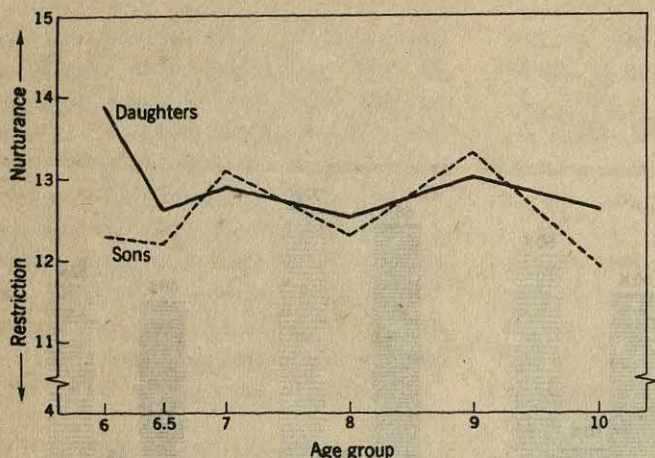


FIGURE 11-10 HOW PARENTS TREAT SONS AND DAUGHTERS. (ADAPTED FROM W. EMMERICK: VARIATIONS IN THE PARENT'S SEX ROLE AS A FUNCTION OF THE PARENT'S SEX AND THE CHILD'S SEX AND AGE. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 1962, 8, 3-11. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tudes toward their real children. The closer the child comes to the parent's concept, the healthier will be the relationship between parent and child (9). Should the child, on the other hand, fall far short of the "dream child" concept of the parent, parental dissatisfaction will be expressed in a frictional relationship with the child. Furthermore, many parents blame the lack of conformity of the child to the "dream child" concept to the hereditary endowment the child has received from the other parent. This does not make for a healthy relationship between the parents.

FEELINGS OF PARENTAL ADEQUACY

Many parents feel inadequate for the role of parenthood because of lack of previous training and experience in this role. Other parents feel inadequate to cope with the problems that certain ages of childhood give rise to. A mother, for example, who

has been a teacher before marriage may feel adequate to cope with the problems arising in the care of a school-age child but inadequate to take care of a baby (9).

A common cause of feelings of parental inadequacy stems from confusion as to the best method of child training to use (168). Many adults who are inclined to favor the traditional methods feel unsure about the wisdom of such training when friends, child-training experts, or their spouse maintain that more permissive methods will produce better results. Conflicts within the family about child training lead to feelings of inadequacy in the parental role. Men, as a rule, are more critical of their wives as parents than women are of their husbands (274).

Feelings of parental inadequacy are especially strong among mothers who must cope with a child who deviates in any way from the normal pattern (61). In a study

of how mothers react to twins, it has been reported that they were greatly concerned about their adequacy to meet the physical and emotional needs of the twins. This concern was especially pronounced during the first month after the twins' birth (198).

Prematurely born babies likewise cause stress and feelings of parental inadequacy. This is especially true when they are very small at birth and must be kept in incubators with round-the-clock nursing care to survive. When parents bring them home from the hospital, they feel inadequate to give them the care they feel the babies need (43).

Children who are physically or mentally handicapped also cause parents to feel inadequate for their role. Parents are often frightened and embittered because of the child's handicap, and many suffer from feelings of guilt, feeling that they are in some way to blame for the child's handicap. This further increases their feelings of inadequacy (61,315).

Much of the psychological disequilibrium that many women experience during the first year of motherhood can be traced to feelings of inadequacy on their part toward the new role they are expected to play. That psychological disequilibrium is less pronounced after the birth of later-born children can be explained not on the grounds of less disturbing physiological conditions during pregnancy and childbirth but rather as the result of greater feelings of adequacy for the parental role (168).

OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES Attitudes acquired in relation to work influence the adult's attitude toward his parental role. Middle-class parents, especially fathers, feel that their parental duty is to train their children for success in life, and this leads them to set goals often beyond the

child's ability to reach. Parental pressures on the child to live up to these expectations result in nervousness in the child and resentment toward the parent (2). The mother who works carries a heavy burden which often causes her to eliminate many home duties normally assumed by a housewife, to cut down on the amount of social life the family engages in, to develop tensions which lead to friction with the children, and to reduce the amount of time she can spend with the children (24,174, 236,261).

When mothers work sporadically, because of boredom or in order to meet some financial need or crisis in the family, the adjustment problem for all family members is greater than when the mother is regularly employed. The reason for this is that the pattern of home life is temporarily upset by her absence from the home, while, in the case of regular employment, some provision of a permanent type is made for the care of the home and children (103,292).

Working wives often have more marital conflict than have nonworking wives. This affects their relationships with their children and their attitudes toward the parental role. The woman who works usually wants more power in decision making in the home than is accorded the nonworking wife, and this may lead to friction with her husband. The prestige and power she derives from working may be counteracted by a frictional relationship with both her husband and children (24,118,197).

The working woman, like the working man, often carries into the home habits of efficiency and expectations characteristic of the work world. A comparison of professional and nonprofessional women as mothers has shown that the professional women emphasized discipline and inde-

pendence on the part of their children, while the nonprofessional women emphasized the protective, empathetic, and understanding functions of motherhood (300).

CHANGED ROLES Parenthood is a "crisis"—a situation in which "sharp and decisive changes must be made for which old patterns are inadequate" (163). It requires structural and role changes in the family—changes that are often radical. This temporarily upsets family homeostasis which, in turn, leads to stress for all family members with the accompaniment of friction of minor or major severity (78, 124, 163).

Although the arrival of every child in the family is a crisis, the arrival of the firstborn child generally produces the most severe crisis. This is, in part, because of feelings of inadequacy on the part of both parents for the parental role, in part because of highly romanticized concepts of parenthood, and in part because of the personal, social, and economic privations parenthood brings. Mothers with professional training and experience often suffer extremely severe crisis shock because of the necessity for giving up a role that had deep significance for them in favor of a role for which they feel inadequate (78, 124, 163).

Physiological and psychological homeostasis upset is expressed in sleeplessness, chronic tiredness, exhaustion, and nervousness. On the psychological side, it is expressed in dissatisfaction at having to give up social activities they enjoy, resentment at the long hours of work needed to care for the child and the home, worry over their appearance and concern about whether they are being "good mothers." Most serious of all, from the point of view of marital happiness, is resentment toward

the husband who does not have to assume these responsibilities but is free to come and go as he did before he became a parent—the "lazy-husband syndrome." See pages 536 to 537 for a more complete discussion of the "lazy-husband syndrome."

Many fathers show a general disenchantment with the parental role, by a decline in sexual responsiveness to their wives, by concern about economic pressures, by resentment at being "tied down," and by the feeling that they are now forced to play the role of the third person who constitutes a "crowd" in the mother-child relationship. They resent the role of "isolate," one who is excluded from the "basic family unit," which the mother now thinks of as composed of herself and the children (163, 177). These unfavorable attitudes on the part of the father color his attitudes toward fatherhood and toward his wife.

ASSESSMENT OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

Successful adjustment in one area alone will not guarantee happiness. Although it is true that it will predispose the spouses to happiness, marital happiness can come only when there is successful adjustment in the major areas of marital relationships (27, 88, 311).

In the past, happiness in marriage was taken for granted. Women and men had been trained from the time they were children for their roles in adult life, and they were prepared to accept the bad with the good as part of the whole marriage pattern. Moral and religious prejudices against divorce were so great that a marriage was maintained at all cost.

Today, with the new freedom for women, with the relaxed mores regarding divorce, and the opportunities women have to main-

tain themselves and their children after divorce, there are many more evidences of unhappy marriages than there were in the past. This does not mean that there are proportionally more unhappy marriages today than there were in past generations. Rather, it means that society is more aware of these unhappy marriages because of the mounting number of legal separations and divorces (226,298).

Most married couples are better adjusted to marriage after three or four years of marriage, indicating the progressive nature of marital adjustment (27,86). With adjustment comes increasing satisfaction with marriage. As Paris and Luckey have pointed out, "There may be a tendency for marriages that are extremely happy or extremely unhappy in their early stages to 'regress toward the mean' and become more alike" (204). Family solidarity is increased with the coming of the first child and when the children are very young. With this increase in family solidarity comes increased satisfaction with marriage (284).

Factors Influencing Marital Adjustment

There is no one specific pattern of living that is favorable to marital adjustment. Success in marriage depends on whether or not the marriage provides satisfaction for the whole family, not for just one or more of the members. Marital failure, on the other hand, comes when one or more of the members is dissatisfied.

Satisfaction of the needs of every family member is essential to marital adjustment. When the needs of one or more of the family members are thwarted, there will be dissatisfaction, and this will militate against good marital adjustment. If, for example, the husband needs success in his career to

be happy but family duties and responsibilities keep him from achieving this—or at least he believes so—he will be dissatisfied with marriage (27,177).

The needs of children and parents often conflict. If the child needs more freedom than his parents grant him to be happy and if the parents need the dependency of the child to be happy in their parental roles, there will be friction and conflict in the family (30,135).

The presence of *children* usually aids marital adjustment. However, this is not always true. Children sometimes disrupt marital adjustments, especially if the husband feels that his wife and children form the family while he plays the role of "fifth wheel" (177).

While divorce statistics suggest that divorce is more common among childless couples than among those who have children, this is far from foolproof evidence that children are responsible for better marital adjustments. It may only mean that childless couples are freer to do as they please about breaking up a marriage than are those who must think about the economic problems involved in divorce and the effects divorce will have on the children (187).

Only when children are essential to the satisfaction of one or both of the mates will they have a marked influence on marital adjustment (187). Marital adjustment has been reported to be better when there are three children than when there are fewer or more children in the family (204). This, however, varies according to how many children one or both mates had hoped to have (243). As has been pointed out earlier (see page 626), the number of children in a family is not so important as the relationship between the actual number and the hoped-for number.

As we have seen, marital adjustment is markedly influenced by the degree of *romanticism* there is associated with the concept of marriage and of the mate. There is a marked relationship between the parents' concept of the family and family adjustment. When families do not meet the individual's hopes and expectations, he is dissatisfied (123,294).

Similarly, when the personality patterns of the spouses show a close relationship to the spouses' ideal concepts, there will be greater marital satisfaction than when they differ markedly from the ideals. Less satisfied wives, for example, see their ideal husbands as warm and loving and their own husbands as cold and skeptical; less satisfied husbands see their wives as falling quite short of their ideal in such traits as autocracy and generosity (171). Satisfied spouses, on the other hand, report that the spouse has a moderate amount of the traits they like, such as being moderately competitive or moderately responsible; disliked traits, by comparison, are "too much" of otherwise desirable traits, such as too dictatorial, too cold, or too blunt (171).

That romanticism with its inevitable accompaniment of disillusionment plays an important role in marital adjustments may be seen by the fact that even happily married adults see their spouses as having less admirable traits than they attributed to them during the early part of marriage. The longer they are married, the less favorable personality traits they see in their mates. Those who are unhappily married see the personality traits of their spouses as increasingly more undesirable with the passage of time (171).

Marital adjustments are greatly influenced by the satisfaction the husband derives from his work and his success in it

(204). The more successful he is and the more rapidly his status in it improves, the more satisfied he and all the members of the family will be. Lack of advancement, or loss of job, on the other hand, contribute to poor marital adjustments (177,201).

Similar ages or slight differences between ages of the spouses are more favorable to marital happiness than are marked age differences (28). It has been reported that marital adjustment is best when the age differences between the spouses is such that it duplicates the relationship that existed between the spouses and their siblings during their childhood years (284).

Similar values and interests aid marital adjustment, while dissimilar ones militate against it. This is readily apparent in different values of members of different religious, social-class, or racial backgrounds. Any cross-cultural marriage, it has been reported, is less likely to be successful than an intracultural marriage (201). As Bos-sard (27) has pointed out:

Perhaps the real wonder is not that mixed marriages often fail, but rather that so many succeed. An old Chinese maxim has it that every boy should marry the girl who lives across the street from him. The meaning is still clear: people of the same background and circumstances are most likely to find marital happiness with each other.

The type and amount of *premarital sexual experiences* the individual has had will influence the degree of marital satisfaction he experiences. While evidence points to the fact that marital adjustment is more successful when there has been no premarital sexual intercourse, some do make good adjustments who have had intercourse with

their future spouses before marriage (49, 226).

The position of the spouse in the family of his childhood in relation to his siblings is important in marital adjustment because he has learned to play certain roles that he later transfers to the marital situation. The closer the relationship of the new to the old situation, the better his preparation for the new and, in turn, the better his adjustment to it. Both men and women, reared in homes with siblings, make better adjustments to marriage than do those who were only children.

For men, the best position is that of the oldest brother with younger sisters; for women, the position of younger sister with older brothers. Should, on the other hand, the husband be the younger brother of older sisters and the wife the older sister of younger brothers, there is likely to be a frictional marital relationship: the wife will try to "boss" her husband as she did her younger brothers. When both spouses were the oldest in their childhood homes, there is likely to be a highly frictional relationship with each trying to dominate the other (14,110,284).

The period in the individual's married life determines to a marked degree how good or how poor marital adjustments will be. As Paris and Luckey have pointed out, "There are identifiable periods in the lives of most married people that may be less happy than others" (204). The most readily identifiable periods are the first few years of marriage when adjustment to their new roles as spouses and parents must be made, the times when their children reach the "troublesome teens" with the tendency to ignore parental wishes in favor of peer wishes, and the "empty nest" period which requires readjustment to a

childless home and loss of parental role (28,30,177,205).

Criteria of Successful Adjustment

The success of marriage is reflected in a number of interpersonal relationships and behavior patterns. Of these, the most important are: the happiness of husband and wife; good parent-child relationships; adjustment of the children; the methods of meeting disagreements; and togetherness.

HAPPINESS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

The happiness of the husband and wife in marriage comes from the satisfaction they derive from playing the roles in marriage that lead to happiness for all concerned. These are the "developmental tasks" of marriage. For the man, it means becoming "domesticated" in the sense that he is less interested in his own activities and more concerned with sharing with his wife in such areas as money, recreation, and home duties; for the woman, it means being a good wife and homemaker; for both, it means a mature and stable love for the mate, good sexual adjustment, and the acceptance of parental roles (5,56,68, 180,206,254).

Men, as a whole, make better adjustments to marriage than do women, but they become discontented with marriage sooner than women do. Members of the upper class, if they are "new" in their status, make poor adjustments as compared with those whose status is "established." Members of the middle class adjust better to marriage, while those of the lower classes make the poorest adjustments of all (201).

In general, marital satisfaction is greater among religious than among nonreligious people (38,121). For women especially,

religion often compensates for low sex gratification and makes marriage more satisfying than it would be for a less religious person. This is not equally true of men (88,278). In commenting on marital happiness, Terman et al. (277) have pointed out:

What comes out of a marriage depends upon what goes into it and that among the most important things going into it are the attitudes, preferences, aversions, habit-patterns, and emotional-response patterns which give or deny to the one the aptitude for compatibility. In other words, . . . a large proportion of incompatible marriages are so because of a predisposition to unhappiness in one or both of the spouses.

GOOD PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

When there is compatibility between parent and child, there will be good adjustment, and a favorable home climate will result. Incompatibility, resulting from having little in common, from viewing matters from different frames of reference, or from parental refusal to recognize the developmental needs of the child, will lead to poor adjustments and a frictional home climate (30,136,212). As Heider has pointed out, "The way a parent affects a child is influenced by what the child does to the parent." In turn, what the child does to the parent is affected by what the parent does to the child. The impact of the parent and child on each other thus becomes a circular process (119).

This impact is influenced by many factors, especially the personality patterns of the parent and child and the age of the mother. Parents with authoritarian attitudes toward child training, especially when the child shows a stubborn, resistant

attitude, encourage the development of poor parent-child relationships (136,151).

The parent's age, likewise, has a marked influence on parent-child relationships (28, 316). Older parents, who tend to be over-protective and overly ambitious for their children, create personality problems in their children because of overinhibition of the child's impulses. Conduct problems are more common in children of younger parents because such parents tend to be permissive and allow the child free expression of his impulses (264).

Because the needs and behavior patterns of children are so different from those of adults, a well-organized home suited to adult living will not suit the needs of children. If good parent-child relationships are to exist, parents must adjust to the inevitable changes in their living. Their lives will be somewhat disrupted by schedules suited to their children's needs and childish behavior; they will have to adjust to noisiness at times; privacy at times will be intruded upon; the children will sometimes fight with siblings and resist parental restraints; furniture may be broken or damaged; and the house will often be cluttered (23,60).

Mothers are, on the whole, more acceptant in their attitudes than are fathers and, as a result, adjust better and create better parent-child relationships. This is seen in the fact that children usually prefer their mothers to their fathers (19,113). Mothers who have been married for a longer time adjust better than those married a shorter time, as is true of all areas of marital adjustment. Parent-child relationships are better when parental authority is equally divided or is in the hands of the father rather than of the mother (135,177,213, 274).

In small families, husbands often resent

the mother's concentration on the children. This causes friction with the children and leads to sibling rivalry and jealousy, none of which contribute to good family relationships. In the large family, many of these sources of friction are removed and family life runs along more smoothly with better adjustments among the different members (7,28).

Pressures put on the child to conform to adult expectations disrupt family harmony and lead to poor parent-child relationships more quickly than any other one thing. This often happens when the mother works and expects the standards of the work world to be duplicated in the behavior of her children (197,264,309).

When parent-child relationships have been favorable, friction is reduced to a minimum and children show a strong liking for both parents, though when they are young, they generally prefer the mother because it is she who takes care of their needs and is with them more constantly than the father. In favorable parent-child relationships, children also idealize their parents to the point of wanting to follow in their footsteps (19,30,113).

Even college students who are well adjusted to their parents use their parents as models in the selection of a life career, want to marry at approximately the ages when their parents were married, and plan to model their married lives along lines similar to their parents' lives. While their plans for the future may deviate in some respects from the patterns they have seen in their own homes, especially in the types of recreation they prefer, the major aspects of their lives will follow those of their parents (262,263).

ADJUSTMENT OF CHILDREN Children who are well adjusted and happy are a

proof of their parents' good adjustment to marriage and to parental roles. This is partly because the child uses the parent as a model and imitates the good as well as the bad, and partly because poorly adjusted parents tend to be authoritarian in their attitudes toward their children, trying to control their activities, subordinating the child's needs to their own needs, and ignoring the child's rights as a person (264). That this type of relationship can have far-reaching effects is shown by the fact that good adjustment in marriage is closely related to good adjustment on the part of the parents, while poorly adjusted children, who feel hostile and insecure as a result of their conflicts with their parents, carry over these unfavorable attitudes into adult life and express them in their own marriages by trying to dominate their mates as compensation for their own childhood domination by their parents (4,311).

METHODS OF MEETING DISAGREEMENTS Disagreements between family members are an inevitable part of family living. Sometimes these disagreements are about minor matters, such as the way the food is cooked or whether a family member is wearing the appropriate clothes for a particular occasion. Many disagreements, however, are more serious in nature and relate to differences in values and attitudes, such as roles the different family members should play, ways in which the family budget should be used, or what obligations they have to relatives. In cross-class and interfaith marriages, such disagreements are especially common and serious (28,201).

Conflicts generally end in one of three ways: a temporary truce with no solution; one mate giving in for the sake of peace; and mutual adaptation, where each sees

and understands the other's point of view. In the long run, only mutual adaptation leads to satisfactory adjustments.

While quarreling in the early years of marriage is dangerous in that it can and often does lead to a breakup of the marriage, when properly handled it can lead to satisfactory adjustments by enabling both husband and wife to see limits beyond which they cannot go without meeting resistance from the spouse (27,63).

Husbands and wives generally differ in their approach to conflict situations. The husband may adopt a "wait-and-see" or no-action approach; he may talk about the problem in a calm way; or he may use a variety of evasive tactics (63,177). The use of "evasive tactics" is especially common when the husband feels that he is primarily an "accessory to the fact of the family instead of half of a primary relation." When this happens, he revolts in the manner described by Mannes (177) thus:

The most common revolt of the accessory-husband is silence. He stops communicating, letting the talk of his wife and the clatter of his children sweep over him like a form of static, turning to television or papers or the golf course to insulate him from the household he pays for. A lot of third-place husbands take to drink or the company of men who treat him as himself. To others, "outside" sex, vicarious or actual, is part of the incessant search for a male self.

The wife is more likely to talk about the problem that led to the disagreement, to argue, and to nag. When the spouse is well adjusted, disagreements will be settled to the satisfaction, or near-satisfaction of both. Those who are poorly adjusted, by

contrast, will get angry, upset, and grumble or ignore the spouse. These tactics become more pronounced as length of marriage increases (63,82).

"TOGETHERNESS" A final indication of good adjustment to marriage is seen in the enjoyment of family activities and the sharing of common interests—"togetherness." Adults who have common interests, especially when they center around the family, provide a home atmosphere where all members are happy and can share their interests (28,102,194).

Family solidarity is increased by factors that promote successful family living, such as meals together, conversations, entertaining and visiting, auto rides for pleasure, picnics, going to the movies as a family, watching television, or listening to the radio. As children grow older, they form their own circles of friends and have their own interests apart from those of the family. But when the home is a happy one, they bring their friends to their homes and they engage in some activities with family members, even though this may not be with the entire family, as was true when they were younger (30,136,263). In discussing the importance of "togetherness" on successful family adjustments, Bossard (27) has pointed out:

There is far too little emphasis on the family as a group.... Family rituals, meaning prescribed family ways of doing things together, build up a feeling of rightness and happiness through participation. By nature, ritual in family living is the same as ritual in religion, and the history of religions shows that those with the most elaborate and pervasive rituals are those that best retain the allegiance of their members. It is really very easy

to understand this: all it means is that people can best be held together by doing things together.

If good relationships are built up during the early, formative years of a child's life, even after he grows up, marries, and establishes a home of his own, the adult will retain close ties with his family and with the different members of his family. These close ties are not limited to his parents; often they are as close or even closer with his siblings than with his parents (19,60, 115,131).

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Divorce is an indication of poor marital adjustment. It comes only after a period of emotional tensions between husband and wife when other solutions to their problems have proved futile. Many unhappy marriages do not end in divorce because of religious, moral, familial, economic, or other reasons.

Since the turn of the century, there has been a steady and alarming rise in the divorce rate in America. In the period of 1881 to 1890, for example, there were 5.56 divorces for every 100 marriages; from 1940 to 1949, the number had increased to 25.89 out of 100, roughly one divorce out of every four marriages, or an increase of 446 percent in the divorce rate in the latter decade over the former (27). Since then, the increase has been slight (132,207, 298).

However, it seems that there has been a greater increase than there actually is. There are several reasons for this. First, because the population is larger now than it was earlier, there are more divorces in number but not in percent. Second, divorce is more talked about now than it was

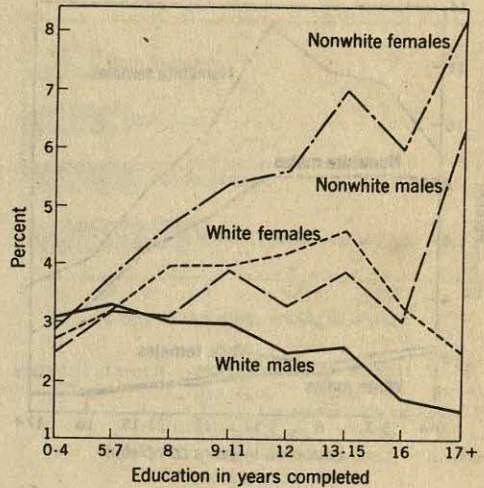


FIGURE 11-11 DIVORCE ACCORDING TO YEARS OF SCHOOLING. (ADAPTED FROM J. R. UDRY: MARITAL INSTABILITY BY RACE, SEX, EDUCATION, AND OCCUPATION, USING 1960 CENSUS DATA. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1966, 72, 203-209. USED BY PERMISSION.)

in earlier generations and, hence, it makes it seem more prevalent. And, third, divorce is more common today in the upper social classes on whom the spotlight of attention is focused (132,226,290,298). Figure 11-11 shows the trend in divorce according to years of schooling of the individuals.

In addition to divorce there are many marriages ending in annulment, desertion, and informal or legal separation, none of which are recorded in the statistics for divorce. Approximately 2 million married people are separated, either temporarily or permanently, every year and one-fifth to one-sixth of all couples living together claim that they are unhappy (27,132,226, 290,298). Figure 11-12 shows separations according to the educational level of the

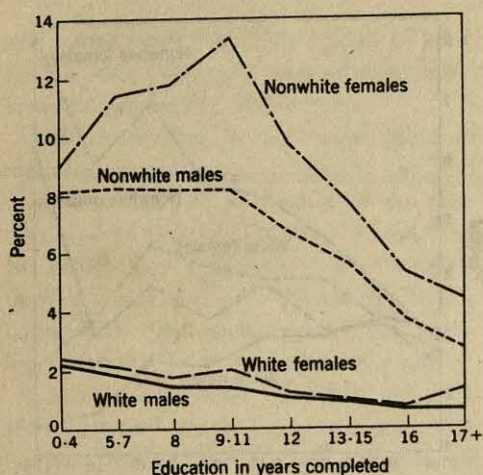


FIGURE 11-12 SEPARATION ACCORDING TO YEARS OF SCHOOLING. (ADAPTED FROM J. R. UDRY: MARITAL INSTABILITY BY RACE, SEX, EDUCATION, AND OCCUPATION, USING 1960 CENSUS DATA. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1966, 72, 203-209. USED BY PERMISSION.)

individuals. Note that there are more separations in the less well educated, especially among the nonwhites.

The peak year for separations is the first year of marriage and for divorce, the third year. Because there is always a period of separation before the granting of a divorce, judging the duration of marriage from the time of marriage to the time of divorce gives a false picture of duration. In a study of a representative sample of divorces, it has been found that there is a difference in medians of 4.6 years between legal and actual duration of marriage. The pattern of desertion is similar to that of divorce (27,204,207,298).

Many divorces occur when the children are still young. In one study, it was reported that 22.5 percent of the divorces

occurred when the children were under three years of age, 31.5 percent when they were between three and six years, 16.9 percent when between seven and nine years, 19.6 percent when between ten and fourteen years, and 9.5 percent when between fifteen and seventeen years. Thus, over half the children were under seven years of age when their parents were divorced (187).

Variations in Divorce Rate

Although the national rate of divorce shows how many marriages end in the divorce courts, this does not mean that the rate is the same for all groups of people. There are certain factors that are responsible for divorce and others that contribute to marital stability. Of the many factors that contribute to marital instability and divorce, the following have been reported to be the most important: number of children; social class; environment; mixed marriages; early marriages; "forced" marriages; early parenthood; parental models; and position in childhood family.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN As has been mentioned, there are more divorces among childless couples than among families with children. Furthermore, it has been found that the fewer children there are in a family, the more divorces there will be. The reason for this difference is not necessarily that children contribute to marital adjustment, but rather that childless couples can manage better after divorce than can those who have children to support and care for (106,132,187).

SOCIAL CLASS Contrary to the common belief that desertion is more common in the lower and divorce in the upper socio-

economic groups, statistics for divorce by occupational class show that divorce is more characteristic of the lower socio-economic groups, as is desertion, and much less prevalent in the upper groups. Refer to Figure 11-11, page 637.

Both divorce and desertion are especially common among laborers, operatives, and craftsmen and relatively infrequent among professionals, owners, and officials (132,188,201,290,298). However, as has been pointed out before, divorce seems to be greater in the upper than in the lower classes because the spotlight of attention is focused on an upper-class divorce, while a lower-class divorce goes unnoticed.

ENVIRONMENT Divorce is more common in urban than in rural areas and most common of all in suburban areas. There is also greater desertion in urban than in rural areas (188,298).

MIXED MARRIAGES Divorce is much more common in mixed marriages, whether of different cultural, religious, or socio-economic backgrounds, than when the backgrounds are more similar. Mixed religious marriages are especially hazardous because the problems of marital adjustment are complicated by different values and by pressures from the families on both sides (13,27,188,217,295). There are approximately three times as many divorces or separations in Catholic-Protestant marriages as there are when the spouses are of the same faith. When a Catholic father is married to a Protestant mother, the number of divorces has been found to be approximately four times as many as in marriages where the parents are of the same faith (27). Figure 11-13 shows the high divorce rate for mixed marriages.

Bossard has explained the high divorce

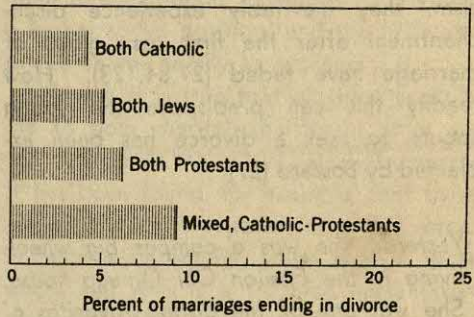


FIGURE 11-13 DIVORCE IN MIXED MARRIAGES. (ADAPTED FROM G. M. VERNON: INTERFAITH MARRIAGES. *Relig. Educ.*, 1960, 55, 261-264. USED BY PERMISSION.)

rate in mixed religious marriages in this way (27):

What young people overlook is the real nature of religion and its role in life. Religion is not merely a set of beliefs; it is a way of living and thinking. Roman Catholicism is a culture pattern, as we sociologists put it; so is Judaism, or Methodism, or being an Episcopalian.

EARLY MARRIAGES Youthful marriages are overrepresented in the divorce rate, especially when both husband and wife are young (37,76,130). There are three reasons for the failure of youthful marriages. First, young people can get new spouses more easily than can those who are older and, until they remarry, girls can get jobs more easily than can older women (159). Second, early marriages are likely to be plagued by financial problems which, as was stressed earlier (see pages 617 to 620), make adjustment difficult (27,121,130). Third, and most serious of all, because young people are obsessed with romanti-

cism, they inevitably experience disenchantment after the first rosy glows of marriage have faded (27,84,123). How readily this can predispose the young spouse to seek a divorce has been explained by Bossard (27):

Yesterday he was a campus big wheel, living in the Epsilon Chi Omega house. She was one of the dating favorites at dear old Siwash. Now they are living in a two room flat in a large city. It is hot. Today his boss was unreasonable and the gadget in her kitchen wouldn't work. That night he muses: "If this dame hadn't chased me, I'd still be in clover." And she sulks herself to sleep with memories of last year's junior prom. It is a big transition for these two, on many fronts, in too short a time.

"FORCED" MARRIAGES While some "forced" or "shot-gun" marriages are successful, the high divorce rate in this type of marriage suggests that it is one of the most hazardous types. This is especially true when it is a young marriage, at the high school or early college age. It has been reported repeatedly that the divorce rate for premarital-pregnancy couples is much higher than for postmarital pregnancies, and the divorce is obtained sooner after marriage. Those who wait until the last minute to get married have more divorces than those who marry as soon as the condition is discovered. Premarital pregnancy intensifies conflicts and makes marital adjustment especially difficult (99,114, 138,170,297).

EARLY PARENTHOOD Within marriage, early conceivers have higher rates of divorce than late conceivers. In other

words, the shorter the interval between marriage and the first birth, the higher the divorce rate. This, however, is lower than in premarital pregnancy cases. It also varies according to cultural attitudes toward premarital intercourse (49,246). Assuming the responsibilities of parenthood before having time to adjust to marriage complicates adjustment problems to the point where divorce often seems to be the only solution (132,311).

PARENTAL MODELS When parents are happy and well adjusted to marriage, there is far less likelihood that their children's marriages will end in divorce than when they are poorly adjusted to marriage. Marital success and failure, it has been found, tends to run in families. In one study, which traced divorce through three generations, it was found that children of divorced parents tend to marry children from divorced families and that they, too, are likely to end their marriages in the divorce courts (159).

POSITION IN CHILDHOOD FAMILY Men who were only children have been found to have the highest rate of divorce and separation, while only women have the lowest. This may be explained by the fact that the only child who is a boy is likely to be pampered and spoiled; the girl who is an only child develops a maturity of behavior from constant associations with her mother which helps her to make good adjustments to married life.

Men who were the oldest in their childhood families have a low divorce rate—14 percent in one sample—as compared with 23 percent for wives who were the oldest children in their childhood families. The reason for this is that the oldest boy learns to assume responsibilities which help

him to play a successful role as husband and father. The oldest girl, given responsibilities for the care of younger siblings, learns to be bossy. This pattern of behavior leads to a frictional relationship with her husband, though it helps her to make better adjustments to parenthood (110).

Opposite-sex siblings learn, as children, how to get along with members of the opposite sex. This helps them to adjust to marriage. Studies of divorce have shown that there are more divorces among those who come from homes where the children are of the same sex than from homes where there are siblings of both sexes. Furthermore, there are more divorces among spouses who held the same rank in the ordinal position in their childhood homes—whether firstborn, middle, or last-born child—than among spouses whose ordinal positions in childhood were different in rank (14,284).

Causes of Marital Failure

There is not any one cause for the marital failure that results in separation, desertion, or divorce. Bossard, by way of summary, has given eight major reasons why marriages go wrong and end in divorce. These are: early marriage, before the individuals are psychologically mature enough for the adjustments marriage requires; modern patterns of courtship which do not make for wise choices of matrimonial partners; intermarriage between cultural groups which puts a strain on the usual marital adjustments; too much emphasis, through the movies and other forms of mass communication, on the romantic motif in marriage; attempts on the part of husband or wife or both to develop their individual personalities and interests; poor adjust-

ment to parenthood; pressures to strive for a higher social position; and too little emphasis on the family as a group (27).

Although it is true that all these contribute to poor marital adjustment, they are not necessarily the actual cause of divorce. It has been found, for example, that there are slightly more separations and divorces in families of working wives than in those where the wife is a full-time homemaker. However, there are many homes where marriages are happy even when the wife works. When marriage ends in divorce, the wife's working may be the result of marital unhappiness, lack of adequate support from the husband, or some other condition that eventually leads to divorce (197).

Studies of sources of marital dissatisfaction among applicants for divorce have revealed sex and social-class differences. Wives, for example, have two times as many complaints about their husbands as husbands have about their wives, and their complaints are different. Wives want to get a divorce mainly because of physical abuse, verbal abuse, financial problems, drinking, neglect of home and children, lack of love, and mental cruelty; husbands want a divorce mainly because of in-law trouble and sexual incompatibility (164).

Wives of the lower social classes want to be divorced because of financial problems, drink, and abuse; middle-class wives because of lack of love, infidelity, and excessive sexual demands. Middle-class wives, it is thus apparent, are more concerned with psychological and emotional interactions, while lower-class wives emphasize financial problems and physical actions (164).

What finally proves to be the straw that breaks the camel's back and leads to the divorce courts will vary from one period in

marriage to another. Drink, for example, has been found to be the cause of divorce in only 9 percent of the cases during the first year of marriage, as contrasted with 43 percent after twenty-five years of marriage. Similarly, adultery is rarely given as the cause for separation in the first year of marriage but is the cause for one-third of the separations in the eleven- to fifteen-year period of marriage (298). "Shotgun" marriages, as was pointed out earlier (see page 640) are much more likely to lead to divorce early in marriage than later.

There are certain people who are "divorce-prone" in the sense that their personality patterns are those of poorly adjusted people. A study of the personality patterns of divorced people as compared with those who were reasonably happy in their marriages showed that the former scored high on depressive, critical, and nervous traits and low on active and self-mastery traits. Men and women who are divorced have personality patterns that predispose them to make poor adjustments to life in general, not to marriage alone.

Many poorly adjusted adults, suffering from emotional problems they have been unable to solve, marry in the hopes that marriage will be the solution to the problems and will enable them to "live happily ever after." This rarely happens. Not only do they become more poorly adjusted with the assumption of new responsibilities, but they also create such an unhealthy atmosphere in the home that divorce seems to be the only solution (88,171,207,284,311). Furthermore, the fact that divorce seems to run in families (see page 640) suggests that children brought up in homes broken by divorce develop personality patterns that predispose them to end their own marriages in the divorce courts.

Effects of Marital Disruptions

The traumatic effect of divorce is usually greater than that of death because of the bitterness and emotional tensions preceding it and because of the social attitudes toward divorce (88,106,132). That these complicate postdivorce adjustment may be seen in the fact that there is a higher incidence of mental illness, as judged by admissions to mental hospitals, among the divorced and widowed than among any other groups of adults (188,207).

Because of changed social attitudes toward remarriage after divorce, many adults try to solve their adjustment problems by marrying again. Approximately three-fourths of those who are divorced are remarried within five years after divorce (132,160,290,298).

For those who do not remarry and for those who remarry only after an interval of several years, divorce often adds economic strains to other adjustment problems. This is especially true of families where the woman must become the head of the household, work, and live with relatives who can assume some of the care of the children while she works (213,290).

For every family member, husband, wife, and children, there are certain traumatic situations that affect all and necessitate adjustments on the part of all. These are (159):

Adjustment to the knowledge that divorce will take place.

Adjustment to the divorce itself.

Adjustment to the use by one parent of the child against the other parent.

Adjustment to peer group attitudes.

Adjustment to changed feelings.

Adjustment to living with one parent.

Adjustment to remarriage.

Adjustment to implications of family failure.

The effects of family disorganization, whether the result of separation, desertion, divorce, or death, are especially serious in the case of children. As Despert has pointed out, there is no question about the fact that children are "very disturbed when the relationship between their parents is very disturbed" (72). The child experiences a typical grief reaction after the loss of a parent and tries to place his love on the remaining parent (111,132,159).

The child whose parents are not living together or are remarried feels embarrassed because he is "different." This is very damaging to his self-concept (159,256). Because many children of separated or divorced parents become poorly adjusted as a result of their unfavorable self-concepts, it is not surprising that acts of misconduct are more frequent and more serious among them than among children whose home life is not disorganized in this way. As they grow older, acts of misconduct become more frequent and more serious, thus often leading to juvenile delinquency (103,159).

Children suffer most from divorce when their loyalties are divided and when there is anxiety about the uncertainties that divorce brings to their lives. Children of parents who are "emotionally divorced," even though living together under the same roof, suffer even more than do those whose parents are legally divorced (72, 106,111,210). As Goode has pointed out, "Almost every serious researcher in American family life has suggested that the effects of continued home conflict might be more serious for the children than the divorce itself" (106).

Negro children suffer more from family disorganization than do white children because the pattern of their family life is more likely to be disrupted by economic hardships than is true of many white children. This accounts, in part, for the more frequent misdemeanors and acts of juvenile delinquency on the part of Negro children as compared with white children (103, 106,298).

Remarriage

The chances for remarriage are greater for divorced people than for those who are widowed, with peak ages at twenty, thirty, and forty-five years (106,290). For example, it was reported in one study that at the age of thirty years, the divorced man's chances of marriage are 96 in 100; for the widowed, 92 in 100; and for bachelors, 67 in 100. Remarriage rates drop with age, but faster for women than for men (132,160,298). This is illustrated in Figure 11-14.

According to recent statistics, 1 out of every 5 marriages is a remarriage for one or both spouses, while in 1 out of every 14 marriages, both have been married before (27,77,132). Divorced people are more likely to marry others who have been divorced than those who are widowed or single (27,106,143).

That remarriages are not as successful as first marriages is shown by the high divorce rate among those who remarry. The difference in duration of first marriages as compared with remarriages is 3.3 years in favor of first marriages. This suggests that individuals are conditioned toward instability after divorce. Remarriage for widows is more stable than for divorced women (132,143,298).

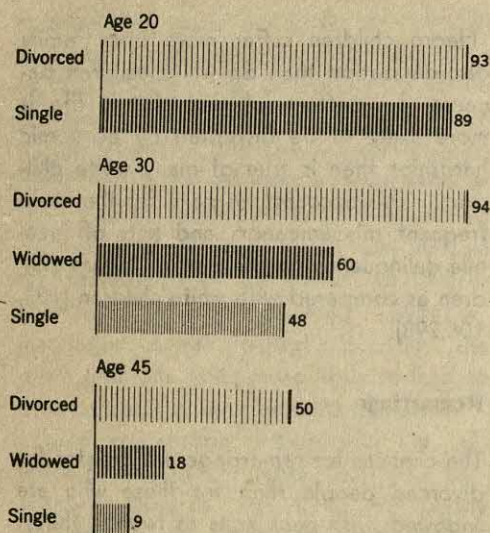


FIGURE 11-14 CHANCES IN 100 OF MARRIAGE FOR SINGLE WOMEN AND OF REMARRIAGE FOR DIVORCED AND WIDOWED WOMEN AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM P. H. LANDIS: SEQUENTIAL MARRIAGE. *J. Home Econ.*, 1950, 42, 625-627. USED BY PERMISSION.)

It has been estimated that remarriages are about 50 percent more risky than first marriages, with women in second marriages a 10 percent poorer risk than men. Financially, also, second marriages are not as successful as first, especially when they are between divorced persons (106,160).

While remarriage may provide a home for the children and two parents, the *step-parent* finds the role exceedingly difficult, just as the stepchild does. How successfully the child will adjust to the stepparent will be greatly influenced by his age at the time of remarriage. Older children have already made adjustments to one pattern of life and are resistant to change, especially when their attitude toward the stepparent is unfavorable as a result of tradi-

tional beliefs about the "cruel stepmother" or their personal experiences with the stepparent. The younger child may, on the other hand, welcome a stepparent because this gives greater stability to his life (28,87,106,141,207,256).

At any age, the child who has been accustomed to the affection and attention of a parent may resent the transference of some of this attention and affection to the stepparent. This resentment will be increased if the stepparent tries to assign new roles to the children. Furthermore, many children are embarrassed about having stepparents because of the unfavorable social attitudes toward them. All of this complicates the problems of adjustment to the new pattern of family life, especially if the stepparent has never been a parent before (29,87,207,208).

ADJUSTMENT TO SINGLENES

When conditions prevent marriage, whether they come from within the individual or from environmental pressures, the individual is likely to be unhappy, lonely, and thwarted in his normal desires for sex expression, for parenthood, for affection from an admired member of the opposite sex, and for the prestige that marriage and family living give. In many communities there is no place for the bachelor or spinster, except as an extra man at a dinner party or a baby-sitter for married relatives (28,47,205).

The American stereotype of the unmarried woman is far less favorable than that of the unmarried man. Even the successful "career girl" is regarded almost as unfavorably as the "spinster" of past generations. A study of American novels revealed a derogatory social attitude toward women who do not marry. This is true also

of popular articles—in magazines and newspapers by specialists who depict the unmarried woman as unhappy, frustrated, and attempting to find males but concealing these attempts from themselves and others (69). Such stereotypes, in different areas of mass communication, have helped to influence social attitudes toward unmarried women unfavorably.

In planning for their futures, especially during the adolescent years, girls stress marriage more than boys do (see pages 491 to 492). The adolescent boy's major concern is finding out what kind of work he is capable of doing and then preparing himself for it. Vocational interests thus take precedence over interest in marriage. Boys know that they want to marry eventually but want to wait until they feel ready, economically, for the responsibilities that marriage brings.

Many girls in high school and college, while placing marriage as their goal for adulthood, maintain that they want a year or two after graduation to work and to "look around" before they make their final choice of a life mate. Some, of course, want to marry immediately after graduation and some marry while still in school or college (50). (See Figure 11-7, page 609).

During the twenties, the goal of unmarried women, whether working or not working, is marriage. If they have not married by thirty, the age at which unmarried women of today are thought of as "spinsters," there is a tendency to shift goals and values and to find a new life oriented in work (74,106).

For unmarried women, therefore, age thirty is a "critical age" which marks the turning point of hope for marriage. As the unmarried woman approaches this critical age, her life is characterized by stress

which increases to a peak at thirty and then gradually decreases as she makes adjustments to new goals and a new pattern of living. The desire for marriage and a home decreases after thirty with the recognition that this goal is not likely to be achieved (74). Figure 11-15 shows the typical pattern of goal changes for unmarried women.

Not all unmarried women, by any means, are willing to resign themselves to spinsterhood. Nor are all willing to allow themselves to be lonely because of lack of companionship with members of the opposite sex. Many join "lonely heart" or "bachelor girl" clubs in the hopes of finding a husband they have not found elsewhere; others become active participants in church and community-service organizations where they will come in contact with members of both sexes; many join country or sports clubs where members of both sexes participate in different forms of sport accompanied by dancing, drinking, singing and other social activities in the evenings; and many use their vacations for travel to places where it is known that "the boys are" (47,201).

Reasons for Singleness

In spite of the fact that most boys and girls during the adolescent years, and most men and women in early adulthood, say that they want to marry and expect to, there are many unmarried men and women at all ages throughout adulthood. While the most recent census report has shown a gradual but steady increase in the number of married people in the above-fourteen-year group, there are approximately 25 percent of the men and 18 percent of the women in these groups who are unmarried. And, in spite of the fact that the ratio of women to men in America has in-

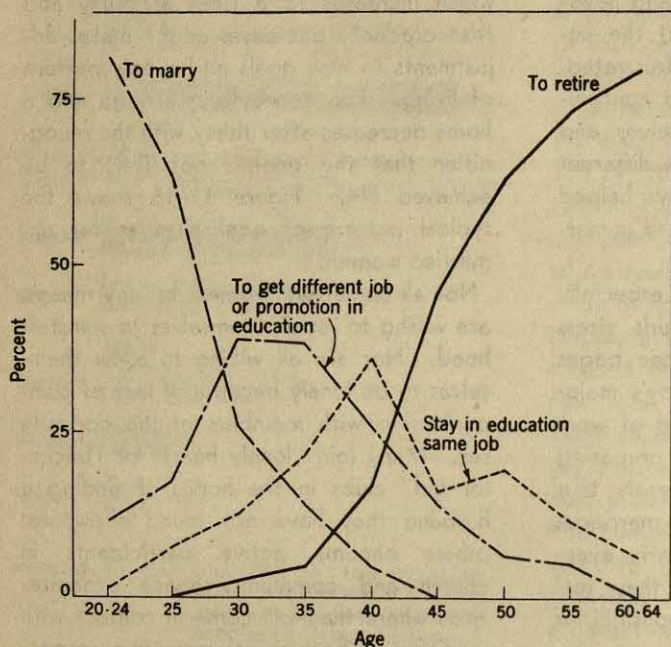


FIGURE 11-15 AGE TRENDS IN GOALS OF SINGLE WOMEN TEACHERS. (ADAPTED FROM R. G. KUHLEN AND G. H. JOHNSON: CHANGES IN GOALS WITH ADULT INCREASING AGE. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1952, 16, 1-4. USED BY PERMISSION.)

creased since the turn of the century, especially in the higher age groups, the percentage of unmarried women is less than that of men (27,132,226,298).

Because the early years of adulthood are lonely years when radical adjustments must be made, not only in the patterns of social life but in every area of life as well, many adults feel that marriage will help them to solve these problems. This is especially true of adults who are not well adjusted and who suffer from an ego deficiency which they believe will be met best in marriage (141). In addition, there are the social pressures to marry, and to marry young, from parents and peers (28,201). Why, then, do both men and women re-

main single? There are many reasons, the most important of which are family responsibilities, a strong vocational drive which the adult believes cannot be satisfied if he divides his time and attention between his vocation and a family, self-sufficiency, disillusionment from unhappy earlier experiences, and lack of opportunity to meet eligible members of the opposite sex (27,47,74,205,222).

A comparison of a group of married with a group of unmarried women in the thirty-to thirty-nine-year bracket revealed that the unmarried had had significantly less culturally approved heterosexual activity in the age period of sixteen to twenty-five; they were more variable in self-esteem

than the married, with some very high and some very low; they had more family obligations up to age twenty-five years; they had had more parental encouragement to be married, which militated against their marrying; and more had come from the lower socioeconomic groups. Even though they had had a college education and had tried to move up the social scale through their scholastic efforts, they had met keen competition with women of the class with which they tried to identify themselves, and this had interfered with marriage (150).

The modern trend toward social mobility has contributed to the number of unmarried adults, but in a different way for the two sexes. As Scott (243) has explained:

The pressure for marrying up among women produces a kind of imbalance in marital bargaining, to the advantage of high-status men and low-status women and the disadvantage of low-status men and high-status women. A low-status man has little wealth or prestige to offer a wife. In addition, he must compete for a wife not only with others in his own status but with higher-ranked men as well. A well-born woman, if she is to maintain through marriage the status conferred on her by her parents, must marry a man at least equally well-born—but for such men she faces a deadly competition from lower-status female rivals who also regard them as desirable husbands. As a result, low-status men are more likely to remain bachelors, and high-status women are more likely to remain spinsters. This is the "Brahmin problem," so named because it reached its most extreme form among the high castes of Hindu India (but it can be observed among Boston Brahmins as well).

Success of Adjustment to Singleness

The stronger the desire to marry, the more unhappy the individual will be if obstacles in his environment or within himself prevent him from doing so. That unmarried men and women make better adjustments to singleness than is popularly believed is shown by the fact that there are fewer single people admitted to mental hospitals than divorced and widowed, though more than among the married (150,178).

Of all adjustments, the most difficult the unmarried must make is to find satisfaction for the sex drive which is especially strong during the early years of adulthood (179). The unmarried man usually finds sexual outlets either in autoerotic practices or in intercourse with women of his acquaintance or with prostitutes. Women, as is true of men, engage in autoerotic practices. However, opportunities for extramarital intercourse, strongly tabooed for women, are limited and are always surrounded by the danger of pregnancy and loss of status (146,226).

While it is true that, in recent years, there has been a marked tendency toward more permissive sexual activities, especially among women of the higher socioeconomic groups, the old cultural taboos have, by no means, been abandoned. Recent statistics of illegitimate births have revealed that they are high among women in the twenty- to thirty-year age group. The stigma, however, is no less severe for them than for teen-agers, and the possibility of a "shotgun" marriage is less because many of the fathers of illegitimate babies born to young women are already married (52, 104,226,239).

Vocational success is a common substitute for marriage among both men and women. As this is often motivated by neurotic

drives to "show" those who did not accept them as children or adolescents, it is not always a satisfactory substitute. Comparisons of *mobile* career women, who had occupational and social levels above those of their families, with nonmobile career women revealed that because the former had suffered from community or family rejection when they were younger, they had less satisfactory group relationships and also more often engaged in a "mad hunt for pleasure" to compensate for loneliness than did the nonmobile women. Those who had moved upward either through higher education or geographic mobility to "hide their backgrounds" made less satisfactory adjustments to singleness, though they were more successful vocationally, than did the nonmobile career woman (201).

Single career women who do not strive to attain a higher social status have been found to show a better overall adjustment than married women of the same age. This superiority is apparent in better health and emotional adjustment, a better sense of personal worth, fewer withdrawing tendencies, more social participation, better use of their abilities, more complete acceptance of social standards, and fewer instances of antisocial tendencies than are shown in married women of the same age (147,178).

Thus, it becomes readily apparent that singleness, per se, is not responsible for either good or poor adjustment on the part of men and women. On the other hand, what is responsible for their singleness, what values they hold regarding the importance of marriage to happiness, what their dominant interests are, and a host of other factors will determine the success or failure with which they make their adjustments to singleness.

SUCCESS OF ADJUSTMENT TO ADULTHOOD

Successful adjustment to adult life can be measured in achievements, in satisfaction, and in personal adjustments as shown in the effect these adjustments have on the individual's personality. All of these are inter-related. The person who is able to make good adjustments to adult life will be more successful, in terms of income and social recognition, than is the person whose adjustment is poor. The degree of satisfaction he experiences will be influenced by the success of his adjustments and this, in turn, will determine how happy he will be. And, finally, the individual's concept of self will reflect the success of his adjustments, and his concept of self, in turn, will leave its mark on his adjustments.

In a culture where success is highly valued, the more successful the individual, the more favorably will society look upon him and, in turn, the more favorably he will see himself. By contrast, the individual who is a failure or near-failure cannot be happy knowing how society judges those who fall below social expectations for individuals of his age and socioeconomic groups.

ACHIEVEMENT Adulthood is the period of achievement. Adults who achieve distinction in adult life have had a preparation for these achievements in many years of relevant activity, combined with a noticeable continuity of purpose and interests. Thus, their accomplishments in adult life are dependent upon earlier sustained training and interests (71,134,162).

Studies of achievement have revealed that the peak of achievement in the adult years falls between thirty and thirty-nine years with thirty-five often called the

"crisis year" (133). How early or how late in the adult years the peak will come depends on the area in which the individual attains distinction. In athletic abilities, the peak of performance comes in the mid-twenties, though it varies somewhat for different types of activity. For science, mathematics, music, literary creativity, philosophy, and invention, the peak is usually in the thirties.

The maximum production rate for output of the highest quality usually occurs at an earlier age than the maximum rate for less distinguished work by the same individuals (71,133,162).

The explanation for this is that the younger adult is less rigid and more motivated to make a name for himself than he is as he approaches middle or old age. Those who are early starters contribute better work and are more prolific than slower starters, suggesting the relationship of successful adjustment to achievement. Further evidence of the relationship of adjustment to achievement is apparent in the finding that individuals who work intensively in their chosen areas instead of shifting about from one line of work to another achieve more and are more successful than their contemporaries who take longer to adjust to the choice of a career (71,162).

HAPPINESS The degree of success the individual has in making satisfactory adjustments to the important problems he faces in adult life will determine the degree of his happiness. The well-adjusted person is pleasantly satisfied with life in its various aspects. He may not achieve great success or fame, but he manages to get along with reasonable success and to adapt himself to the problems that arise in his life activities.

The unhappy person, by contrast, makes

poor adjustments. This is generally because he has unrealistic levels of aspiration and feels that he is a failure when he does not reach the goal he set for himself. The people who are unhappy do not have peculiar interests or problems. The reason that they are unhappy is that they make less satisfactory adjustment to them than do those who achieve happiness (185).

Studies of happiness during the adult years have shown that the period from twenty to thirty-five is usually regarded as the happiest with the period up to twenty the next happiest, especially the late adolescent years. Between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five years, happiness begins to decline: this decline accelerates as age advances (185). With happiness comes an optimistic outlook on life. As Tuddenham has pointed out, "increased optimism is a usual concomitant of passage from stormy adolescence to serene maturity" (287). Figure 11-16 shows the pattern increased optimism follows.

The reason for the increase in happiness as early adulthood progresses is that the young adult has "settled down" and is beginning to achieve security and stability in his life. In addition, he establishes family affiliations which add to his feelings of security and stability. As he achieves success in what he undertakes, he experiences the satisfaction that comes from self-actualization. This satisfaction is increased as his economic condition improves (185, 287).

Happiness from self-actualization differs for members of the two sexes. What brings them the greatest happiness will depend on what they value most. As men value vocational success more highly than women, they are happy when they see themselves climbing the vocational ladder. Because women place higher value on

Adolescents

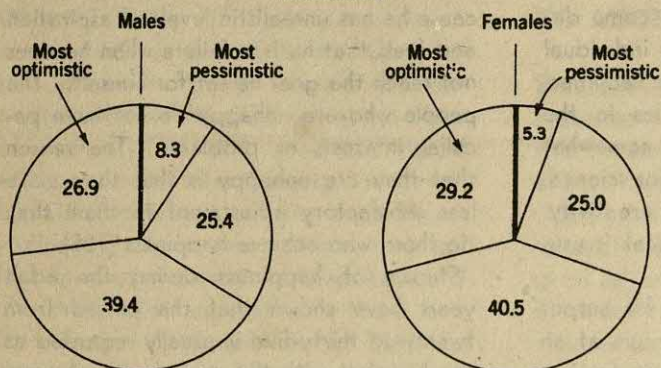


FIGURE 11-16 PATTERN OF INCREASED OPTIMISM FROM "STORMY ADOLESCENCE TO SERENE MATURITY." (ADAPTED FROM R. D. TUDDENHAM: CONSTANCY OF PERSONAL MORALE OVER A FIFTEEN-YEAR INTERVAL. *Child Developm.*, 1962, 33, 663-673. USED BY PERMISSION.)

marital and parental success, self-actualization for them comes from success in these areas (185,287).

A study of happiness in a group of middle-class mothers has revealed the following characteristics as being indicative of good adjustment on the part of these women to their adult roles of wife and mother: stable value systems; realistic appraisal of themselves; satisfaction with

their surroundings; ability to meet emergencies in daily life and a feeling of competence to do so; active participation in social affairs and the possession of many close friends; interests and activities in common with husband; and a warm and affectionate feeling for their children. While mothers of the higher socioeconomic groups are, on the whole, better adjusted than those of the lower groups, there is no

evidence that socioeconomic status per se is responsible for good adjustment or that it invariably contributes to greater happiness (57).

EFFECTS ON PERSONALITY The success with which the individual adjusts to the problems of adult life is bound to have some effect on his *concept of self*. The more successfully he adjusts, the more favorable his self-concept will be and the more self-confidence, assurance, and poise he will have. Feelings of inadequacy, on the other hand, are the usual accompaniment of failures in adjustment.

Most adults make reasonably good adjustments to the demands of adult life, even though to do so it may take some longer than others. Successful adjustment may mean a revision downward of the levels of aspiration they carried into the adult years from their unrealistic adolescent aspirations. Consequently, unless there is a marked change in the concept of self, either favorable or unfavorable, there is little reason to expect that there will be any marked change in the personality pattern of the young adult. As a rule, the self-concept remains stable throughout the adult years, with a tendency to become stronger and more fixed with age (142).

Studies of groups of the same individuals over a period of years, from childhood or adolescence into adult years and even to old age, have revealed how consistent the personality pattern is over a period of time (35,134,281). Retesting of a group of engaged couples twenty years later revealed that the absolute changes in the scores on personality tests were very small and similar in direction and magnitude for men and women. Changes that did occur were relatively specific rather than reflections of an overall tendency to change.

While changes in personality during the adult years may be significant, they are not so large or so sudden as to threaten the continuity of the self-concept or to impair the day-to-day interpersonal relationships of the individual. When changes occur suddenly and are radical, they are suggestive of an abnormal condition (142). Figure 11-17 shows the self-ratings on a number of personality variables after a period of twenty years.

Many years ago, Thorndike emphasized the fact that the personality patterns in the early adult years change little from those of youth when he said (281):

A person's nature at 12 is prophetic of his nature in adult years. . . . The child to whom approval is more cherished than mastery is likely to become a man who seeks applause rather than power, and similarly throughout.

Recent studies of persistence of personality (see pages 170 and 505 for a further discussion of this matter) have substantiated Thorndike's position in regard to this matter.

Because the personality pattern of the individual is so well established by adolescence that, under normal conditions, it changes relatively little during early adulthood, it becomes apparent that the personality pattern of the individual influences the type of adjustments he makes to adult life rather than that the type of adjustments he makes influences his personality (70,153).

While there unquestionably is a cause-effect relationship working both ways, it seems evident, from the results of studies of personality consistency over a period of years, that the cause-effect relationship is stronger in the direction of the personality's influence on adjustments rather than

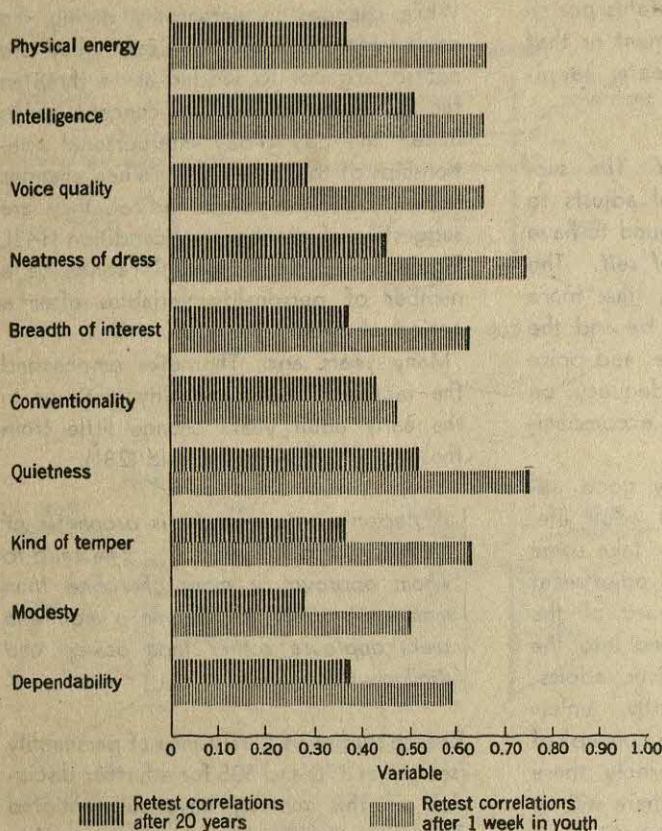


FIGURE 11-17 CONSISTENCY IN SELF-RATINGS OF DIFFERENT PERSONALITY VARIABLES OVER A PERIOD OF 20 YEARS. (ADAPTED FROM E. L. KELLY: CONSISTENCY OF THE ADULT PERSONALITY. *Amer. Psychologist*, 1955, 10, 659-681. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the effect of adjustments on personality. There is substantial evidence that adults who make good adjustments have integrated personality patterns in which the core is a stable, realistic concept of self, whereas those who make poor adjustments have poorly integrated personality patterns with unstable, unrealistic self-concepts (92).

Effect of Adjustment on Mental Health

Because early adulthood is a time when making good adjustments is especially difficult, achieving good mental health is likewise difficult. Most adults, however, adjust to their new roles during the latter part of the twenties or early thirties. As a result, they are in good mental health just

as their peak of physical vigor and efficiency enables them to be in good physical health.

Brower has suggested the following factors as important in contributing to good mental health. They are (35):

The individual's self-image or his attitudes toward himself.

The degree to which the individual realizes his innate potentials and acquires skills through action—not through fantasy alone.

The degree to which the individual's various functions and roles in life are integrated according to a self-consistent pattern which is harmonious.

The degree to which the individual has

resolved his dependencies and can function independently of social influences.
The degree of stress tolerance he has.
How well balanced and matured are his capacities for loving and being loved.

Middle age in the American culture of today is an especially difficult time in the life span. How well the individual will adjust to it will depend upon how good are the foundations he laid earlier and how well adjusted he is to the roles and social expectations of adult society. Good mental health, acquired in adulthood, will go a long way toward making adjustments to the new roles and new social expectations of middle age easier and happier than they often are.

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Middle age traditionally extends from age forty to sixty. The onset is marked by physical and mental changes, as is the end. Until recent years, when science has improved living conditions and medicine has contributed to better health, physical changes accompanying the cessation of the reproductive period of the adult's life came when the adult was approximately forty years old. At sixty, a decline in physical vigor and mental alertness marked the end of middle age and the beginning of "senescence," or old age.

In spite of the fact that today these changes come later for many adults, the traditional boundary lines are still recognized. The adult between forty and sixty years of age is designated "middle-aged." However, there are marked individual differences in the ages when the physical changes marking off middle age from early adulthood at one end and old age at the other end occur (103). As Brozek has pointed out, "Humans vary, as apples do, some ripen in July, others in October" (14).

Scientific Interest in Middle Age

Middle age is one of the least explored periods in the life span because, until recently, there were few problems, other than those of a physiological sort related to the so-called change of life, that seemed important enough to engage the attention of the psychologist who was already preoccupied with studies relating to children, adolescents, and young adults. Further-

more, until recently, too few people lived long enough to make middle age a serious problem for society to cope with. At the turn of the present century, for example, life expectancy for the total American population was approximately forty-five years. As a result, only 10 percent of the population was middle-aged.

Today, by contrast, four out of five Americans live to be sixty or more, and the average adult in the labor force is forty-five years old (103). One-fifth of the population falls in the middle-aged group today. Between 1960 and 1965, there was an 8 percent increase in the number of men and women who fell in that category (24,94,103). It has been pointed out that, "Thanks to medical advances and high-protein diets, life has lengthened, and it has grown in the middle" (24). Since the turn of the century, there has been a 98 percent increase in the total American population, but there has been a 200 percent increase in the middle-age group. It has been predicted, on the basis of United States government statistics that, by 1980, 50 percent of the total population will be forty-five years of age or older (86).

In spite of the rapidly growing number of middle-aged people in America today, they have not been in the spotlight of popular attention as teen-agers have. As Stern (94) has pointed out:

The young seem always to be in the public prints and on TV, but that doesn't mean that they control things. To the extent that young people wearing their hair longer or skirts shorter dominate the mass media, they are frequently being exploited for commercial reasons.... The middle-agers attract little attention, inspire few learned treatises as to the state of their being—good, bad, or in-

different. Paradoxically, middle-agers are the invisible Indispensables.

With the large increase in the number of men and women who live to middle or even old age, many personal and social problems have arisen. As a result, the scientific spotlight is now thrown on middle age as it never was in the past. The adjustment problems in the home, the problems of employment of middle-aged men and women, mental breakdowns which occur when middle-aged people slump physically and mentally, and the realization that what happens in middle age will have a profound influence on the type of adjustment the individual makes to old age have all challenged the interest and attention of the psychologist as well as of other scientists (103).

Not only is there scientific interest of increasing importance in this period of life, but there is also a strong popular interest, as is seen by the popularity of books for the layman and the appearance of many articles in newspapers and magazines dealing with the problems of middle age and how to cope with them. How important a role this popular literature has played has been emphasized thus (94):

Over the past three decades, the concept of the middle years has vastly changed. In 1932, Walter B. Pitkin wrote Life Begins at Forty and it became an overnight inspirational bestseller precisely because people thought life ended at 40 and there was nothing left to do but wait around for retirement and death.

Methods of Studying Middle Age

Because scientific interest in middle age is of recent origin, there has not been time to study age changes by the *longitudinal*

method, tracing the course of life for groups of individuals from early childhood to death. Until now, most of the studies have used the *cross-sectional* approach in which groups of middle-aged men and women are compared with young adults or even with adolescents. These, for the most part, reveal differences that are more unfavorable than favorable to the middle-aged. But, there is no indication that the differences reported are indicative of *age changes*, so much as of *age differences*, most of which may be due to differences in the educational and cultural environments of the two groups rather than to the effects of changes that occur as a result of mental or physical decline (46,86).

In the absence of scientific information, many traditional beliefs about middle age continue to be accepted. Unfortunately, most of these are unfavorable to middle age. As a result, they condition people unfavorably toward the period in the life span which can and should be the time for peak achievement.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIDDLE AGE

As is true of every period in the life span, there are certain characteristics of middle age which make it a distinctive period. Middle age is a dreaded period, a time of transition, of readjustment, a time of equilibrium and disequilibrium, a "dangerous" age, an "awkward" age, and a time of achievement.

Middle Age Is a Dreaded Period

Next to old age, middle age is the most dreaded period in the life span and the one the adult will not admit he has reached until the calendar and the mirror force him to do so. As Desmond has pointed out,

"Americans slump into middle age grudgingly, sadly and with a tinge of fear" (24).

To a woman middle age means not only the loss of her reproductive ability but also the loss of her sexual charms which, she fears, may result in her being replaced in her husband's affections by a younger woman. As Parker (74) has explained:

The false concepts about the menopause are revealed in names that are given to the age, such as "the change of life." . . . All these carry the implication of impending doom, that a life of happiness and fulfillment is possible for a limited time only and the hour strikes, and the woman's life is over. There remains for her a barren and futile future. No wonder woman dreads such a change.

Then, too, there is the loss of her job—that of mother and, to some extent, that of wife as her husband's business or other interests keep him away from home. As the family "nest" empties, the woman becomes more and more lonely and depressed. The realization that this may happen to her, as it happened to her mother and to many of her friends, intensifies her dread of being middle-aged (59,74).

To the man, middle age means diminished physical as well as sexual vitality, the tell-tale signs of aging which make employment precarious, and the suspicion that he is losing his ability to attract women. To convince himself that these suspicions are groundless, pride forces him to show everybody that he can "take it" as he did when he was younger and that he still retains his masculine charms. That is why many middle-aged men engage in physical activities dangerous to their health and that is why husbands at this age are apt to go astray (59,74).

Lack of knowledge about and lack of preparation for middle age is partly responsible for this dread. Just as children and their parents dread puberty with the physical and behavioral changes it brings, so do adult men and women dread middle age. In both cases, this dread is greatly reduced with foreknowledge and preparation.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND STEREOTYPES

The many unfavorable stereotypes of the middle-aged person, the traditional beliefs of the deterioration, both physical and mental, which are believed to accompany the cessation of the adult's reproductive life, and the emphasis on the importance of youth in our culture as compared with the reverence for age in many other cultures, all influence the adult's attitudes unfavorably as he approaches this period in his life.

In stratified societies where roles are prescribed for different age levels and where middle age is an honored state because the individual is at his peak, there are no "middle-age problems" of the sort people in America must face and adjust to. Like adolescence, the problems of middle age are not intrinsic to the phase of life but are a consequence of certain social conditions (74,85).

Because middle age is the least understood phase of life and because there are many misunderstandings and misconceptions about the individual's abilities and opportunities at this period of life, traditional beliefs are permitted to influence social and personal attitudes concerning middle age. These complicate the adjustments the individual must make.

At the present time, there are two different philosophies about how the person should adjust to middle age: the philos-

ophy that the individual should stay young and keep active, and the belief that he should grow old gracefully, deliberately slowing down and taking life comfortably—the "rocking chair" philosophy (43,74,94). People of the middle class tend to follow the former, those of the lower classes, the latter, and members of the upper class are evenly divided between the two. Women, on the whole, are more likely to follow the "rocking chair" philosophy than men are (34,94).

From these traditional beliefs with their accompanying unfavorable attitudes about middle age have developed *stereotypes* of men and women who have reached this period in the life span. These stereotypes are described in the clichés, "fair, fat, and forty" and "bald, bulge, and bifocal" (63, 74). That most adults accept the cultural stereotypes of middle age and are influenced by them is seen by the fact that an increasingly large number of people from thirty to sixty years of age classify themselves as "middle-aged" (97). Figure 12-1 illustrates this.

Middle Age Is a Time of Transition

Just as puberty is a period of transition from childhood to adolescence and adulthood, so middle age is a time when the individual leaves behind the physical and behavioral characteristics of adulthood and enters into a period in life when new physical and behavioral characteristics will prevail. As Muelder has pointed out, "Men undergo a change in virility and women a change in fertility" (63).

With these physical changes, new behavioral patterns must be learned and new roles must be played. Like the pubescent, the middle-aged adult is expected to think and act differently than he did when he

was younger. And, like puberty, such changes have significant emotional involvement for both men and women (63).

Middle Age Is a Time of Readjustment

Sooner or later, every adult must make adjustments to the *physical* changes that come with middle age. "When the steps get steeper and the print gets smaller" he realizes that the behavioral patterns of his younger years must be radically revised. These revisions may have to be made early in middle age, or they may not be necessary until the individual is well along in this period. However, sooner or later revision will be necessary as the physical changes become more pronounced (100).

Adjustment to changed roles is even more difficult than adjustment to changed physical conditions. Men must adjust to the changes that approach to retirement and their changed physical condition necessitate in their work, while women must adjust to changing the role of housewife for that of worker in business or industry or to being an "isolate" when formerly the center of home activity (43,56,100). How radical a change in roles the middle-aged woman of today must adjust to has been described in this way (59):

Although the empty nest is an age-old problem, it strikes the modern woman with increasing sharpness. For one thing, she lives longer. . . . For another, housework no longer fills her day. Her grandmother kept chickens, scrubbed the wash by hand and cooked the breakfast oatmeal for three hours. Today's labor-saving devices, from the dishwasher to the TV dinner, have pared these chores to the bone. Yesterday, only the children of the rich attended college, but now almost



FIGURE 12-1 MIDDLE AGE IS THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD OF "FAIR, FAT, AND FORTY"—A DREADED TIME FOR MEN AS WELL AS FOR WOMEN. (ADAPTED FROM *The Saturday Evening Post*, JAN. 26, 1957. ORIGINAL CARTOON DRAWN BY AMOS SEWELL. USED BY PERMISSION.)

everyone's youngsters are going, and often halfway across the country. . . . They marry younger. Although once a young couple settled down around the corner from their parents, job mobility and Army service now carry them thousands of miles away. For today's mother, the nest empties sooner, and often with crushing finality.

As roles change, especially in the fifties, the individual must compensate for loss of one role by greater activity in other roles or by developing a new role to replace the one that no longer exists. Roles most likely to change during middle age are those of parenthood, work, spouse (in the event of the death or divorce of a mate), club membership, and the sex role in marriage. To replace these roles, or to supplement

them as they gradually take less and less of the individual's time, roles hitherto neglected or given little time, such as committee membership, citizenship activities, widened family relationships, wider activities with friends, church activities, homemaking, and hobbies, can be intensified.

Changing roles is never easy, especially after one has played certain prescribed roles over a period of time and has learned to derive satisfaction from them. Adjustment to middle age requires flexibility so that the individual can shift to new roles. This, in turn, means willingness to break old habits and learn new activities which will not only use the individual's time and efforts but which will also give him the satisfaction the old roles gave.

Too much success in one role is likely to lead to rigidity and may make adjustment to another role difficult. Also, a person who has played a narrow range of roles is likely to be less flexible than one who has played a wider range of roles and has learned from experience to derive satisfaction from different roles. Shifting to a new role is, thus, easier for him. To make a good adjustment to new roles, the individual must "withdraw emotional capital from one role and invest it in another one" (36).

With changed roles, adjustments must be made to changes in *patterns of living*. The home that seemed crowded when the children were young now is too big to be cared for as the woman's strength and energy begin to decline. That means moving to a smaller place and often to new surroundings. Many of the recreational interests of younger days must be replaced by recreations more suited to the individual's general physical and health conditions.

Middle Age Is a Time of Equilibrium and Disequilibrium

Radical adjustments to changed roles and changed patterns of life, when accompanied by physical changes, tend to disrupt the physical and psychological homeostasis of the individual. Part of the stress that comes from disruptions of homeostasis can be traced to unpreparedness for adjustment to the changes that must be made. How seriously being unprepared for changes in the accustomed roles and patterns of living can affect the psychological homeostasis of the mother when she suddenly faces the "empty-nest" days of her life has been described as follows (59):

The crisis of identity she suffers at this time brings to her the same bewilderment that it does to the adolescent. This is the period when every woman questions the whole meaning of her existence. . . . "Why am I here?" she asks herself. For unless she finds a new purpose, she faces a vast wasteland stretching before her.

For most women, upset in homeostasis comes during the forties, at the time when normally they experience the menopause and when their last children leave the home and, thus, force the woman to make radical readjustments in the pattern of her entire life. For men, by contrast, the climacteric comes later—generally in the fifties—as does the imminence of retirement with its necessary role changes (91).

After women adjust to their changed roles and after the most serious aspects of body homeostasis caused by the menopause are over, they enter a period of equilibrium—a time of serenity and happiness. This usually comes during the fifties

—the time of disequilibrium for men (91). Many of the marital problems that lead to unhappiness, separation, desertion, or divorce can be traced to the differences in times when disequilibrium normally occurs for members of the two sexes.

Middle Age Is a "Dangerous Age"

The most common way to interpret "dangerous age" is in terms of the male who wants to have a last fling in life, especially in his sex life, before old age catches up to him. In doing so, he often becomes unfaithful to his wife or divorces her to marry someone young enough to be his daughter (8,63,94). This will be discussed later.

Middle age is "dangerous" in other respects also. It is a time when individuals break down physically from overwork, overworry, or careless living. When the breakdown is serious, it may and often does lead to death (43,59,74,75,80,94). It is a time when mental illness rises rapidly, among both men and women. It is also a peak age for suicides, especially among men (44). These matters will, likewise, be discussed later.

Threats to good adjustment which justify calling middle age a "dangerous age" are intensified by sex differences in the time when upsets in physical and psychological homeostasis occur. As Muelder has pointed out, middle age is a time when there is an "unfortunate synchronization of woman's change in life and man's middle-aged revolt" (63). This not only causes a strain in the husband-wife relationship but also predisposes both men and women to physical and mental illness, alcoholism, use of narcotics, marital breakup, and suicide (44,59,63).

Middle Age Is an "Awkward Age"

Just as the adolescent is neither a child nor an adult, so the middle-aged person is no longer "young" nor is he yet "old"—he is between, neither "fish nor fowl." As a result, he, like the adolescent, suffers from the discomforts and embarrassments of both (63).

Feeling that he has no recognized place in society, the middle-aged person tries to be as inconspicuous as possible, just as the adolescent who has not yet emerged from the "awkward age" of youth does. In speaking of the middle-aged group in the American culture of today, a *Time Magazine* report has said: "It is cloaked in a conspiracy of silence. It is a generation that dares not, or prefers not, to speak its name—middle age" (94).

The desire to be inconspicuous is reflected in the clothing preferred by middle-aged people. Although it is true that some men, and even more women, try to convince themselves and others that they are not yet "middle-aged" by wearing clothes meant for people much younger than they, most middle-aged people try to dress as conservatively as possible and yet adhere to the prevailing styles (79). This conservatism rules their choice of material possessions, such as homes and cars, and their patterns of behavior—whether it is the way they entertain or the way they dance (72,94). The more inconspicuous they are, the less out of place they will feel in a society that worships youth.

Middle Age Is a Time of Achievement

Middle age should be the time in life when the individual reaches his peak and reaps the benefits of the years of preparation

and hard work that preceded it. As Werner (104) has stressed:

At forty years of age normal persons should have had sufficient experience through education and human interrelationships to have developed sound judgment or values about social relationships. ... Their financial and social positions should be established, and they should at least begin to have a clear vision of the future and the goal which they wish to attain. If these accomplishments are complemented by good health, then life can begin at forty.

This should be the peak period in life, not only for financial and social success, but also for authority and prestige. Normally, the peak is reached between forty and fifty years, after which the individual rests on his laurels and enjoys the benefits of his hard-won success until he reaches the early sixties, whereupon he is regarded as "too old" and is usually replaced by a younger and more vigorous person (96).

The mean age of accomplishment varies according to the type of creative output, the quality of the output, the age at which the worker started his career, and many other factors. The rate of good productivity in different fields does not change much in the middle years of life, and the decline is gradual. Production of the highest quality tends to fall off not only at an earlier age but also at a more rapid rate than does output of lesser merit (20,51,54). Figure 12-2 shows how the peak for creative productivity of engineers and other technologists occurs around the age of forty years and then drops rapidly up to sixty-five years. A study of the scientific activities of psychologists shows that the great-

est publication rate was in the thirties and forties, with a falling off in rate in the fifties. During the sixties, the publications are only about one-half as great as in the younger age groups (23,53). Refer to Figure 11-4, page 597.

For the average worker, regardless of his fame or his achievements, the peak of earning capacity comes during the period of middle age and then declines. At the age when workers experience their peak earnings, those with the highest education, on the average, have the highest income. While those who leave school at the end of high school may make more money in the early years of adulthood than the college graduate, at the period of peak earnings, in middle age, the chances are greater that the college graduate will earn more than the high school graduate (28, 51). The relationship of education to earnings is shown in Figure 12-3.

Middle age is the period when leadership in business, industry, and community organizations is the reward for achievement. Most organizations, especially the older ones, elect presidents who are in their fifties. This means a period of approximately fifteen years between the peak of achievement and the peak of recognition of that achievement (see Figure 12-4). The fifties are also the years when professional recognition occurs in the different professional societies (52).

Leadership in government, in the ranks of ambassadors, United States senators, army officers, or justices of the Supreme Court, is generally not achieved until the late fifties or early sixties. The reason that leadership status lags behind achievement is that the older and more conservative organizations want a leader who has gained prestige through his achievements

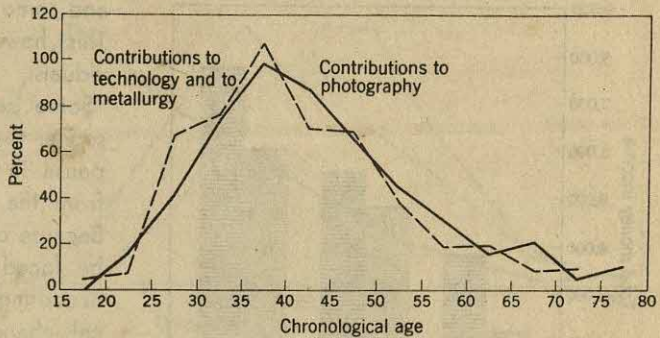


FIGURE 12-2 THE PEAK OF CREATIVITY VARIES FOR DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS AND THE DECLINE IN QUALITY WITH AGE IS GREATER THAN THE DECLINE IN QUANTITY. (ADAPTED FROM H. C. LEHMAN: THE MOST CREATIVE YEARS OF ENGINEERS AND OTHER TECHNOLOGISTS. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1966, 108, 263-277. USED BY PERMISSION.)

and who is able to command respect in social relationships. As Lehman (51) has explained:

The conditions essential for creativity and originality, which can be displayed in private achievement, come earlier than those social skills which contribute to leadership and eminence and which inevitably must wait, not upon the insight of the leader himself, but upon the insight of society about him.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF MIDDLE AGE

There are certain problems of adjustment that are characteristic of middle age in today's American culture. Some of these problems are more difficult for men, and others are more difficult for women. There are also social-class differences in adjustment problems which, for the most

part, are more serious for members of the middle- than for those of the lower- and upper-class groups. The major problems American men and women must meet and make satisfactory adjustments to during the middle years of life are expressed in the developmental tasks of the middle years of life (35). Refer to page 15 for a listing of these developmental tasks.

The developmental tasks of middle age can be categorized, roughly, into four major groups: those that relate to the acceptance of and adjustment to the physiological changes of middle age; those that relate to changed interests, thus enabling the middle-aged person to achieve civic and social responsibilities and to develop adult leisure-time activities or activities suited to the adult level of development in place of the family-oriented leisure-time activities which prevailed during the early years of adulthood; those related to vocational adjustments that will enable the individual to establish and maintain a relatively

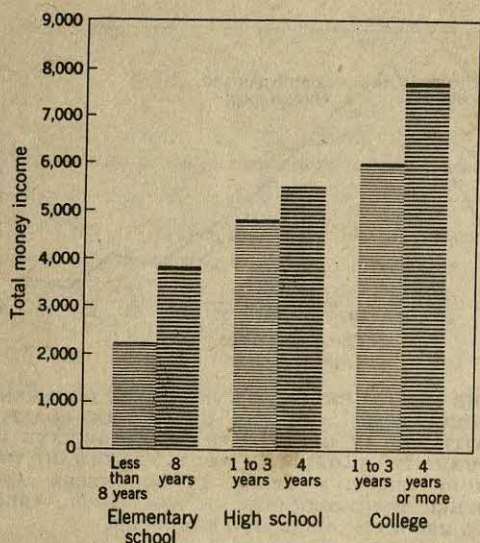


FIGURE 12-3 LIFETIME INCOME IS INFLUENCED BY THE AMOUNT OF EDUCATION THE WORKER HAS HAD. (ADAPTED FROM PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON YOUTH EMPLOYMENT REPORT: *The challenge of jobless youth*. WASHINGTON, D.C.: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, APRIL, 1963. USED BY PERMISSION.)

stable economic standard of living; and those relating to family life, with emphasis on relating oneself to one's spouse as a person, adjusting to aging parents, and assisting teen-age children to become responsible and happy adults. The first two groups of developmental tasks will be discussed in this chapter and the second two, in the following chapter.

As is true of the developmental tasks of other ages, those of middle age are not all mastered at the same time or in the same way by all middle-aged people. Some of them are more likely to be mastered during the early years of middle age

and some in the latter part of the period. This, however, will vary for different individuals.

Some people, for example, start to age sooner than others. The age of the menopause in women can come at any time from the late thirties to the early fifties. Because of this variation, some women will be faced with the developmental task of accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes that the menopause brings early in middle age while, for others, the adjustment will not have to be made until later.

Because, normally, the climacteric in men occurs later than the menopause in women, men as a whole are not confronted with the problem of accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes that accompany the climacteric as soon as women are.

The age at which middle-aged people married, the time when they became parents, and the number of children they have, all influence the age at which they must adjust to the developmental tasks relating to family life, to civic and social responsibilities, and to adult leisure-time activities. Parents who married when they were still in their teens may have no children at home when they reach middle age. Consequently, they can take a more active part in civic and social life; their leisure-time activities can be adult- rather than family-oriented; and they are free to spend more time together than they were able to do when there were children at home.

The type of adjustment the middle-aged person makes to aging parents varies according to the social-class status of the person and of the parents. Among members of the lower social classes, adjustment to aging parents is likely to be in the form of having them live in their home as de-

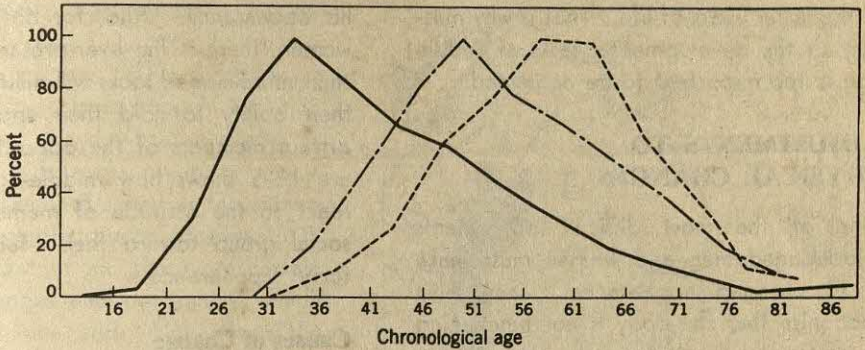


FIGURE 12-4 AGE OF PEAK OF ACHIEVEMENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO RECOGNITION OF THAT ACHIEVEMENT. *Solid line:* AGE VERSUS PRODUCTION IN SCIENCE, MATHEMATICS, AND PRACTICAL INVENTION. *Broken line:* AGE AT TIME OF FIRST ELECTION TO 671 PRESIDENCIES OF 13 ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE CONCERNED WITH RESEARCH IN THE SAME FIELDS OF PRODUCTION. *Dashed line:* AGE AT FIRST ELECTION TO 1,276 PRESIDENCIES OF SOCIETIES WHOSE MEMBERS ARE MOSTLY PROFESSIONAL PRACTITIONERS. (ADAPTED FROM H. C. LEHMAN: AGES AT TIME OF FIRST ELECTION OF PRESIDENTS OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. *Scient. Mon.*, N.Y., 1955, 80, 293-298. USED BY PERMISSION.)

pendents. Middle- and upper-class people, on the other hand, are more likely to have parents living in their own homes or in homes for the aged where their adjustments to these parents will be mainly social in nature rather than financial. Should the aging parents need physical care, this responsibility is more likely to fall on the shoulders of paid workers than on the shoulders of their children.

If the important developmental tasks of middle age are successfully mastered, and mastered relatively early during the middle years of life, a good foundation will be laid for a transition into an old age that is free from stress and ego-deflating experiences. A middle-aged person, for example, who has learned to accept and to make satisfactory adjustments to the physiological changes of middle age will be far better able to adjust to the changes that

old age brings than will the person who resists the acceptance of and adjustment to changes that normally come at middle age.

Similarly, middle-aged people who, after their parental responsibilities come to an end with the achievement of adulthood by their children, learn to fill their leisure time with activities that are enjoyable to them and to assume social and civic responsibilities they were unable to assume when their major responsibilities were centered on their families, will be freed from the loneliness of old age which older people who have not made these adjustments in middle age will face.

Because most of the developmental tasks of middle age are preparation for successful adjustment to old age, the mastery of these tasks is important for success and happiness not only in middle age but also

in the latter years of life. That is why mastery of the developmental tasks of middle age is too important to be neglected.

ADJUSTMENTS TO PHYSICAL CHANGES

One of the most difficult adjustments middle-aged men and women must make is to changed appearance. They must recognize that the body is not functioning as adequately as it formerly did and may even be "wearing out" in certain vital areas. They must accept the fact that the reproductive capacity is waning or coming to an end, only to be accompanied by a weakening of the sex drive and sex appeal. Like the pubescent child who has carried through childhood an ideal of what he wants to look like when he grows up and then must adjust to the appearance nature gives him, the middle-aged person must adjust to changes that are not only not to his liking but which, even worse, are tell-tale signs that the years are creeping up on him.

At any age, adjustment is made easier by favorable attitudes and more difficult by unfavorable attitudes. Because unfavorable personal attitudes are intensified at middle age by unfavorable social attitudes toward the normal changes that come with advancing age, the adjustment is made doubly hard. Having known, since early adolescence, the important role appearance plays in social judgments, social acceptance, and leadership, the middle-aged person rebels against handicaps to the status he has won and fears he may lose as his appearance deteriorates. For the man, there is the added handicap of competition with younger, more vigorous, and more energetic men who tend to judge his capacity to hold down his job in terms of

his appearance. And, for both men and women, there is the ever-present fear that their middle-aged looks will militate against their ability to hold their spouses or to attract members of the opposite sex. Figure 12-5 shows how middle-aged people react to the attitude of members of the social group toward their "fair, fat, and forty" appearance.

Causes of Change

Middle age marks the beginning of the acceleration of the aging process that has been going on since birth. Although this acceleration will vary from person to person, its beginning is inevitable during this period in the life span and must be faced sooner or later by every man and woman. It is never a precipitous drop at a certain age but rather a slow, gradual process which, if not dreaded, would likely go unnoticed for months at a time (3).

However, because of the unfavorable attitudes toward aging, each change is the source of great concern to the individual. As a result, it has exaggerated importance to his psychological or physical well-being. Not only does the rate of aging vary for different people, but the rate of aging for the different organ systems of the body varies widely in the same individual and in different individuals of the same age. As is true of the developmental changes taking place at puberty, there is a general pattern that all children follow but each at his own rate and in his own way. So it is with the involutional changes of aging (82).

There are *physiological causes* for aging, some of which are now well known, while others are still to be verified. In old cells, there is an accumulation of extracellular materials filling up the spaces where func-

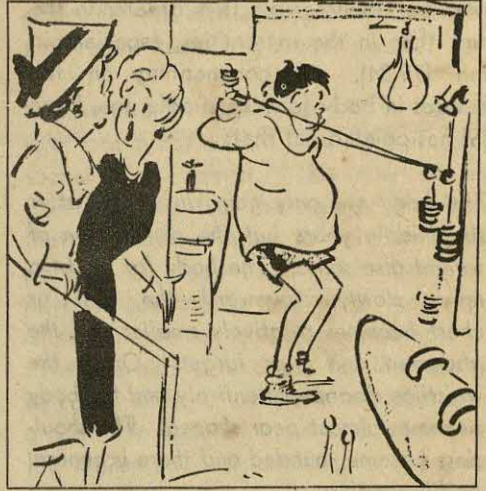
tioning cells have disappeared. The different organ systems function less effectively, mainly because of a reduction in reserve capacity. Even though the individual can meet his day-to-day needs, he will not be able to meet situations as well as a younger person if called on to perform under conditions of stress or extra load (83).

Most important of all, there are certain endocrine changes and deficiencies which occur at this time and which affect the functioning of the entire body. When endocrine changes are rapid, physical changes are likewise rapid and often cause physical and emotional stress which can be lessened by endocrine treatments. Under normal conditions, the endocrine system will right itself in time and the disturbances accompanying bodily changes will disappear (74,92,93).

Types of Change

There are certain physical and physiological changes occurring at middle age that are so universal and so characteristic of the period that few fail to recognize them. These changes include changes in appearance, in sensory abilities, in physiological functioning, in health, and sexual changes.

CHANGES IN APPEARANCE When people reach middle age, there is a tendency to gain *weight*, especially in the area of the waistline, known as the "middle-age spread." It has been said that middle-aged people stop growing at the ends and begin to grow in the middle. This gain is partly due to the accumulation of excess fat and partly to changes in body composition in which some of the muscles and other body tissues are replaced by fat. In late adolescence, the body fat is approximately 10 percent of the total body weight



"All this started on a bus when two young soldiers offered him their seats!"

FIGURE 12-5 RECOGNITION OF OTHERS' UNFAVORABLE ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR MIDDLE-AGED APPEARANCE LEADS TO UNFAVORABLE ATTITUDES ON THE PART OF MIDDLE-AGED PEOPLE TOWARD THEMSELVES. (ADAPTED FROM GEORGE CLARK, "THE NEIGHBORS," *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, APR. 20, 1967. COPYRIGHT © 1967 BY CHICAGO TRIBUNE-NEW YORK NEWS SYNDICATE; USED BY PERMISSION.)

of individuals who are "normal" for their height and body build; in middle age this percentage has doubled as a result of changes in body composition.

Even when the weight is kept at "normal" there is a greater accumulation of fat tissue than the scales tell. However, as most adults have added weight, the percentage of the body tissue that is fat is even greater than the normal 20 percent (17, 66,74). In middle age, fat in the upper part of the body increases and that in the

lower part decreases. It is greater in the trunk than in the extremities, especially in men (79,84). In commenting on the changes in body form in middle age, Ryan (79) has pointed out that:

The body not only gains in weight after the middle years but the distribution of weight also shifts. The body fat tends to move slowly downward—the bust or chest becomes relatively smaller and the abdomen and hips larger. Often the waistline disappears entirely and the body becomes almost pear shaped. The shoulders become rounded and there is general bodily sagging.

By the late forties or early fifties, many men and women become aware of their middle-age bulges to the point where they decide to get rid of them. Furthermore, many receive warnings from doctors of the dangers of overweight (47,100). That middle-aged men and women of today are more fashion- and health-conscious than in the past is shown by the increase since the 1920s in the number of worries about overeating (75).

Concern about being overweight often leads to strict diets with quick loss of weight. In adolescence and early adulthood, the skin is quite elastic and follows the receding tissues from which excess fat tissue disappears with dieting. After forty, however, the individual may feel and act younger after dieting, but he looks older. The face, arms, thighs, and abdomen present loose folds of skin which has not yet tightened up and receded to the tissues beneath from which the fat has disappeared. *Flabby skin* is a telltale sign of aging (12,18,74).

Changes in the *hair* and *skin* are as characteristic of middle age as is weight in-

crease. In the forties the hairline begins to recede, especially in men, and the hair becomes thinner. In men, baldness at the crown or on top of the head is very common from forty on.

If the first gray hairs have not already made their appearance by the time the man or woman reaches forty, they do so shortly afterward. By fifty, most men and women have a predominance of gray hair and some are even snowy white (79). Among men, there is a gradual growth of stiff hair in the nose, ears, and eyelashes during middle age and, among women, there is an increase in growth of hair on the upper lip and chin. Men, on the other hand, find that, after forty, they need to shave less with each successive year because of the slower and less luxuriant growth of hair on the face.

In middle age, the skin on the face, neck, arms, and hands becomes coarser and begins to show wrinkles (79). Bags under the eyes, usually associated with dissipation, are common accompaniments of aging. They are caused by weakening of the underlying muscle and fibrous tissue, with the result that the lower lid falls in folds. Then subcutaneous fat forms through the weakened muscles and causes the redundant skin to balloon.

Dark circles under the eyes are more prominent and more permanent after forty than before. They are accentuated by paleness of the skin which is common at this age and by a more sparing use of cosmetics. Many middle-aged men and women have bluish-red discolorations, often in the shape of a spider web, around the ankles or on the mid-calf. These come from dilated surface blood vessels and are made worse by pressure resulting from overweight (21).

All of these changes, so obvious to

others, tend to be a source of concern to middle-aged people because they are telltale signs of advancing age. This concern is often heightened by stress in mass media of communication on what the middle-aged person can and should do to camouflage them. Ryan, however, has suggested that they are not necessarily distracting to appearance. According to her (79):

Some of these changes may make the individual more, rather than less, attractive. Often the first and most obvious change is in the color of the hair which usually turns to gray and then to white. This frequently is a positive factor: many people are more attractive with white hair. Also, as individuals grow older, the face becomes more lined and wrinkled. This, again, is not necessarily a detriment. These lines may give a pleasing character to a face which was bland and uninteresting with the smoothness of youth.

There are other physical changes common at middle age, but not as universally found as the changes in weight, hair, and skin. The eyes look less bright than they did when the individual was younger and the teeth become yellowed. If the man or woman has done hard manual work for the major part of his life, his muscles will be strong at middle age, though they will have less resiliency than previously. Most men and women, however, look and act as if their muscles were soft and flabby. This is especially apparent in the areas of the chin, upper arms, and abdomen.

The bones become gradually more brittle with a consequent tendency to break more easily and to require a longer time to heal after they are broken. Some middle-aged people develop difficulties with their joints and limbs, thus causing them to walk with

difficulty and with a degree of awkwardness rarely found in younger people.

VARIATIONS IN CHANGES As a general rule, men in our culture show signs of aging sooner than women. This may be explained by the fact that women who know that their attractiveness to members of the opposite sex depends so much upon their physical appearance see to it that signs of middle age are quickly covered up.

There is also a tendency for the rate of aging to differ in different socioeconomic groups. In general, men and women of the higher socioeconomic groups appear younger than their years, while those of the lower socioeconomic groups look older than they actually are. This may be explained partially by the fact that those of the more favored groups work less, expend less energy, and are better nourished than those who must earn their living by hard manual work. Furthermore, those who come from the less well-to-do groups are unable to afford the beauty aids and clothing that cover up telltale signs of growing old.

CHANGES IN SENSORY ABILITIES

Gradual deterioration of sensory abilities begins in middle age. The most troublesome and the most marked changes come in the eyes and ears. The degenerative and functional changes in the eye result in decrease in pupil size, acuity, and glare resistance, and a tendency toward glaucoma, cataracts, and tumors. Most middle-aged people suffer from presbyopia, or farsightedness (often called "old sight"), which is a gradual loss of accommodative power of the eyes resulting from a decrease in the elasticity of the lens. Between the ages of forty and fifty years, the accommodative power of the lens is usu-

ally insufficient for ordinary close work, and the individual must wear glasses. There is no evidence that color vision is impaired with the normal changes in the eye at middle age (14).

Hearing is likely to be impaired with the result that the individual must listen more attentively than he formerly did. Sensitivity to high pitches is lost first, followed by progressive losses down the pitch scale. Because of loss in the ability to hear, many middle-aged people start to talk very loudly, and often in a monotone. The sense of *smell* grows weaker in men, because of the increase in the hairy network of the nose, and this affects the sense of *taste*.

CHANGES IN PHYSIOLOGICAL FUNCTIONING Changes in the exterior of the body do not occur without a parallel change in the internal organs and their functioning. These changes are, for the most part, the direct or indirect result of changes in the body tissues. Like rubber bands, the walls of the *arteries* become brittle as middle age progresses, and this leads to circulatory difficulties. Increase in *blood pressure*, especially among those who are overweight, may lead to *heart complications* (3,100).

There is increasing sluggishness in the functioning of most of the *glands* of the body. The *pores* and *skin glands* are slower than they formerly were in ridding the skin of waste materials, with the result that there is an increased tendency to body odors. The different glands connected with the digestive process likewise function more slowly with a consequent increase in number and severity of digestive disorders.

To add to this problem, many middle-

aged men and women must have dental plates which increase the difficulty of *chewing*. In addition, few individuals revise their eating habits to keep pace with the slowing down of their activities and this likewise adds a burden to the functioning of the *digestive* system. Constipation is very common in middle age (32,74).

CHANGES IN HEALTH Middle age is characterized by a general decline in physical fitness and some deterioration of health is common. Beginning in the *mid-forties*, there is an increase in disability and invalidism which progresses rapidly from then on (83). This trend is shown in Figure 12-6.

Common health problems in middle age include the tendency to *fatigue* easily, *buzzing* or *ringing* in the *ears*, *muscular pains*, *skin sensitivity* to touch and itching, *general aches* and pains, *gastrointestinal complaints* such as *constipation*, *acid stomach*, and *belching*, *loss of appetite*, and tendency to *insomnia* (74,100). How middle age affects the health of the individual will be dependent upon many factors, among them, his *heredity*, his past health history, the *emotional stresses* of his life, and his *willingness* to adjust his pattern of living to his changed physical condition. Men, for example, who are the aggressive, ambitious "go-getters," may be able to avoid trouble when they are younger. But, after they are forty years of age, they are more likely to have heart attacks than are men who are relatively free from urgency in their outlook and jobs (67).

Middle-aged people who refuse to adjust the patterns of their behavior to their present physical condition and who try to convince themselves and others that they

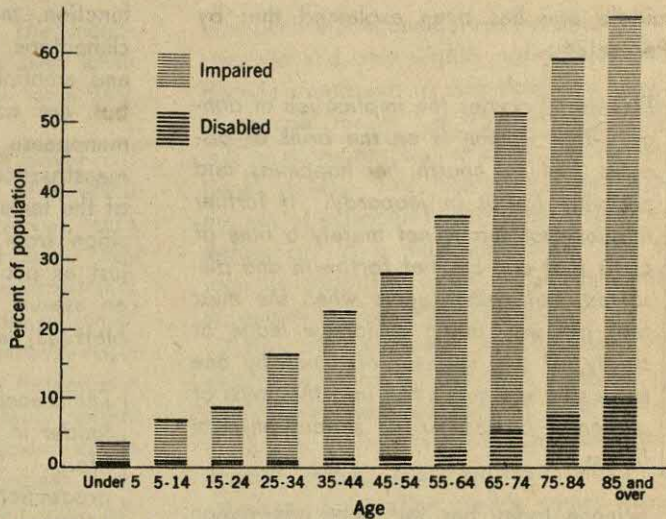


FIGURE 12-6 INCREASE IN DISABILITY AND INVALIDISM WITH ADVANCING AGE. (ADAPTED FROM N. W. SHOCK: *Trends in gerontology*. 2D ED. STANFORD, CALIF.: STANFORD, 1959. USED BY PERMISSION.)

can "still take it," are the ones who usually suffer most from middle-age ailments. As Steincrohn (87) has pointed out,

If you relax more often, if you slow up, don't believe that you will grow old prematurely. The grim reaper won't swish his scythe at you and cut you off long before you reach the 70s and 80s. On the contrary, the reaper seems to have patience for the relaxers and is impatient with the overdoers.

SEXUAL CHANGES By far the most difficult physical adjustment men and women must make in middle age is to the "change of life," "menopause," or "climacterium." The climacteric, from the Greek, *klimakterikos*, meaning peak or climax, is a period in the life span of men and women which

is characterized by the termination of their reproductive capacity. In women, this period is commonly referred to as the "change of life" because of the physical changes that occur then in addition to the loss of the childbearing capacity, or as the "menopause," which, strictly speaking, means cessation of menstrual periods. In men, the period is usually referred to as the "male climacteric."

Both the menopause and the male climacteric are surrounded by mystery for most men and women, and there are many traditional beliefs which heighten the dread people experience when they approach the period in life when these physical changes occur. The menopause, for example, is often referred to as the "critical years." How this can heighten women's dread of the normal sexual changes during

middle age has been explained thus by Parker (74):

This [term] carries the implication of danger—that woman is on the brink of disaster, that her health, her happiness, and her very life is in jeopardy. It further implies that this is not merely a time of crisis that can be met forthwith and dissolved, but rather years when she must feel her way along a narrow ledge of safety, at any moment of which by one false step she might fall into the abyss of a mental breakdown or serious physical illness.

Science today has far more information about the causes and effects of the sexual changes that occur during middle age than was known in the past. Furthermore, there is growing evidence that these changes are a normal part of the life pattern. As Parker has pointed out (74):

Menopause is not a dangerous age. There is no special threat to her mind, her emotions, her health, her beauty, her efficiency, or her capabilities if the menopause is properly understood and handled, mostly by the woman herself but with medical help when necessary. Control of all the symptoms of the menopause is both possible and safe. Hormones and other properly selected medications are effective and safe, and do not prolong the age.

When marked psychological changes occur during middle age, they are the result more of emotional stress than of physical disturbances. This holds true for men as well as for women (65,74).

SEXUAL CHANGES IN WOMEN The menopause is the cessation of the menstrual

function, taking place during the female climacteric, which includes general bodily and emotional changes that coincide with but are not necessarily caused by the menopause or related to it. Cessation of menstruation is, therefore, only one aspect of the female climacteric. It marks a transition from a sexual to an asexual state, just as puberty marks the transition from an asexual to a sexual state. As Greenblatt (33) has pointed out:

The menopause is... another rung in the ladder in a woman's progression through life.... She steps from the stage of reproduction into the period of "middle life," free from the responsibilities, the stresses, the hazards and trials associated with childbirth.

The transitional nature of the menopause has likewise been stressed by Parker. According to her (74):

Menopause is a transition period, not a climax. It signifies only one thing, a release from the responsibilities of fertility. It is not the end of being a mature woman, with all the term signifies. It is not the beginning of old age or senility.

The average age for cessation of the menstrual flow is around forty-five years, though this varies widely among women, depending on hereditary endowment, general health conditions, and variations in climate. Early puberty usually means late menopause and vice versa. Cessation of the childbearing function is not an overnight phenomenon, any more than is the development of this function at puberty. It takes several years for the reproductive apparatus to cease its normal functioning, the rate depending on the rate of decline

of the ovarian functioning. The menopause is regarded as officially over when there has been no menstruation for a year (43,74,93).

The cessation of menstruation may occur in a number of different ways, all of which are regarded as normal. However, there are four patterns that are most usual. They are: sudden cessation of menstruation; regular cycles with a gradual diminution of the menstrual flow; loss of menstrual regularity with the periods coming further and further apart, though with a fairly normal amount of the flow; and shorter cycles with profuse flow. At the present time, there is no known way to predict what pattern a woman will follow (74).

The menopause is caused by ovarian failure, or *hypoovarianism*, though the production of pituitary hormone continues at a normal level. In the early part of the menopause, the *premenopause phase*, there is a failing of the ovarian function which causes menstrual irregularities accompanied by nervous and emotional disturbances. In the latter part of the period, the *postmenopause phase*, there is pituitary hyperactivity, leading to vasomotor and metabolic disturbances, as the body tries to achieve a new endocrine balance.

The temporary disequilibrium in the endocrine interactional system affects the autonomic nervous system which, in turn, brings about many of the physical and emotional symptoms characteristic of the female climacteric. The bodily and psychological changes which occur during the menopause may continue even after menstruation has ceased, just as they often start before menstrual regularity is markedly affected (43,57,74).

When there is a rapid decrease in ovarian functioning, the woman is likely to undergo a period of violent "climacteric storm";

slow decline is accompanied by effects that are mild and only slightly noticeable. Endocrine treatment, to slow down the speed of change, makes the transition less difficult by promoting better physical and emotional states. This treatment consists of the use of estrogen to supplement nature's deficiency. It is most effectively used as soon as disturbing physical or emotional symptoms appear (43,74,92,93).

During the transient period when the endocrine interactional system is becoming adjusted to lessened ovarian functioning, there are certain physical symptoms that normally occur. These are the result of the estrogen deprivation which comes from the decline in the functioning of the ovaries. How mild or severe these symptoms will be will depend largely on the rate of decline of ovarian functioning (64).

The three symptoms known to have a physiological cause are: *flushes* involving the head, neck, and upper thorax; *sweats* that accompany or immediately follow the flush; and *hot flashes*, typified by tingling, which involve the entire body. In addition to these three symptoms there are others which are due in part to estrogen deprivation but are mainly the result of environmental stress and are, as a result, psychological in origin. They include headaches, fatigue, vertigo, nervousness, irritability, laryngeal spasms, choking sensations, insomnia, heart palpitations, restlessness, and frigidity (60,74). The tendency to increased nervousness in middle age, especially among women, is shown in Figure 12-7. See also Figure 10-2, page 537, for increase in day tiredness and Figure 14-5, page 798, for increase in disturbed sleep.

Many women become obese at this time and pain in the joints, especially those of the fingers, is common. Some women develop a thickening of the knuckles that leads

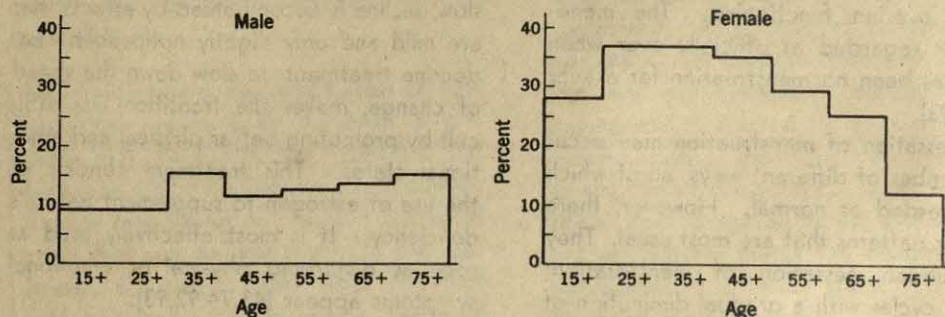


FIGURE 12-7 NERVOUSNESS INCREASES MARKEDLY AMONG WOMEN DURING MIDDLE AGE. (ADAPTED FROM A. MCGHIE AND S. M. RUSSELL: THE SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF NORMAL SLEEP PATTERNS. *J. ment. Sci.*, 1962, 108, 642-654. USED BY PERMISSION.)

to knobiness (43,74,93). These conditions may appear before there is any marked change in glandular activity, though they are more likely to accompany the decline in ovarian functioning.

Many women, in this transient period, experience an upheaval in the normal patterns of their personalities. They become hostile, depressed, or self-critical, and they often suffer from intense feelings of guilt. They also have little control over the depths of their emotions, experiencing love, hate, and jealousy more intensely than they formerly did. These are a part of the syndrome of "climacteric neurosis" and are the results of two factors, hormone imbalance and stress (27,35,41,43,65,74). As the physical disturbances gradually disappear, with restoration of endocrine balance, the woman reaches a plateau of constancy: she can depend on her moods just as she can depend on her body and energy to be relatively constant (43).

During the climacteric, the female reproductive system goes through a process of change which, in time, makes childbearing impossible. There is a generalized atrophy of the genital tract, with the ovaries shrink-

ing in size and becoming mere masses of connective tissue. As a result of this, they no longer produce mature ova or the two ovarian hormones, estrogen and progesterin. The uterus shrinks in size, and the periodic changes in the uterine lining to take care of a fertilized ovum, should conception occur, no longer take place. The lining of the vagina becomes thin and sensitive to touch, and there is a decrease in vulvar fat (64).

As the ovarian hormones become less dominant, the male hormone secretions which have been present since birth but which have been dominated by the female hormone secretions now come to the fore. As a result, the woman is less feminine in appearance than she was during the period from puberty to the menopause. Hair develops on the upper lip and at the corners of the mouth, coarser than the fine down usually found on the woman's face, and more pigmented. The high-pitched female voice deepens, though rarely to as low a pitch as in the typical masculine voice. The curves of the body flatten out as a result of dwindling adipose tissue, though there is usually a temporary deposition of

fat over the hips and breasts. Later, the breasts tend to look flabby as the milk glands atrophy. Pubic and axillary hair generally become scantier as the climacteric changes are completed (32,71,93,97).

SEXUAL CHANGES IN MEN The male climacteric is very different from that of women. It comes at a later date, usually in the sixties or seventies, and occurs at a very slow rate. With the general aging of his entire body comes a very gradual weakening of the male sexual and reproductive powers. Just when hormonal imbalance begins in men is hard to determine, because there is no definite indication of this change as occurs in the female with the cessation of the menstrual function. Testosterone secretion may begin to decline in men at any age, but the magnitude of the deficiency increases with advancing years (29).

After fifty, there is a gradual decline in gonadal activity in men, but motile sperms have been found into the seventies, and men occasionally have offspring as late as the eighties. Because the decline of gonadal functioning is so slow and gradual, men do not suffer from the physical discomforts of a too rapid readjustment of the endocrine system, nor do they have to face a sudden crisis in their reproductive abilities as women do with the onset of the menopause (29,42).

During the fifties, as the gradual decline in the sexual powers of the man occurs, there is a decline in the male hormone secretion which allows the female hormone secretion to come to the fore. As is true of women at the menopause, the man loses some of his typically masculine characteristics and takes on some of the characteristics of the female. The voice becomes somewhat higher in pitch, there is less hair

on the face and body than formerly, and frequently the body becomes slightly more rounded due to deposits of adipose tissue. Accompanying this tendency toward a more feminine appearance is a gradual increase in feminine interests and forms of behavior.

Because there is a popular tradition that hair on the face, body, arms, and legs is a sign of virility, the lessening of the hair during middle age is likely to be a source of great concern to men. Even the beginning of baldness disturbs them because they believe that it is indicative of a decline in their sexual powers. In reality *anxiety about virility* is one of the chief causes of its decline. As a result, the middle-aged man who worries about his increasing baldness or the fact that he does not have to shave as often as he did when he was younger, merely accelerates the pace of decline in his sexual powers (27).

While the climacteric in men actually comes during the period of old age, rather than during the middle years of life, many men in their forties or fifties have symptoms similar to those of the female climacteric. They complain of depression, anxiety, irritability, tingling sensations in their extremities, headaches, insomnia, digestive disturbances, nervousness, flushes, fatigue, and many minor aches and pains.

These occur in the absence of any demonstrable organic change and, therefore, are not physical but emotional or social in origin. They are the results of pressures from outside in their business, social, or family lives, which lead to a waning of sexual desire, or they may result from feelings of inadequacy that stem from a normal decrease in strength and endurance, the result of a glandular deficiency that leads to waning sexual powers. The psy-

chological effects of anticipating a decline in sexual powers are greater in middle age than are the physical effects of endocrine decline. Even testosterone therapy will not relieve the symptoms of the male "climacteric neurosis." This is further proof that these symptoms are psychological rather than physical in origin (42,49).

Assessment of Adjustment

Adjustment to physical changes is difficult and is often met with rebellion on the part of both men and women. What is responsible for this rebellion is explained by Brayshaw (13):

We have a feeling that the sands are running out in the hour-glass. Of course, this is partly due to obvious physical factors. We tend to have bifocals or false teeth, to suffer from baldness or fallen arches or indigestion or hemorrhoids or other failings that humiliate or embarrass us. All this is true of middle age in general. It is likely too that in our jobs we have reached the ceiling and have comparatively little to look forward to.

The individual is aware of the fact that, after he reaches forty, there will be changes in his appearance, in his strength and resistance to fatigue, in his speed in doing things, and in his ability to adjust quickly to new situations. Either slowly or gradually he will become aware of the fact that he neither looks nor feels as he did when he was ten or twenty years younger. This will mean revisions in his self-concept, perhaps minor at first, but gradually, as time goes on, more and more pronounced changes will have to be made.

For the most part, the changes in his self-concept will relate more to his physical

than to his mental abilities, though there will be changes in the latter that must be adjusted to as middle age progresses. Because he knows that he is judged in terms of his appearance and what he can do, he tries to convince himself and others that he is not as old as he appears and that he can do the things he did when he was younger.

Were it not for the unfavorable social attitudes toward advancing age, there might be a greater willingness to "grow old gracefully." However, knowing that age is a handicap in most areas of life, it is logical that the person who sees himself growing older will do all within his power to cover up the telltale signs. The necessity for cutting down on their food and drink intake, giving up strenuous exercise, wearing stronger glasses or hearing aids, and taking rest during the day and going to bed earlier at night are all adjustments middle-aged people must make.

Adjustments to physical changes are generally made gradually and reluctantly, but once they are accepted, the individual makes better adjustments to his role as a middle-aged person. If they can cover up some of these adjustments to waning physical powers by looking and dressing as if they were younger than they are, middle-aged people make adjustments more quickly and less reluctantly.

The individual who makes poor adjustments is in constant rebellion against the restrictions age places on his usual patterns of behavior. He refuses to adhere to the diet or the restrictions on activities his doctor advises and he burns the candle at both ends to show that he can still "take it." Like the pubescent child who rebels against restrictions on his behavior, the middle-aged adult rebels against restrictions, but for a different reason. His re-

bellion stems from a recognition of the values of youth and the knowledge that society does not recognize the values of age. As a result, he rebels against restrictions that mean he is growing old (55). As Werner (104) has pointed out:

Forty has been described as the "dangerous age": it can be dangerous for several reasons. At this age, many persons develop a desire or have an urge to stray from the beaten path in more ways than one. They seem to sense or fear that the tide of life may ebb and they want to take a last fling at new experiences; youth in the opposite sex and flattery seem attractive. This is the age at which persons of stable character remain "hitched." Forty can also be dangerous for reasons pertaining to health. Many persons at this age and during the succeeding decade develop disorders of the ductless glands, especially those related to sexual function.

Revolt against the loss of youth, as it becomes apparent in loss of physical and sexual vigor, often develops into a generalized revolt against work, the spouse, friends, and former pleasures (8). The affect it can have on marital relationships has been described in this way (94):

Psychoanalysts argue that both sexes enter a sort of second adolescence in the mid-40s, but the male has more sexual options. . . . The stage is set for the extramarital affair, frequently the office romance. . . . However, the extramarital affair does not lead straight to the divorce court. . . . In the 40s and 50s, divorce is major surgery, and a man is reluctant to cut that much life out of his life. Besides, time sometimes taunts the older lover

with the cruelest of jests. Having roused the ardor of a younger woman, he may find himself no match for her physical demands and end up more ruefully conscious of his age than when he set out to refute it.

When this happens, it is apparent that the middle-aged individual has not been willing to accept the inevitable changes that accompany the aging process and, as a result, has made poor adjustments to it.

By far the most difficult adjustment men and women must make to changed physical conditions in middle age is to the climacteric. For women, this adjustment is much harder than for men and is, as a result, less often made successfully. While puberty is a difficult adjustment task for many girls, a larger number of women show stress and strain in their attempts to adjust to the change in the pattern of life that comes with the menopause.

Most women of today pass through the climacteric without interrupting their normal pattern of living and live an active life with much ego satisfaction; others do not. How successfully the adjustment will be made will be influenced greatly by the woman's past experiences, especially her willingness to accept the feminine sex role. For those who do not make good adjustments, many of the psychological reactions to the climacteric are similar to those of puberty, especially the pubescent girl's tendency to overeat (6,18).

While most women are prepared for the physical changes that come with the climacteric, few are prepared for the psychological changes, especially those related to changes in their life roles. Unfortunately, these changes usually coincide with the menopause. This intensifies the difficulties of the adjustments the woman must make

to the physical changes that accompany the climacteric (19,40).

Women who make the poorest adjustments to the climacteric are those who have idealized youth and basked in masculine admiration. When they are forced to recognize that they no longer have a youthful appearance and that they can no longer attract and hold masculine attention, they are unwilling to accept the fact that they are now middle-aged and openly rebel against it. Some try to compensate for their loss of youthful appearance by youthful dress, coyness, and flirtation; some have a last fling at childbearing or cling to the youngest child of the family; some become involved in sordid love affairs or love fantasies; and some become temporarily neurotic or even psychotic (19).

Women who have lived unwisely enter middle age with many regrets that make them depressed, irritable, remorseful, bitter, and pessimistic. These unfavorable attitudes aggravate the physical symptoms of the climacteric and thus make good adjustments difficult if not impossible (27).

Very poor adjustment often leads to mental disorders, especially those of a nervous type. Studies of women patients have revealed that approximately 80 percent who experience nervous disorders during the climacteric have had prior disturbances which are intensified during the menopause by the physical and emotional disturbances related to the menopause. And conversely, prior disturbances intensify the physical and emotional disturbances of menopause (6,50,74).

How well men adjust to the climacteric is likewise influenced by previous experiences and the success of adjustments in other areas. Men who are successful in business, who have high prestige in the

community, and who are well adjusted to their families accept the changes in appearance, the lessened physical strength, and the beginning of the waning of sexual desire as a normal part of aging and adjust philosophically to it.

When, on the other hand, men have glorified youth to the point where they feel that success in sports, attractiveness to members of the opposite sex, and a youthful appearance are of more importance than the satisfactions of business success and a happy home life, they will openly rebel against the restrictions and frustrations middle age brings. Dread of physical and sexual decline leads to poor adjustment in men just as it does in women. At the present time, this dread is being intensified by the knowledge that business and industry are less willing to employ middle-aged men than younger men. As a result, the man who is not satisfied with his chosen career or the job he is in will find it difficult to shift. Business and economic worries often intensify the physical changes that are taking place (6,27).

ADJUSTMENT TO CHANGED INTERESTS

It is popularly believed that there are marked changes in interests with the "change of life." Experimental evidence has not borne out this belief. While it is true that there are changes, these changes are far less marked than during the earlier years of life (37,77). As Ryan has pointed out, "Whatever the chronological age, the interests, attitudes, and habits of earlier years will remain fundamentally the same" (79).

With changes in duties and responsibilities, in health, and in roles in life, it is

logical that the middle-aged person would have some changes in interests. In men, concentration on vocational advancement plays an important role in narrowing down the range of interests they had when they were younger. The more successful the man, the more time and attention he must give to his vocation to the exclusion of a broader pattern of activities (39,48).

Among women, role changes in middle age are far more pronounced than in men. Consequently, it is logical that there would be more marked changes in interests. The woman who has played the role of mother during her earlier years of adulthood finds, when she faces the childfree days of middle age, that there is much leisure time for interests and activities she was forced to forego earlier when her time was filled with home and parental duties (59,81). Furthermore, as her husband's time and energy is spent more on his occupation than it was earlier, she must develop new interests and activities to replace those formerly associated with his interests and activities (4).

New interests may be established in middle age, but unless there are changes in the individual's environment and pattern of life, unless there are opportunities to develop new interests, or a strong motivation to do so, it is more likely that he will cling to the old interests he has found satisfying.

This tendency to cling to old interests rather than to establish new interests as age advances is frequently interpreted as indicative of the *mental rigidity* popularly associated with middle-aged and elderly people. There is little evidence from studies of middle-aged people that such is the case. Rather, the evidence points more in the direction of *values*. Middle-aged people have discovered, from experi-

ence, what gives them satisfaction, and they see little reason to change just for the sake of change. Desmond has explained the matter in this way (24):

Middle age is the period of synthesis. Neither green nor overripe, middle age can weld together its past experiences into a meaningful whole. . . . Middle age is not so much "settled" as matured. It can change, but will not without good cause. . . . Middle age isn't interested in newness for the sake of newness, or in learning tricks for the sake of learning new tricks. The alleged inflexibility of middle age is really quite often a subtle protest against futile change for change's sake. Patterns of life established in the twenties and thirties can be altered if there is sufficient motivation. . . . There is less expending of self on meaningless frivolities. There is in middle life a search for satisfying relationships with others and between one's self and destiny.

That middle-aged people can and do develop new interests when they find the old ones no longer satisfying or possible to pursue because of the changes in health and living patterns is well illustrated in the growing numbers of middle-aged men and women who enroll in adult education classes throughout the country or who join cultural groups within their communities. It is also illustrated in the development of new hobbies and even skills to make it possible to shift to new vocations (59,75,81).

Types of Change

Not only is there a tendency to narrow down the range of interests with age, but there is also a tendency to shift the empha-

sis on already-present interests. There is a tendency to shift from interests that require greater expenditure of energy and more social contacts to those that are not physically so strenuous and are more solitary in form. For example, interest in sports, dancing, and other active recreations decreases, while interest in more cultural pursuits such as reading, art, and attending lectures increases (4,31,37,39). Interest in love, courtship, and marriage, so strong in the latter part of adolescence and the early years of adulthood, decreases as individuals reach the fifties. Interest in a philosophy of life, on the other hand, is slight in adolescence but becomes one of the dominant interests of middle age (89). See Figure 10-3, page 541.

There are also less marked sex differences in interests during middle age than during the earlier years of adulthood. With both sexes, there is a tendency toward increased femininity of interests throughout maturity, with a peak coming in the later years of life. Masculinity in men is associated with active and mechanical pursuits and with indifference to artistic and cultural pursuits, pursuits which characterize feminine women. With middle age, the shift to cultural pursuits, characteristic of both men and women, is due partly to age and partly to the greater length of married life together (38,69,90). Figure 12-8 shows the shift to femininity of interests with age.

Patterns of interests are fairly well stabilized by the mid-fifties. Approximately 50 percent of shifts and changes occur between thirty-five and fifty-five, with the other 50 percent taking place in early adulthood, between twenty-five and thirty-five years. After the mid-fifties, there is little or no change in interests except a further narrowing down of interests already established (7,24,31,88,90).

Areas of Interest

Of the many interests of different individuals in middle age, the following are the most common: appearance and clothes; money; status symbols; religion; community affairs; recreations; and social interests and activities.

APPEARANCE AND CLOTHES Interest in appearance, which begins to wane after marriage, especially during the early years of parenthood, intensifies with the appearance of the external physical changes which accompany advancing age. Men and women try to put a stop to these changes or to hide them from others. Sagging chins are reduced by diet, massage, and chin straps; bulges under the eyes are covered up with makeup if massage or plastic surgery does not eliminate them; gray hair is touched up or dyed; flabby muscles in the arms and trunks are reduced with diet or massaged to harden them; weight is taken off by diet or by massage and exercise, which break up the fat deposits in areas where fat tells the person's age most quickly; and more cosmetics than the younger adult needs are used to hide the wrinkles and sallow skin which come with advancing age. Because of these forms of camouflage, many middle-aged men and women of today appear to be younger than they actually are (72,79,94, 98).

For men, creating the illusion of being younger than they are is a business asset, as is true of the unmarried career woman or the married woman who wants to work when her home duties lessen. The married woman who has no work outside the home likewise is interested in covering up telltale signs of aging to avoid looking older than her husband, to satisfy her own vanity, to

ward off the hypercritical remarks of adolescent children, and to help her establish herself as a leader in community activities. Middle- and upper-class men and women are, on the whole, more interested in retaining a youthful appearance than are those of the lower classes where appearance plays a less important role in their work or social lives (35,40,72,98).

Middle-aged people are well aware of the fact that *clothes* play an important role in the images they create in the minds of others. As Douty has pointed out, "Clothing may not be consciously perceived but its effect can be just as strong as though it were" (26). Men recognize the importance of clothes and grooming to business success. As they advance toward the peak of achievement in middle age, they are far more clothes-conscious than they were when they were younger and when their status in the business world was lower. Women, by contrast, are less clothes-conscious in middle age than in early adulthood though they, like men, recognize the importance of clothes and grooming to success in both the business and social worlds (26,72,79). Knowing that people admire a "well-preserved" look, they try to achieve this by wearing clothes especially designed to create this illusion (78,79).

Well-adjusted middle-aged men and women become more conservative about their clothes, both in style and color, than do those who rebel against their advancing years (16,79). When adjustment to middle age is poor, as shown by constant rebellion against the changes which are an inevitable accompaniment of aging, interest in clothes is not only intensified but it is concentrated mainly on the selection of clothes which will create the illusion that the individual is younger than he is. Bright colors, extreme styles, and a large wardrobe be-

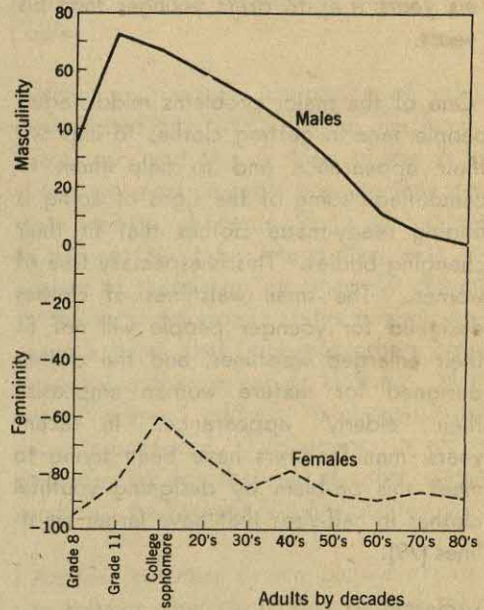


FIGURE 12-8 CHANGES IN INTERESTS WITH AGE, SHOWING A TREND TOWARD INCREASED FEMININITY. (ADAPTED FROM F. K. SHUTTLEWORTH: THE ADOLESCENT PERIOD: A GRAPHIC ATLAS. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develpm.*, 1949, 14, NO. 1. USED BY PERMISSION.)

come as important to the middle-aged man or woman who is trying to defy age as to an adolescent who is mainly interested in attracting the attention of members of his own sex as well as of members of the opposite sex (8,79). As Jersild (45) has pointed out:

There are many ways of trying to look like the person one is not. One may strive to look conspicuously older or younger. The young girl who disapproves of herself as she attempts by make-up and hair-do to play up to an older part, and the older person who cannot accept

his years tries to dress younger than his years.

One of the major problems middle-aged people face in getting clothes to improve their appearance and to help them to camouflage some of the signs of aging is finding ready-made clothes that fit their changing bodies. This is especially true of women. The small waistlines of clothes designed for younger people will not fit their enlarged waistlines, and the clothes designed for mature women emphasize their "elderly" appearance. In recent years, manufacturers have been trying to meet this problem by designing youthful clothes in half-sizes that have larger waistlines (79).

MONEY Unless there are marked demands on him from his children, relatives, or wife, the middle-aged man is less concerned about how much money he earns than he was when he was younger. Stability of work, job satisfaction, and prestige are more important to him than earnings. And because most men in the skilled-artisan field, in business, and in professional fields are reaching the peak of their achievement during middle age, many of the money worries they had when they were younger cease to exist (51,72,94).

For those in the unskilled and semiskilled groups, employment is less stable as the worker becomes middle-aged; in addition, the slowing down of the middle-aged worker's speed as well as the difficulties he has in learning new techniques often make the worker in this group accept jobs at wages below those of his earlier peak years. For him, money becomes a source of real concern (20,63,100).

Poor health, debts carried over from earlier years, or economic responsibilities for

elderly relatives tend to heighten money worries for middle-aged men of all occupational groups, except those whose incomes are more than adequate to meet their needs. And with worry comes a focusing of attention on money.

To the middle-aged woman, money is often a source of greater interest than it is to the man. Not only does she want many of the material possessions, in the form of clothes, a car, and a home with furnishings that will compare favorably with those of her friends or come up to her ideal, but money means security to her. Worry about financial security, stemming from the death or illness of the breadwinner of the family, or from divorce, plagues many middle-aged women of today (70). This source of concern heightens their interest in money. It is one of the common reasons for middle-aged women's return to the labor force. Even if they are not worried about security, they are motivated to take jobs outside the home to enable them to have things they want and to be able to save for old age (4,24,59,63). See pages 719 to 722 for a discussion of women's working outside the home during middle age.

In middle age, there is a change in attitude toward the use of money. A comparison of college students' attitudes toward extravagance and that of men and women in middle age has revealed that the former group considers extravagance less wrong than do members of the older group. Furthermore, the tendency to emphasize the wrong of extravagance increases with advancing age (75). This is illustrated in Figure 1-1, page 4. Whether this change in attitudes is the result of the conservatism that characteristically comes with age or of a different value system that is culturally defined is impossible to say.

STATUS SYMBOLS Because middle-aged people are the "command generation"—the "ruling class that occupies the seats of power, foots the bills and makes the decisions that profoundly affect how the rest of the population will live," they must have status symbols that show others what their status is (94). As Packard has pointed out, "The status arises from the evaluations many people have in the backs of their heads as to the social worth of such things—address, home, etc.—as status symbols" (72).

If, for example, they own two homes, both with fashionable addresses, they are judged as belonging to the highest status level. Should they, on the other hand, live in a double house, a row house, or an old walk-up apartment building where there are cooking odors and garbage in the hallways, they are judged as belonging to one of the lower-class status levels (72).

Although most middle-aged people have known, since their adolescent years, how important a role status symbols play in the judgments others make of them, many have been unable to afford these status symbols earlier when the family income was smaller and when the children were a heavy drain on the family budget. When the financial strains of early adulthood lessen, middle-aged people become keenly interested in status symbols. As Packard (72) has explained:

Most of us surround ourselves, wittingly or unwittingly, with status symbols we hope will influence the raters appraising us, and which we hope will establish some social distance between ourselves and those we consider below us. The vigorous merchandising of goods as status symbols by advertisers is playing a major role in intensifying status consciousness. Emo-

tionally insecure people are most vulnerable.

While any material possession of value can be used as a status symbol, the family home, car, and the clothing of the individual are most valuable because they are most visible. A home that "adequately reinforces the status image they wish to project of themselves" is generally chosen as the most important status symbol, because a home that impresses others costs much more than a car or clothing. If it has a "proper" address, its status-symbol value is enhanced. Furthermore, it offers opportunities for the use of other status symbols. As Packard (72) has pointed out:

Another common device people employ to enhance their class status through their homes is to add casual but obviously costly touches. . . . The air-conditioner is cherished in many areas as an obviously costly, status-enhancing touch. It has two features of special interest, whatever its utilitarian value, from the standpoint of status enhancement. First, it is still uncommon enough in homes in most areas to provoke conversation. And, second, evidence of its presence can be seen by outsiders passing the home.

The more anxious the individual is to move up the social ladder, the more important status symbols become. When social mobility is accompanied by moving into a new neighborhood or a new community, status symbols are used by neighbors and business associates to appraise the individual before accepting or rejecting him. Thus, they become even more important than they are for those who are more static. In addition, the more status symbols the individual has, especially those that are

visible, the better his chance of gaining acceptance (72).

When the family income is inadequate to provide the status symbols the middle-aged person craves, many wives go to work to earn money for them. While this is not the only reason for becoming vocationally active in middle age, it is one of the important reasons for many women who are faced with the "empty-nest" problem (59, 63, 68, 102). This matter will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

RELIGION Interest in religion, as a rule, becomes stronger rather than weaker as middle age advances. Middle-aged men and women show a greater interest in the church and its activities than they did when they were younger, though this interest may be for reasons other than religious. This is suggested by the facts that they are less regular in church attendance than they were in the earlier years of adulthood and that there are fewer religious rituals in the home except at holiday seasons when the celebrations tend to be more social than religious in nature (10, 72).

With increase in free time as home and parental responsibilities decrease, many middle-aged people, especially women, find that religious activities fill their needs, whether these needs be religious or social (4, 38, 39, 59). How they fill their needs will vary, however, according to their social-class status. Members of the lower social classes participate less in church-related activities though they usually attend church services more regularly than do those of the middle and upper classes. In fact, church attendance is one of the few community activities they engage in (37, 38). By contrast, members of the middle and upper social groups usually attend church services less regularly, except for impor-

tant holiday celebrations, but they are more active in religious organizations (72, 73).

Among middle-aged people who are socially mobile, both church attendance and participation in religious organizations is more pronounced. Furthermore, they often join a church that has a prestige status in the community in the hopes of improving their chances of being accepted by the groups with which they hope to be identified. As Packard (72) has pointed out:

In earlier days, people who moved to a new community typically chose the church that came closest to harmonizing with their own doctrinal viewpoint. . . . Today, the doctrinal meaning of joining a particular church is far less important in the decision than the social or business meaning.

Clinging to their earlier denominational affiliations could be a barrier in their attempt to move up the social ladder (72).

However, social-status reasons are, by no means, the only reasons middle-aged people have for their interest in religion, nor are they necessarily dominant reasons: often they are only incidental. In many cases, the narrowing of interests and the shift in emphasis on different interests that characterize middle age result in religion's filling a need in the middle-aged person's life to replace interests that are no longer dominant.

Unquestionably, many middle-aged men and women find in religion a source of comfort and happiness they never experienced in the religion of their younger years. On the whole, middle-aged people are less worried by religious questions, less dogmatic in their beliefs, less sure that

there is only one true religion, and more skeptical about the devil and hell in after-life and about miracles than are college students. They are not "religiously disturbed" at this time in their lives (16,75).

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS Middle age is the time for service. By then, the average man is well established in his chosen line of work, and the average woman's home responsibilities have decreased. As a result, more time can be given to community affairs, whether in the form of serving on committees, on church or professional boards, or in leadership roles in different community organizations. In addition, most middle-aged people have more money available to spend for memberships in different clubs and lodges than they had earlier (4,39,59).

Studies of civic and political participation have revealed a pattern of emerging responsibility and activity throughout the early years of adulthood, a maintenance of activity on a plateau for a period of time, followed by constriction of activity and voluntary relinquishment of responsibility (see Figure 10-6, page 553 and Figure 12-9). This does not come until the latter part of middle age or even as late as old age. Civic participation increases in the early forties and then begins to decline (61,76).

During middle age, participation in different formal community groups may be for recreational purposes, for community service, for the welfare of others, for professional advancement, or for cultural advancement. The individual may, for example, serve on the school board, be active in the church or Red Cross, or he may use the community organization for purely recreational purposes, as in the case of the "Y" or a lodge (30,38,72).

In addition, middle-aged people are more interested in politics than are younger adults. Political activity in the form of voting, reading and discussing politics, and sending telegrams increases up to the fifties and is maintained until the sixties before declining. In the case of both civic and political activity, the age at which the decline begins is related to the amount of initiative and energy involved in the activity (95).

How much participation there will be in different types of community organizations and the form it will take will vary greatly according to the social-class status of the individual. Those who come from the middle and upper classes tend, on the whole, to be more active than do those of the lower social classes (62). This holds true for both men and women (30,38,72).

Middle- and upper-class men and women also are active in more different types of community organizations than are members of the lower classes. Members of the upper and middle classes, for example, belong to more clubs and devote more time to service organizations than do members of the lower classes whose membership is more likely to be limited to recreational clubs and to lodges that promote better relationships with their coworkers (38,62, 72,73).

Even in the same type of community organization, participation differs for members of different social groups. In a study of metropolitan hospital boards, for example, it was found that upper-class women usually have unusual power and prestige on the boards and that, in many cases, their positions on the board have come down from their mothers or some relative. These boards are small in number, socially exclusive, and carry over from year to year. By contrast, middle-class

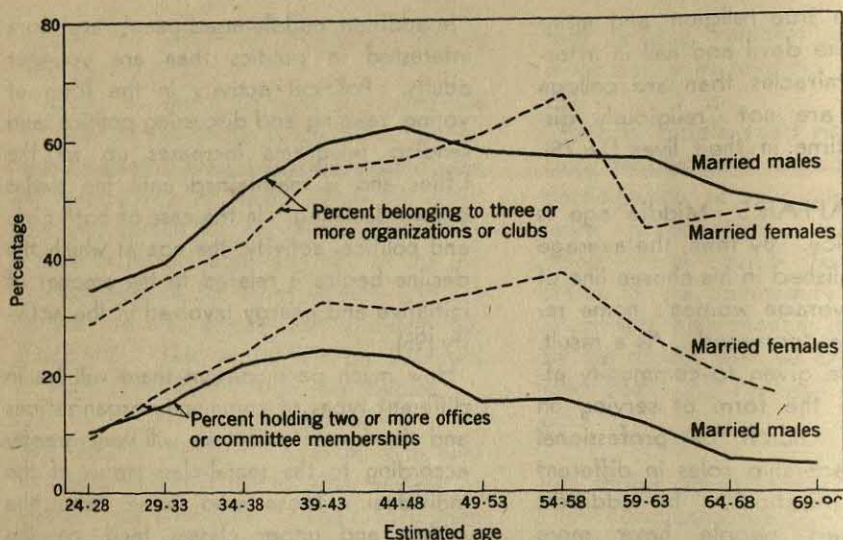


FIGURE 12-9 PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING MIDDLE AGE. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. PRESSEY AND R. G. KUHLEN: *Psychological development during the life span*. NEW YORK: HARPER & ROW, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

women belong to larger, rotating, and more heterogeneous governing bodies whose functions are mainly fund-raising, and they have little power in the management of the hospitals (62).

Reasons for participating in community activities also varies according to the social class of the individual. In the case of men of the upper classes, their purpose is mainly to aid the community and to control the life of the community; the purpose of men of the middle-class group is to prove what "fine, sound-minded, reliable citizens they are" (72). Among middle-class women, the purpose of joining is "primarily to help adapt the woman herself to changes in the family life-cycle in a minimally disturbing way; for the upper class it plays a role of significance to the entire class" (62). For men and women who aspire to move up the social ladder, com-

munity organizations help them not only to meet the people they would like to be identified with but also to show them that they are dedicated to "local uplift" (72).

RECREATIONS One of the major developmental tasks of middle age is learning how to use leisure time in a way to give the individual satisfaction in the changed pattern of his life. There are four conditions that make this adjustment especially difficult. First, the middle-aged person has more time for leisure than he has had since his preschool years. During his school years, there were home responsibilities and extracurricular activities he was expected to add to his work load at school. In early adulthood, parental duties provided little free time for recreation and, what free time there was was usually spent on child-oriented recreations. By middle age, there

is more free time and fewer family obligations, thus giving both men and women more time to spend as they choose.

Second, with the shortening of the work-week and with labor-saving devices in the home, the middle-aged person has more time than ever before to devote to recreations. This is true even of the working wife who no longer has to use her free time from her job for child care.

Third, by middle age, most adults are at the peak of their earning capacity, and the drain on the family budget for the care and education of the children has come to an end. And, finally, increased opportunities for different types of recreation, both commercial and noncommercial, have given rise to problems of choice that did not exist in the days when recreational opportunities were more limited in scope (9,72). Figure 12-10 shows the increase in leisure time and money for recreation since the turn of the century.

There are certain predictable changes in recreational interests in middle age. Interest in recreations of a *strenuous type* wanes rapidly in middle age and is replaced by recreations of a quieter, less active sort. For the most part, middle-aged men and women prefer quiet evenings and weekends of reading, radio, and television to sports, picnics, dancing, and other forms of recreation they formerly enjoyed (30,39,81).

There is also a shift from interest in recreations involving groups to those involving only *several* people. When middle-aged people do participate in recreations of a group type, it is usually in connection with some community organization, such as a club, a lodge, a civic or a church group. However, for the most part, they prefer the informal groups where sociability is stressed, and where there are no rules, no

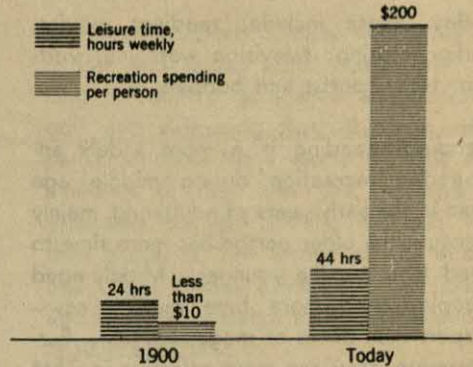


FIGURE 12-10 THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED INCREASE IN LEISURE TIME AND MONEY SINCE THE TURN OF THE CENTURY. (ADAPTED FROM U.S. GOVERNMENT STATISTICS ON RECREATION, 1964. USED BY PERMISSION.)

fixed times, and no organization (15,30,38).

Recreations of middle age tend to be *adult-oriented* rather than family-oriented, as is true of early adulthood. The middle-aged person spends his recreational time with a spouse or other adults without having to plan the activities that can be participated in by the children of the family.

And, finally, there is a *narrowing down* of variety in recreational interests in middle age. From those they formerly engaged in because it was the thing to do or because it was a way of keeping the family together as a unit, there is a tendency for middle-aged people to select the ones that give them the greatest pleasure and to concentrate on them.

COMMON TYPES OF RECREATIONAL INTERESTS There are certain forms of recreation that are universally popular among middle-aged American men and women

today. These include: reading; movies; radio listening; television watching; visiting; trips; sports; and hobbies.

Reading Reading is a more widely engaged-in recreation during middle age than in the early years of adulthood, mainly because the older person has more time to read than has the younger. Middle-aged people spend more time reading newspapers than books or magazines (35). Furthermore, they are more selective in what they read than they were when they were younger. More time is devoted to reading editorials in the newspapers than to reading about sports, crime, or disaster. In books, they prefer history and love stories to science and sports. There is less interest in reading about sex than there was earlier. In fact, middle-aged men are often embarrassed by "dirty" stories and disgusted by sexy jokes (16).

Movies During middle-age, there is less interest in movies than in the earlier years of adulthood and much less than in adolescence. This may be partly because many movies are slanted toward the interests of adolescents and young adults, with their emphasis on romance, and partly because many middle-aged people have lost interest in going to the movies during the years of early adulthood when they were tied down to the home with the responsibilities of parenthood. When they do attend movies, middle-aged people tend to be more selective than younger people (9,31).

Radio Listening Many middle-aged women, alone in the house after years of being accustomed to having children around, turn on the radio to counteract

feelings of loneliness. Because they can listen to the radio while occupied with home chores, they listen to whatever is available when they want to listen. Many men use the radio in their cars when they drive to and from work or when their work takes them on long trips. When given a choice of programs, both men and women tend to prefer a better type than they did when they were younger (31,38).

Television Watching Watching television often has greater appeal for middle-aged people than for younger people because the former have more free time to watch, and it requires less effort than going to the movies. As age advances, television watching becomes one of the favorite recreational activities.

The amount of time spent in television watching, however, is markedly influenced by the educational and socioeconomic status of the individual. It appeals more to those of the lower than to those of the higher socioeconomic groups (2,9,38).

"Visiting" "Visiting" or socializing with neighbors, friends, or relatives is a popular form of recreation among middle-aged people, especially among women who experience greater loneliness than do men. This socializing may take place over the telephone, on the street, over the garden fence, in the supermarket, in the home, or at meetings of different community organizations. It is almost always limited to members of the same sex.

Men do most of their socializing in taverns, clubs, lodges, and with other men in the neighborhood or on their way to and from work. Most socializing is limited to talking, though some of it is accompanied by card playing, sewing, drinking coffee

together, or having simple refreshments. Men tend to do most of their socializing over a drink or a smoke (9,30,38,72,81).

Trips Day, weekend, or vacation trips, in the car, by bus, plane, or train, become a more common form of recreation in middle age when the children of the family are grown than when they were younger. These trips may be to visit friends or relatives, for fishing or some sport, for sight-seeing, or merely for the sake of getting away from the routine of daily living.

With the freedom from home and parental responsibilities that comes with middle age and with increased income, many middle-aged people do more traveling around than they were ever before able to do. Women find that this helps to relieve some of the loneliness that comes when the home empties, and men find it relieves the tensions that come from their work (30,38,59,72,81).

Sports Sports appeal much more to men than to women in middle age, just as they did in adolescence and early adulthood. However, their interest is in less strenuous sports, such as water sports—fishing, boating, and swimming—hunting, bowling, and golfing. Increasingly more time is spent in going to sporting events as spectators as age advances, or in watching sporting events over television. Most participation in sports as a player or in watching sporting events is with other men.

By the time women reach middle age, they spend relatively little time on sports either as active or passive participants. This is especially true of women of the lower and lower-middle classes. While some may join bowling teams for social contacts, their interest is more in socializa-

tion than in sports. Many women of the middle and upper social classes who belong to country clubs show an interest in golf and swimming but, like men, their participation in these sports is mainly with members of their own sex. Except for attending college athletic matches with their husbands, few women of the middle and upper classes attend sporting events and even fewer watch them over television (9,30,38,69,72,81).

Hobbies Hobbies become a popular form of recreation among many middle-aged people. For men whose work does not absorb their interest, time, and attention, a hobby is a form of compensation; for those whose work is all-absorbing, hobbies are a form of relaxation. Men who fail to develop hobbies before middle age ends usually have more difficulty in adjusting to retirement in old age than do those who have developed hobbies which can fill the gap left by their former jobs. Men who are most successful in business have been found to have more hobbies than those who are less successful.

Women not only have more hobbies than do men throughout the adult years but there is also a greater variability in their hobbies than in those of men. For the most part, the hobbies of middle-aged people are of a constructional nature, including such activities as gardening, sewing, painting, cooking, woodwork, "do-it-yourself" carpentry, photography, or looking after the lawn (9,16,30,38).

Collections are a favorite hobby for those who are financially able to engage in this form of recreation. The objects collected generally have some intrinsic value, such as stamps, *objects d'art*, pictures, fine needlework and lace, or jewelry. They thus serve

as status symbols. As Packard (72) has pointed out:

The status strivers seek out goods for home decoration that can be pointed to as hand wrought. . . . The display given, in upper-class homes, to man-blown glassware is a case in point. . . . The family with a large, well-read library is indeed a family of high intellectual attainment, and at least some affluence.

Another favorite hobby of middle-aged people consists of "taking courses" in subjects which interest them and which are of cultural rather than vocational value. Much of the interest in adult education on the part of middle-aged people, especially middle-aged women, falls into this category. Although it is true that many take courses to bring their vocational skills up to date, many do so for the enjoyment they get from the intellectual stimulation and the opportunities for social contacts to eliminate some of the loneliness they experience when their children leave home (24,59,68).

VARIATIONS IN RECREATIONAL INTERESTS

There are social-class and sex differences in recreational interests during middle age. However, these differences are more pronounced in middle age than they are earlier. Studies of social-class differences in recreations have shown that members of the upper middle class devote much of their recreational time to such formal associations as clubs and community activities, to participation in sports, to gardening, especially the raising of flowers, and to reading. Members of the lower middle class and the lower social classes, on the other hand, favor manual-manipulative ac-

tivities in which they make things they can use, watching television, and fishing.

Those of the lower lower social class do little reading, spend most of their recreational time visiting relatives and neighbors. When they garden, it is usually to raise vegetables (9,38,81). How marked social-class differences in recreation among men are has been described thus by Havighurst (38):

An upper-middle-class man in his forties spends his leisure as follows: he attends a luncheon club once a week; he plays golf in season and perhaps handball; he spends a good deal of time on week-ends looking after his lawn and caring for his shrubs and flowers. The upper-lower-class man of the same age goes fishing on week ends and on vacations; he works around the house a great deal, redecorating it and adding a new room at the back; he watches television several hours each evening and on week ends when he is not doing something else.

There are also more marked sex differences in recreational interests in middle age than there were in the earlier years of adulthood. Men of all social classes concentrate more of their recreational time on sports than do women, especially as spectators at different athletic contests; they enjoy fishing and boating, and they spend some of their time on gardening and manual-manipulative tasks, such as carpentry and home repairs.

Women, on the other hand, have greater interest in formal and informal associations with other people than have men, they devote more time to reading than men do, and their motor-manipulative tasks are more artistic than utilitarian in nature. No

marked sex differences have been reported in radio listening or television watching during middle age (9,38).

Regardless of sex or social status, what satisfaction middle-aged people get from their recreations is influenced by their needs and their personalities. Their enjoyment comes from activities that provide a welcome change from work, that bring them in contact with people, especially friends, that give them new experiences, that enable them to feel that they are learning something new or are able to be creative, and that give them a sense of achievement (25).

SOCIAL INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

Middle age often brings with it a renewed interest in social life. As the responsibilities of the family decrease and as the economic status of the family improves, men and women are in a position to engage in more social activities than was possible during the early years of adulthood when family responsibilities and adjustment to work made an active social life impossible. For many middle-aged people, but especially for women, social life is a compensation for the loneliness they experience when their children grow up and go into homes of their own (56,59,68,94).

In some middle-aged men and women, especially those who married young and were deprived of the social experiences their unmarried contemporaries enjoyed, there is a craving for parties and a desire to be "on the go" all the time. Popularity, as expressed in a large number of friends and acquaintances, in constant calls from these friends and acquaintances, in invitations to do things together, and in being a member of many organizations and in serving on many committees is as

important to them as to the adolescent. Often there is a tendency to engage in flirtations with members of the opposite sex and a preoccupation with dress and grooming, in the hopes of appearing younger and more attractive than they are or than their contemporaries are.

For such middle-aged people, this is a "dangerous age." It is "dangerous" because the individual frequently breaks up the established pattern of family life, seeks adventure and excitement outside the home, and neglects his work and family. (See page 677 for a more complete discussion of the "dangerous age.")

By contrast, middle-aged people who are happy in their work and home lives are more moderate in their social interests, though they, too, broaden their social contacts and engage in more social activities than was possible during the early years of adulthood. However, their social activities are limited mainly to members of their own sex except for evening and weekend parties when husbands and wives participate in activities with other married couples (4,72).

Studies of the social activities of middle-aged people have revealed that these activities reach their peak in the late forties and early fifties and then begin to decline as the individual reaches the sixties. Declining energy at that time puts a stop to a too active social life. Furthermore, popularity bought by entertaining, large expenditures for status symbols, and work on different committees in community organizations loses its appeal as the individual looks ahead to retirement and decreased income.

As a result, there is a tendency to settle down to the home circle and to spend most of the time with the family, intimate

friends, and the children's newly established families (24,56,58,76). Refer to Figure 12-9, page 702 for a graphic illustration of the decline in participation in formal organizations in the community as middle age progresses.

SOCIAL-CLASS DIFFERENCES The pattern of social participation is markedly influenced by the social-class status of the individual. Those of higher status are more active during middle age than are those of the lower-status groups, most of whom belong to few community groups, attend meetings seldom or never, and have few friends except their immediate neighbors. Most of their social contacts are with family members. Like many older people, they are "socially isolated" (5,24,37).

Among members of the middle and upper classes, by contrast, there is no sharp decrease in social activities during middle age though, as has been pointed out earlier, there is a gradual decrease as the individual approaches the sixties. Should, however, widowhood or economic problems occur, the individual may be forced to play new roles in the social group. Even with decline in physical strength and energy, there is not likely to be a marked change in the roles the individual plays in social life unless the attitudes of the members of the social group with which he is identified are unfavorable toward him because of his advancing age (37,39).

Social-class differences in social behavior in middle age are illustrated in the way people entertain guests in their homes. As Packard (72) has pointed out:

Ideas about what constitutes a good party vary from class to class. At the upper-class level, the cliques tend to prefer a good deal of relaxed informality, with the

emphasis on sociability laced with whiskey rather than show. Food typically is offered casually. . . . Other parties at this level are carried on with quiet decorum. . . . Publicity, in the newspapers, in either case is not sought. It is considered a sign of social weakness to seek publicity. . . . At the semi-upper-class level, members of the cliques frequently are trying to prove something, and it shows. More thought and effort go into decorations and food preparation. . . . The hostess will often see to it that news about her party will somehow reach the attention of the local society editor. Clique parties in homes of the still lower limited-success class are likely to be even more decorous, if less ostentatious. These are the people who show the greatest fondness for church suppers, and when they have parties at their homes prefer the same type of festivity. Frequently, . . . each couple will bring a dish. They call it "potluck," but when the hostess gets around to writing her piece for the local paper, . . . it will become a "covered dish party." At the working-class level, most of the socializing is done with siblings, siblings-in-law, or very near neighbors, and is quite random. The parties are often spur-of-the-moment affairs. . . . The real-lower-class people depend even more than the working class on relatives for companionship. Their idea of festivity is to idle on Main Street Saturday nights, chatting with people they know, or to congregate in the taverns.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS IN MIDDLE AGE

Social adjustments at every age are determined by two factors: first, how adequately the individual plays the role in the social group that the group expects him to play and, second, how much personal satisfac-

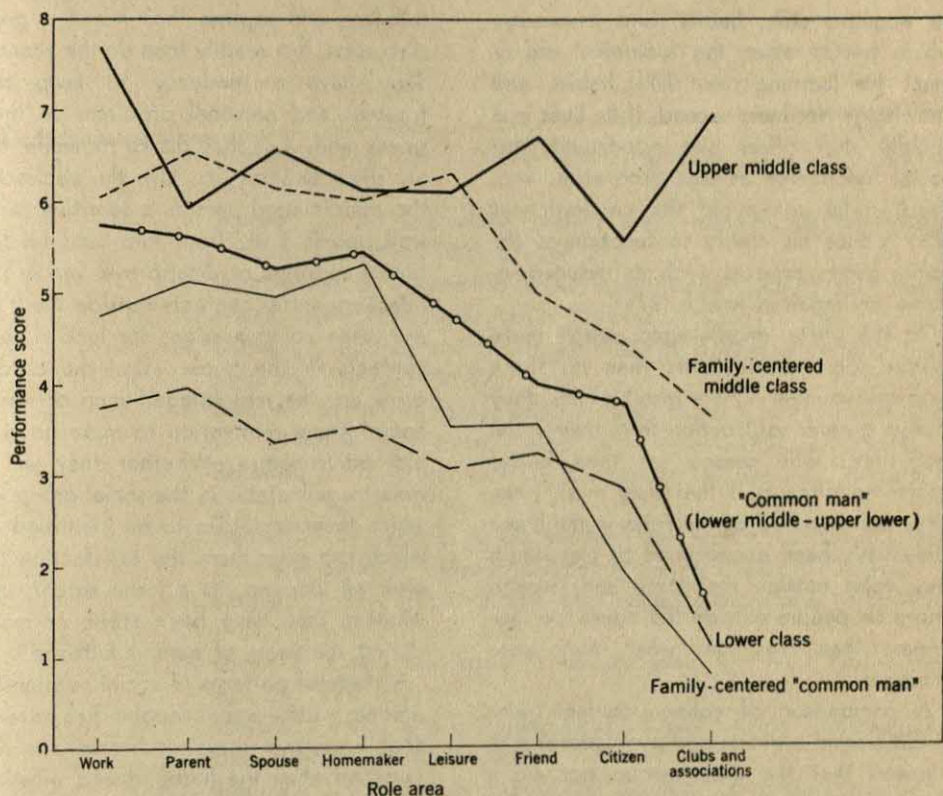


FIGURE 12-11 THE DIFFERENT SOCIAL ROLES THE MIDDLE-AGED PERSON IS EXPECTED TO PLAY AND SOCIAL-CLASS DIFFERENCES IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THESE ROLES. (ADAPTED FROM R. J. HAVIGHURST: THE SOCIAL COMPETENCE OF MIDDLE-AGED PEOPLE. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1957, 56, 297-375. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tion he derives from playing this role. As has been emphasized before, one of the important developmental tasks for middle-aged people in the American culture today is to achieve civic and social responsibility (35). Figure 12-11 shows the different social roles the middle-aged person is expected to play in the American culture and the social-class differences in the performance of these roles.

Whether the individual will be able to do this or not, in spite of the structural decline

that comes with gradual aging, will depend largely on the social attitude toward aging that prevails in the group with which he is identified. Figure 1-8, page 17, shows how structure and function are closely related up to the age of forty years. After that age, functioning can surpass structure only if the social group permits it (37).

Havighurst has pointed out the three conditions under which a middle-aged person can function socially above the level of his biological equipment. These are: *first*, if

he acquires skills, habits, and knowledge which persist after the biological equipment for learning new skills, habits, and knowledge declines; second, if he lives in a society that offers him opportunity for social functioning as age progresses; and, third, if he can avoid the circumstances that reduce his ability to function as the social group expects, such as reduced income or impaired health (37).

On the whole, middle-aged people make better social adjustments than do those who are younger. As a result of this, they derive greater *satisfaction* from their social activities. The reason for their better social adjustments is that they must, when they are deprived of the roles in the home they have been accustomed to play, learn new roles outside the home and depend more on people outside the home for happiness than they did when they were younger.

A comparison of college students with middle-aged business and professional men showed that the older group got along better with their relatives than did the younger, but they found loud parties and crowds less attractive than did the younger. Putting on a stunt in a group makes them uncomfortable and they often refuse to play a game in which they are not at home (16).

The older individuals are less outgoing,

talk less, and express their views in group discussions less readily than do the younger. They have a tendency to keep their troubles and personal problems to themselves, and when they dislike someone, they are discreet about it. Like the adolescent, the middle-aged person is sensitive to the way people feel about him, and he feels group approval or disapproval keenly (15).

Because social contacts outside the home are often compensations for lack of social contacts in the home after the children grow up, the middle-aged man or woman has a strong motivation to make good social adjustments. Whether they will be able to gain status in the social group with which they would like to be identified and which can give them the satisfaction they seek will depend, to a large extent, upon whether they have been static or mobile during the years of early adulthood.

A study of patterns of social relationships among middle-aged couples has revealed that close-knit social networks are most common when the husband and wife have grown up and lived in the same area. Loose social networks, by contrast, are more common among those who have been mobile. This is especially true of middle-class social mobility, in which the couple has moved up the social ladder because of the economic success of the husband (99).

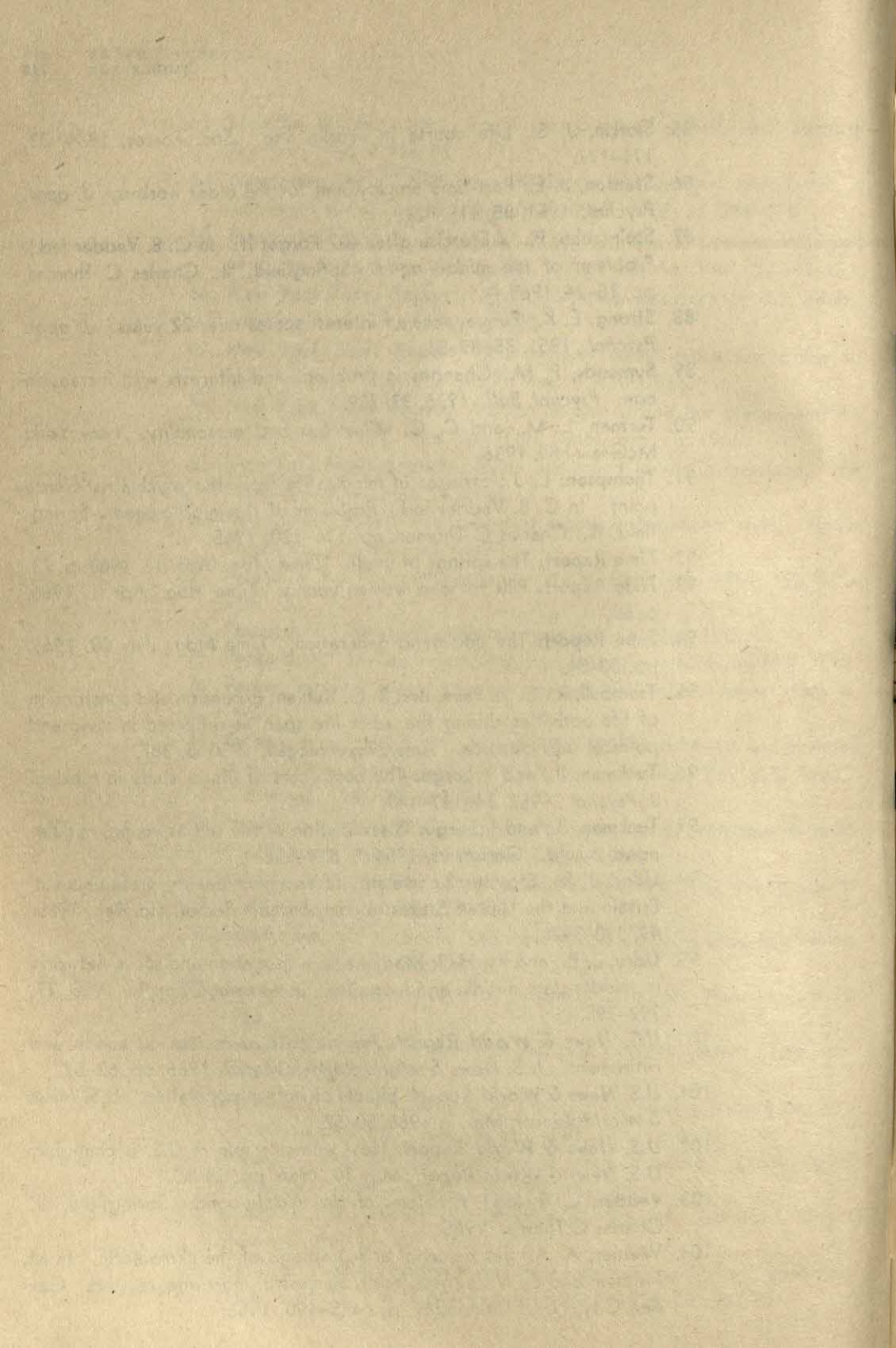
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Difficult as are the adjustments the middle-aged person must make to the social expectations described in the preceding chapter, adjustments that center around work and the family are even more difficult. This is true in early adulthood, but to a lesser degree than in middle age. Establishing and maintaining an economic standard of living grow increasingly difficult with the rapid changes in the American economy that have been taking place in recent years and with the increased use of automation that often throws middle-aged persons out of work. They find that the jobs for which their training and experience have fitted them no longer exist.

Equally difficult are adjustments to changed patterns of family life. It is never easy to adjust to playing the role of adviser to grown or nearly grown children after many years of playing the parental role of caring for the physical needs of the child and supervising his activities. It is difficult for many middle-aged men and women to relate themselves to their spouses as persons, as they did during the days of courtship and early marriage, after playing the role of coparent for many years while their children were growing up. And perhaps the most difficult of all is adjustment to the care and responsibilities of looking after the welfare of aged parents after years of freedom from any responsibility for them.

For men, problems arising in relation to work present the most serious sources of adjustment, while for women, those aris-

ing from family relationships take precedence over all other adjustment problems. In spite of the fact that most adults have made adjustments of greater or lesser success to these areas during the early years of adulthood, new problems arise at middle age which require a shift of attitude and marked changes in patterns of behavior established earlier.

Furthermore, there is no indication that successful adjustment in the earlier years of adulthood will lead to a lessening of these problems in middle age. A woman who, for example, has adjusted successfully to her role as wife and mother will not be spared the adjustment problems to changed roles in the home as her children grow up and go into homes of their own or as her husband, whose interests change and who is, therefore, less companionable, provides her with little to compensate for her loss of the mother role.

Similarly, the successful businessman is not going to be spared the problems of adjustment to change in status that comes with approaching retirement, nor will he be spared the anxiety stemming from desire to change jobs, or the constant fear that poor health, change in management, or competition with younger workers may necessitate adjustments to a new job or even a period of unemployment.

In addition to these areas of adjustment, the middle-aged person is faced with a totally new problem, that of adjusting to the realization that old age is "just around the corner." And, like all problems for which there has been no previous experience, the adjustment is often difficult and gives rise to strong emotional tension.

Until recently, what emphasis was placed on this area of adjustment was largely limited to achieving financial security. Today, emphasis has shifted to psychological

preparation for old age, which necessitates the recognition and acceptance of the fact that adjustments must be made and that the sooner they are made, the easier it will be. Rebellion against advancing age or refusal to recognize that one is growing old may result in a temporary adjustment of enough success to guarantee temporary satisfaction, but it will mean a major adjustment later on with little time to prepare oneself psychologically for it.

VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENTS

Normally, the height of vocational success for men comes during middle age, in the forties and early fifties. At this time, the worker is not only at the peak of status in the organization with which he is associated, but his income from his work reaches its peak also. This is illustrated in Figure 13-1, which shows the median family income in the United States as reported from the census of 1960. Note that the peak comes between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four years for the head of the family and then starts to decline after that.

On the surface, it would seem that the man's vocational adjustment problems had been solved and that his vocational life should move smoothly until he reaches the age of retirement. This is, of course, sometimes true. But, in a majority of cases, middle age brings with it many new conditions which necessitate new adjustments.

Even when they have achieved status vocationally, many middle-aged men are dissatisfied with their work. Vocational instability in the early forties stems from a number of causes, the most important of which are the general restlessness characteristic of this period of life; the ending of the responsibility for the support of the

children, thus freeing the worker from the burden he has carried for many years; and the realization that he must change now or never if he is dissatisfied with his work (14,119).

Vocational unrest in early middle age has been studied in relation to goals of teachers. Married men, when asked what they would most like to be doing ten years hence, showed a peak in desire to get into other work or to get a different job or promotion in education during the early forties. These desires waned with advancing years to be replaced by a desire to remain in the same job and then retire (77). See Figure 13-2.

Adjustment Problems of Women

The vocational adjustment problems of middle age are as serious for women today as for men, if not more so. In recent years, there has been a growing tendency for women over thirty-five years of age to work outside the home. Some hold a job for the first time in middle age, while others return to jobs similar to those they held before or during the early years of marriage (45,106,122,158). Figure 13-3 shows the percentages of men and women of different ages at work today.

At the present time, approximately 46 percent of women in the thirty-five- to forty-four-year bracket are working and 51 percent in the forty-five- to fifty-four-year bracket. This compares with 29 percent for the younger age group and 24 percent of the older group prior to World War II. In one Social Security study, it was found that, of the people retiring at sixty-two years of age, there was only four years' difference in the average time worked by women as compared with men (158).



FIGURE 13-1 THE PEAK OF FAMILY INCOME COMES IN MIDDLE AGE. (ADAPTED FROM Report of President's Council on Aging. WASHINGTON, D.C.: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

That no letup in this trend is expected is shown by the forecast by the Labor Department that, by 1980, at least 60 percent of all women aged forty-five to fifty-four years will be working. It is further estimated that the rate of increase in women workers between now and 1970 will be almost twice that of men (158). As Mueller (158) has pointed out:

If we were to look for the one person most affected by the social changes of the last quarter century, we would find her to be the married woman of 35 to 45, whose family no longer demands most of her time and who feels the push and pull toward employment.

There are many reasons for the growing increase in the numbers of middle-aged women who are working outside the home. Simpler homemaking and labor-saving de-

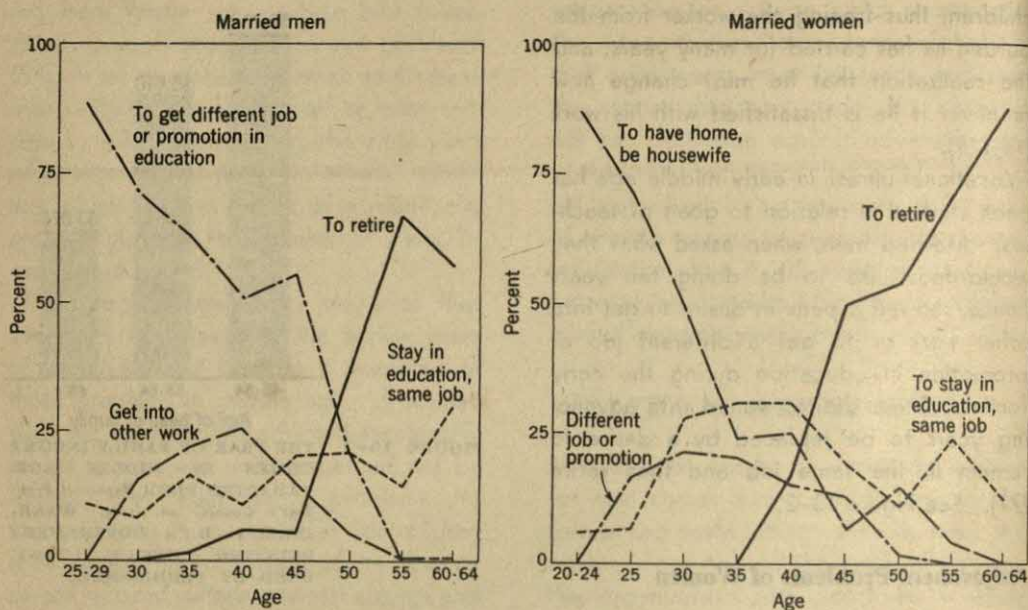


FIGURE 13-2 AGE TRENDS IN GOALS OF MARRIED TEACHERS. (ADAPTED FROM R. G. KUHLEN AND G. H. JOHNSON: CHANGES IN GOALS WITH ADULT INCREASING AGE. *J. consult. Psychol.*, 1952, 16, 1-4. USED BY PERMISSION.)

vices make it possible for them to take care of their homes in a fraction of the time formerly needed. The trend toward earlier marriages, earlier childbearing, and smaller families means that women's parental responsibilities end often before they reach middle age. When the children go away to college, enter the armed forces, or marry, the woman is free to spend her time as she pleases. Because she is lonely and restless, she has less desire to remain at home as a homemaker than she did when the children were there (45, 77, 158).

The high cost of living and the increased desire for a better standard of living and more status symbols mean that most families need more money than the husband can earn. As Mueller has pointed out, in discussing the reason for the middle-aged

woman's going to work outside the home, "She is not so much discontented as restless, and she feels a need to earn money. She knows that she has knowledge, skills, energy and experience which could make her life more interesting and herself a more useful citizen" (158).

As the life expectancy of American women today approaches seventy-five years, and as many women complete their parental duties by the early to mid-forties, the "empty-nest" problem is becoming increasingly more prevalent and serious. As has been stressed in the Report of President's Council on Aging, "Among women, non-economic needs for work [as opportunities to be useful, to feel needed, and to keep busy at constructive activities] become important in their middle years when child-rearing and homemaking re-

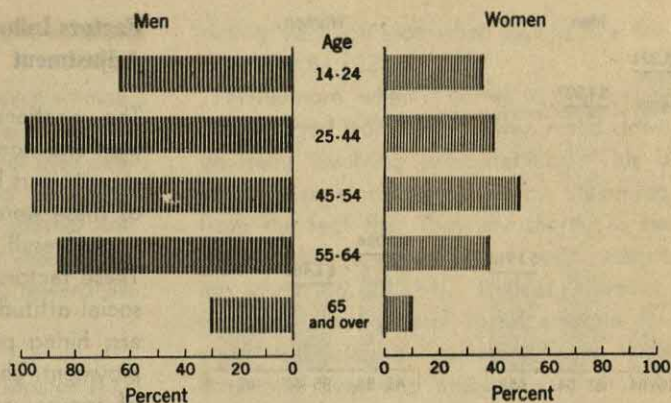


FIGURE 13-3 PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN OF DIFFERENT AGES WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED. (ADAPTED FROM *Report of President's Council on Aging*. WASHINGTON, D.C.: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

sponsibilities lessen" (122). Furthermore, as many young women drop out of the labor force for marriage and child rearing, business and industry are using middle-aged women in increasing numbers to fill their needs (45,102,158).

As the number of middle-aged women in business and industry increases, so do their adjustment problems. One of the major problems is "full equality" with men in hiring, promotion, and salary. Most women, regardless of their training and ability, find it more difficult to get jobs and to be promoted in the jobs they get than do men. This is true in all except "women's fields," such as elementary school teaching, nursing, and beauty culture where competition with men is almost nonexistent (158).

Equality in income for work done and recognition are also serious adjustment problems (122,158). Figure 13-4 shows the median income for men and women during middle age, as reported by the 1960 cen-

sus. Note the marked discrepancy between the median personal incomes for men and women at all ages in middle as well as in old age. A study of the listings of men and women in *Who's Who* has revealed a predominance of men. This is not because women have less ability but rather because women find it difficult or impossible to rise above the lower levels in the areas from which the listings for distinctive achievement are drawn, such as politics, management in business and industry, engineering, and other areas of occupation valued by men (129).

Unemployment during middle age is a serious adjustment problem for both men and women. This will be discussed later in more detail. It is especially serious for women because they are usually the first to be laid off when there is a period of business recession or when there is a change in management, and they find it far more difficult to get a new job than does a man in the same situation (122,158).

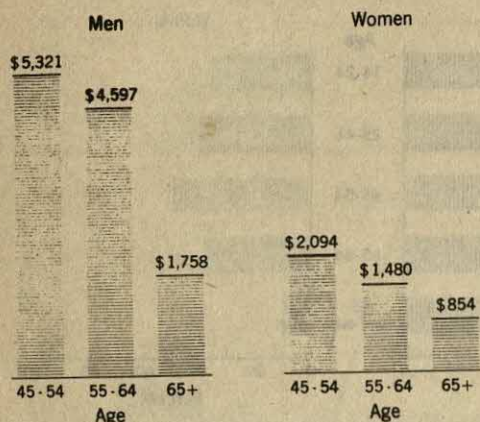


FIGURE 13-4 MEDIAN PERSONAL INCOME OF MEN AND WOMEN AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM *Report of President's Council on Aging*. WASHINGTON, D.C.: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

Because of these conditions, many middle-aged women not only find less satisfaction in their work than they would, were conditions more favorable to them, but they show a decrease in desire to remain in the same job or to get another job as middle age advances. In the study of teachers, referred to above, many of the married women teachers, in contrast to the married men teachers, began to be anxious to retire nearly ten years earlier than the men. In addition, the desire for retirement is stronger in them than in men. See Figure 13-2. Much the same pattern of attitudes toward their work was shown by unmarried women teachers (see Figure 11-15, page 646). While it is true that this study was limited to teachers, there is reason to believe that similar attitudes toward work are characteristic of most middle-aged women (77).

Factors Influencing Vocational Adjustment

The vocational adjustments of middle-aged men and women have been complicated in recent years by a number of factors. Most of these were not present in the past and are a result of modern life in America. These factors are: the increasing life span; social attitudes toward middle-aged workers; hiring policy; change of jobs; unemployment; changes in work conditions; role of spouse; compulsory retirement; decline in self-employment; dominance of large business, and vocational migration.

INCREASING LIFE SPAN As was pointed out earlier (see pages 671-672), middle age is a new phenomenon for the majority of the population. Up to the beginning of the present century, the life expectancy for the average American was forty-five years. Only about 10 percent of the entire population ever experienced middle age. Today, approximately 80 percent of the population lives to be at least sixty years old and the average age of men and women in the labor force is now forty-five years. By 1980, it is predicted that over 50 percent of the population will be over forty-five, thus increasing the vocational adjustment problems for a greater number of people (45,122,134).

This means that most men and women will be working throughout middle age. Being satisfied with the work they do will become a problem of major importance for them. If they remained in work that was not to their liking during the early years of adulthood because of family responsibilities, they will realize that with the lessening of family responsibilities they are free to change, and that this change must be made soon or it will be too late to get

another job or to enter a new line of work (76,119).

Many middle-aged men, and even women, feel "trapped" in a line of work that is not to their liking but which they feel they cannot leave because of the long period of training needed to change to another line of work. As one middle-aged man, when interviewed about his attitudes toward his work put it (151):

Sure I feel trapped. Why shouldn't I? Twenty-five years ago, a dopey 18-year-old college kid made up his mind that I was going to be a dentist. So now here I am, a dentist. I'm stuck. What I want to know is: who told that kid he could decide what I was going to do with the rest of my life?

SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD MIDDLE-AGED WORKERS The general attitude toward workers who are in their forties and fifties is unfavorable. It is believed that they are too old to adapt themselves to new methods because of the mental rigidity that is supposed to accompany aging, that they are too slow to keep up to the working pace of younger people, that they fatigue quickly and therefore not only produce less but also make more errors and increase the possibility of accident, and that they are less dependable because of absenteeism due to the more frequent illnesses that are believed to be characteristic of middle-aged people (43,45).

As a result of this generally unfavorable attitude toward middle-aged workers in almost every occupational category, workers over forty-five years of age have fewer employment opportunities than their numerical representation would lead one to expect. This holds true not only for getting new jobs but also for retaining a job

during slack periods when layoffs are frequent (72,81,122).

Furthermore, when it comes to promotion, middle-aged workers are often rated down on items involving promotability. This is often more a matter of policy, stemming from the fact that they are shortly to be retired, than a reflection of their present job worth (86,122,134). It does, however, show how the general social attitude toward middle-aged workers affects their vocational lives and emphasizes their adjustment problems.

In recent years, a number of studies have been made to determine how valid the arguments against the middle-aged worker are and to what extent the generally unfavorable attitude toward employing or promoting middle-aged workers is justified. For the most part, these studies have revealed that middle-aged workers are in many respects superior to younger workers and in other respects are equal to or only slightly inferior to younger workers. In fact, older workers are often undervalued (45,86,122).

In work where experience is important, they are superior to younger workers. In addition, they have been found to be better in attendance, conscientiousness, and steadiness than are younger workers (23). For part-time work, especially in the case of women, as in department stores during the rush seasons, older workers are not only available for longer periods of time but they want to work. As a result, they are happier and shift less than do younger workers (27,28,134,158). As Bowers (23) has pointed out,

Quite evidently, workers should be employed and retained on the basis of merit without reference to age. Biases and misconceptions limiting the use of older per-

sons should be replaced by facts. Oldsters can maintain productivity, thus making an extended productive life worthwhile, strengthening manpower resources, and lessening possible economic burdens resulting from dependency of large numbers of nonproductive older persons.

Middle-aged workers may not show as much initiative or get along as well with other workers as do those who are younger, but this is compensated for by their greater conscientiousness (86,116). Even in lines of work where it was formerly believed that only young men could qualify, as in the case of airplane pilots, there has been a tendency in recent years to use an increasing number who are middle-aged, for their ability to pass the rigid medical tests required for such work has been far greater than was formerly believed possible. In addition, they have been found to perform on the job as well as younger pilots (90,131).

HIRING POLICY Since World War I, but especially since the depression of the twenties, there has been a widespread policy in business and industry to hire only younger people (45,122,125). This is done partly because of the widespread belief that maximum productivity can be achieved best by hiring and by training younger workers and partly to minimize the expense the organization must carry for retirement pensions. As Meltzer has pointed out, "The increase in the prevalence of pension systems may add to the security of people in plants which have them, but they also serve to reinforce the trend of shutting out older persons applying for work in these plants" (95).

Middle-aged workers in industry generally have even more difficulty in getting jobs

than have those in business (58,125). Furthermore, because salaries in the lower occupations generally reach their peak earlier, those who do get jobs are usually forced to work for less money than they received when they were younger, a condition that does not contribute to good morale or good adjustment to the work. Professional workers who find difficulties in getting jobs in middle age often work independently as consultants (37,119). Difficulties in getting jobs as age advances for workers in different categories are illustrated in Figure 13-5.

The middle-aged woman who, after bringing up her family, may want to work to supplement the family income or to fill in idle hours, finds the situation even more difficult than men do. Because she has not been working during the earlier years of adulthood, she is unfamiliar with the new methods, even though she may have had training and experience in similar lines of work when she was younger. She finds competition with younger women far stiffer than men do and, as a result, she discovers that getting any job at all, with the exception of work in the domestic or related fields, is almost impossible. During rush seasons, women can usually get part- or full-time work in stores, but getting full-time, permanent jobs, or even part-time work on a permanent basis is very difficult (89,122,134,158).

CHANGE OF JOBS In the early years of adulthood, when a worker is dissatisfied with his job, he can usually find another job more to his liking. As a result, changing jobs is common, even among those in highly specialized fields of industry, business, or the professions. A lawyer, for example, can transfer from one law firm to another or to some business or industry

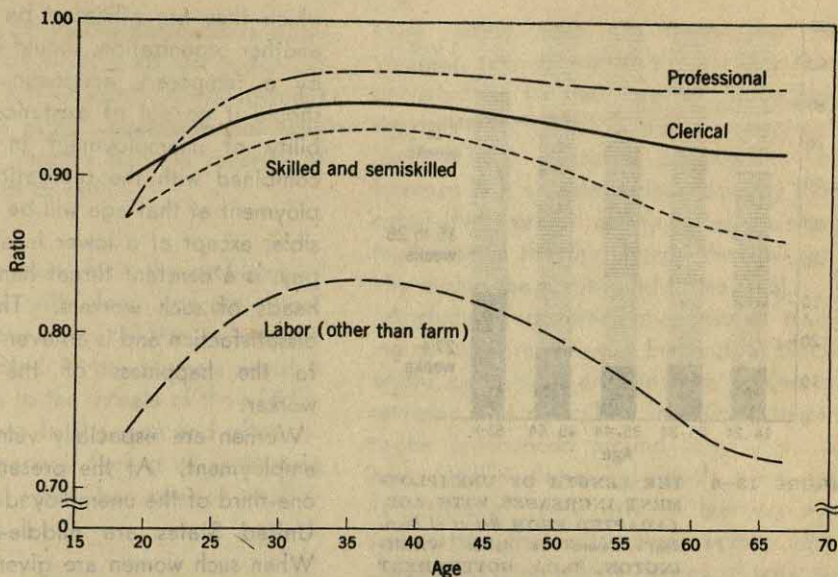


FIGURE 13-5 THE DIFFERENTIAL THREAT OF AGING FOR VARIOUS ECONOMIC GROUPS AS REFLECTED IN AGE TRENDS IN PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. PRESSEY AND R. G. KUHLEN: *Psychological developments through the life span*. NEW YORK: HARPER & ROW, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

that employs lawyers on its staff. Similarly, office workers can go from one office to another, and factory workers from one factory to another factory.

However, changing jobs in middle age, even when the change is to a closely related line of work, is almost impossible. The employment practice, mentioned above, which is designed to take new and young workers on the grounds that their days of usefulness will be greater to their employers than is true of older workers and that even though an older worker may have greater skill, he is less adjustable to new work situations, makes it almost impossible for a middle-aged worker to change jobs (45,47,65).

Knowing how difficult it is to get a new

job, the middle-aged worker who is dissatisfied with his present job feels "trapped." This results in an unfavorable attitude toward himself—a feeling of martyrdom—and toward his work (151). This not only hinders his getting and keeping a new job but it also increases his dissatisfaction with his present job to the point where he may lose it.

UNEMPLOYMENT When teen-age workers or young adults lose their jobs or give them up in the hopes of getting other jobs more to their liking, they can count on getting another job in a relatively short time. This is especially true during periods of economic prosperity. However, with each passing year, getting a new job be-

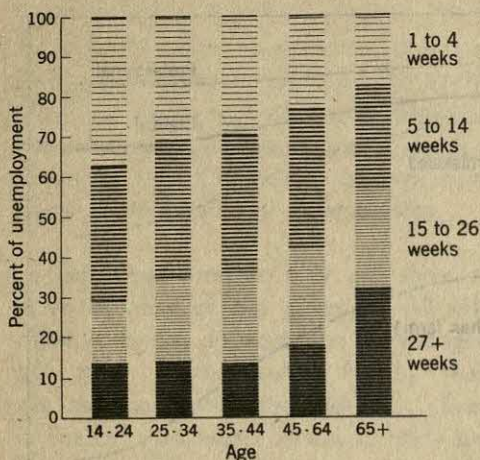


FIGURE 13-6 THE LENGTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASES WITH AGE.
(ADAPTED FROM *Report of President's Council on Aging*. WASHINGTON, D.C.: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1961. USED BY PERMISSION.)

comes increasingly difficult and the period of unemployment grows increasingly longer (122). This is illustrated in Figure 13-6.

Middle-aged workers whose jobs are protected by union membership can be reasonably certain of employment until they reach the compulsory retirement age, regardless of how discontented they may be with their jobs. The unions see to that. But, should a period of depression come when they are middle-aged, the unions cannot keep them on the job. And, because middle-aged workers are regarded as less efficient and, hence, less valuable to their employers, they are usually among the first to be laid off.

Many middle-aged workers in business, industry, and the professions are not unionized. As a result, they are likely to lose their jobs, even in periods of economic prosperity, should the organization with

which they are affiliated be merged with another organization, should it be affected by a temporary economic recession, or should it go out of existence. The possibility of unemployment in middle age, combined with the realization that reemployment at that age will be almost impossible, except at a lower level of work and pay, is a constant threat hanging over the heads of such workers. This causes job dissatisfaction and is an ever-present threat to the happiness of the middle-aged worker.

Women are especially vulnerable to unemployment. At the present time, about one-third of the unemployed workers in the United States are middle-aged women. When such women are given employment, in offices or stores, their work measures up favorably to that of younger women. The difficulty the middle-aged woman has in getting work tends to intensify her adjustment problems. This is especially true of women in the lower-income brackets (100, 159).

At any age, unemployment can be a serious psychological hazard. Knowing the difficulties of getting a new job, the middle-aged person often develops an unfavorable attitude toward himself and toward work. This hinders his getting and keeping a job. Those who have been unemployed for a long time often develop feelings of inadequacy and of being unwanted, which result either in overaggressiveness or in extreme passivity, both of which are handicaps to employment (32, 50). As has been stressed in the Report of the President's Council on Aging (122):

For workers in their middle years, unemployment can be tragic. Family responsibilities are likely to be at their height and the need to accumulate social secu-

...rity credits for adequate benefits upon retirement and to build up savings for old age are most urgent. Unemployment during these years undermines not only the worker's morale but the security of his dependents as well.

Women, like men, face the problems of unemployment with deep concern, especially when they have children to support. Feeling unwanted in the business world is as detrimental to the morale of the middle-aged woman as to the man and often intensifies the general feeling of uselessness that develops when her role of mother ends (122,158).

CHANGES IN WORK CONDITIONS

Modern business and industry are in a constant state of flux. As new machinery, efficiency techniques, and new methods of mass production appear, the worker must make constant adjustments to new work methods. Many of these new methods require a higher level of intelligence on the part of the workers than was necessary when work was less automated than it is today (125). The main problem is, as Anman has pointed out, that "we are eliminating the 80 IQ jobs but haven't yet determined what to do with the 80 IQ jobless" (8).

This means constant change to new patterns of work, an adjustment it is believed younger workers can make better than those who are middle-aged (125). Except in the professions and administrative positions in business and industry, middle-aged workers face the possibilities of layoff or demotion, which militate against good work morale (47,65,69).

Studies of on-the-job learning have shown that middle-aged men and women learn

more slowly than do those who are younger, even though this is partially compensated for by their greater dependability, better attendance, and conscientiousness (23,58). Ratings of workers by foremen in a manufacturing company indicated that workers' ability to learn started to decline in the thirties and then fell rapidly during the forties and fifties (116).

A study of government-sponsored training of rural craftsmen in England, as blacksmiths, carpenters, and electrical engineers, revealed that difficulties in training began to be pronounced around forty years of age. While these individuals were not "untrainable," their rate of learning was slower than that of younger workers (69).

Work requiring a high degree of sensory-motor skill is more difficult for middle-aged workers to learn than that requiring less skill. Skills once acquired are maintained fairly well throughout middle age, but the learning of new skills proves to be a stumbling block for many middle-aged people (12). The degree of difficulty in learning new skills is influenced by the brightness of the worker and by the relationship of what is to be learned to skills formerly acquired (26,58).

Difficulties in learning are increased by resistance to learning new methods and by the speed required by the new task. The ability to adopt new methods and to adjust to new situations begins to decline in the thirties and becomes marked in the forties (26). Workers frequently are resistant to learning new techniques, and this lowers their motivation to learn (69).

This resistance is generally believed to be caused by the mental rigidity which is popularly associated with middle age, but it may, in part, stem from the belief of the middle-aged person that the new methods are inferior to the old and that clinging to

the old is therefore more sensible than shifting to the new just because it is new (45).

There is no question about the fact that many middle-aged workers give the impression, through their slowness in learning and their resistance to learning new methods, that there is some truth to the saying that "you can't teach old dogs new tricks." This impression will affect their opportunities for employment.

On the other hand, there is evidence, in some cases, that their resistance to learning new methods is due to the fact that they are not sufficiently motivated to do so because they can count on unemployment benefits if they do not get new jobs. In some instances, their resistance to retraining stems from their unwillingness to relocate in other areas where there are jobs available because they own their homes and have family ties and neighbors they do not want to leave (8).

Stress on speed in work is difficult for the middle-aged worker to adjust to. By working under tension, the middle-aged worker can usually keep his output up to that of younger workers (26, 116). However, he is slower in doing the work and is able to keep up to the standard required only by being conscientious about his work and being willing to work until the assignment is completed (23, 69).

The speed factor is especially serious in the learning of a new job. Middle-aged workers are not only slower in learning than are younger workers but their slowness is increased when the task they are learning requires speed. Training difficulties are especially frequent in jobs involving high-speed manual skills. These difficulties appear as early as thirty years of age, increasing as the individual becomes older (69).

Because most industries today stress time, the difficulties of the middle-aged worker are increased both by lowering the prospects of employment in a new job and by reducing the chances of continued employment in a job already held. There is a tendency for both men and women to move away from work requiring continuous activity at a set speed, especially when the worker is paced by a machine or conveyor (12).

One of the most difficult adjustments to modern methods in business and industry the middle-aged person must make is to working with a group of people. Whether there is a general tendency to be less social and less cooperative in group activities because of the mental and physical changes characteristic of middle age, or whether this difficulty in adjusting to groups is the result of less practice in group activities in childhood and adolescence is an open question.

It is true that schools of today put more stress on group activities than was done in the past and that training in social adjustments in the home, neighborhood, and school is stressed more today than when the middle-aged people of today were in school. It may really be, therefore, that the greater ability on the part of the younger worker to get along better with his superiors and his fellow workers is the result of his training—a training which those who are now middle-aged did not have (118, 119). Whatever the cause, comparisons of middle-aged workers with those who are younger show the middle-aged workers to rate lower on relationships with others (86).

There is also a tendency for older workers to be somewhat intolerant of younger workers, especially when they feel that the younger worker is shirking on the job (28).

The widespread belief that middle-aged people, especially women, do not get along as well with others as do younger people influences the attitudes of employers unfavorably toward the employment of middle-aged men or women for jobs where relationships with others are important for the morale of the other workers (17,158).

ROLE OF SPOUSE In past generations, when a woman's place was in the home, the man's business was his affair, and his wife played no role in it. Only when, as was true of farms and small shops, the wife worked side by side with her husband did the wife play any role in his vocational life. Home life and occupation were thus almost completely divorced.

All of this is changing today. As more and more wives go into business, industry, and the professions, husbands are expected to adjust their work schedules to fit into their wives', and wives change their jobs when changes in their husbands' work makes a move to another community mandatory. Furthermore, as wives contribute to the family budget, they play a more important role in family decision making than they did in the past.

Even nonworking wives of today are playing an important role in their husbands' work. In many cases, this role may "make or break her husband's career" (104,113). If, for example, the wife is dissatisfied with her husband's status in his work or with his pay, it can undermine his morale and make him dissatisfied too. Should his work require long trips away from home, the wife who cannot adjust to being alone, especially after the children are grown and away from home, can cause feelings of guilt on the husband's part that will seriously affect his work.

By middle age, as the man makes his

ascent up the vocational ladder, the wife's role becomes increasingly more important (113). This role is threefold: *first*, she must be a "sounding-board" for her husband's business problems—to her he can unburden the worries he cannot confess at the office; *second*, she must be a "social asset" at the social functions that become an important part of the business life of members of the upper echelon; and, *third*, she must be an active participant in community affairs, for this is regarded as part of the responsibility of those at the top or near-top of the business ladder (87,104,113).

In assessing the possibility of promotion to a managerial or executive role, the wife often plays an important part in the image of the man who is being considered for promotion. If the wife has not kept pace with her husband through the years, as he has been making his climb up the ladder, and is his intellectual or social inferior, he may find the place he hoped to reach will be given to another whose wife is an asset to his business image. The higher the man climbs on the vocational ladder, the more important is the role his wife plays in his success (87,104,105,112,113). Packard has explained why the wife plays such an important role in her husband's climb up the vocational ladder (113):

Chief executives use such phrases as "the business family" and "our executive family" to justify including the wife in the total picture. If the man to be hired must represent the company in a social way at many functions the wife's social skills are assessed with particular care. In most cases, however, the uppermost concern of management seems to be with the wife's influence on the stability and usefulness of the man's relationship to the company. The issue of the wife usually

becomes critically important only if she is seen as a threat to that stability and usefulness. In short, will she cause trouble by being either a distracting or a detracting influence?

COMPULSORY RETIREMENT Since the days of the depression of the 1930s, there has been a steady increase in the adoption of a rigid retirement policy for all workers. In industry, this is generally at sixty years of age for women and sixty-five for men, though in many industries where speed is important the retirement ages are lowered to fifty-five for women and sixty for men. In business, the retirement age varies from sixty to sixty-five years, with those in administrative positions being affected just as are the clerical workers.

Although many men and women say that they would like to retire, and this desire grows stronger as middle age progresses (77), they are realistic enough to recognize that retirement brings with it many problems, perhaps the most serious of which is economic insecurity. With the high cost of living and the heavy taxation today, they become increasingly aware of the fact that their days of earning good salaries draw to a close as they reach the mid-forties and early fifties. These are the peak years for earning in most occupations. Unless the individual is able to make adequate provision for the remaining years of his life then, he realizes that his future chances of doing so are limited.

Furthermore, middle-aged people know that their chances for advancement after middle age will be slight and that, in place of advancement, there is a likelihood that they will have to take a position in their organization with less responsibility and, hence, less pay. The realization that they

are being pushed aside by younger workers as they approach the compulsory retirement age does not add to the vocational satisfaction of the middle-aged worker.

As we have seen, an equally serious hindrance to vocational satisfaction in middle age is lack of promotion as people become older. Studies of ratings of workers in different lines of work have shown that older workers are often rated down on items involving promotability mainly because they are to be retired shortly. This is not necessarily an indication of their present value to the company (86). And, as they have little chance to improve their status by taking another job, middle-aged workers must accept their lack of promotion or run the risk of being unemployed or have to take a job on a lower level and with lower pay than they are now receiving (116).

The feeling that he has been unfairly treated and that others win promotions while he is overlooked will naturally militate against a middle-aged person's good morale, his vocational satisfaction, or even his satisfaction in home life, particularly when vocational status contributes to status within the family group. For women, retirement from their principal occupation at the end of the child-rearing period often coincides with the period when they are faced with lack of promotion in their work outside the home. This intensifies the woman's adjustment problems to middle age (119).

DECLINE IN SELF-EMPLOYMENT As Ross and Ross have pointed out, "We are now a nation of wage and salary earners" (125). In America today, it has been estimated that more than 80 percent of the workers are in the hire of others. As a

result, the organizations for which the middle-aged person works can decide when to release him from the job, when to promote him, and what salary to give him. Even among workers who are protected by union membership, their fate, to a large extent, is in the hands of their employers.

This is in marked contrast to conditions that existed in the past and which exist today in many countries throughout the world. When the majority of workers were self-employed in the sense that they set up their own businesses, industries, or professional establishments, they could be autonomous in their work. Success or failure, as a result, depended on their skills, their abilities, and their efforts. Furthermore, they could work as long as they wished, at the pace they wished, and were not subject to the discrimination based on age which prevails today (125).

DOMINANCE OF LARGE BUSINESS

Since World War II, the trend has been toward larger and larger business and industry. Small businesses and industries, and even individual workers in the professions, find it increasingly difficult to carry on in the face of competition with the business and industrial giants. As a result, the smaller are taken over by the bigger and are consolidated into the new unit, dominated by the larger (112,113,125).

Should consolidation come at about the time the worker reaches middle age, he is very likely to find that there is "no place" for him in the new organization. Or, if there is a place, it may be on a lower level than the position he formerly worked up to in his own company. Even if he is retained after the consolidation occurs, he has no guarantee that he will not be replaced in the near or distant future by a

worker from the "parent" company that took over his company.

The larger the organization, the more impersonal it becomes. For the middle-aged worker, accustomed to a more personal atmosphere in his working environment, the impersonal atmosphere of the large organization takes away much of the satisfaction he derived from his work. In addition, he is confronted with increasingly keener competition for the job on the next rung of the ladder. Instead of being promoted on the basis of his ability, recognized by his coworkers and immediate superior as happens when the work organization is smaller, he now finds that knowing the "right people" in the organization is the determining factor in promotion. As one executive put it, "You can have a wonderful personnel system, but the thing that determines where you go in the company is personal contacts" (112).

Because the fundamental purpose of "bigness" in business, industry, or the professions is economy, the worker is forced to play the role of a "small cog in a big machine." No longer can he get pride from his achievements as he did when he first started to work as an individual specialist. Now he must be a specialist in a routine activity that becomes increasingly boring with each passing day. This is especially true of work in industry. As Packard has pointed out, in discussing the boredom the worker experiences in doing work that is machinelike in nature (112):

The repetitious arm movement he makes hour after hour is excruciatingly boring. His father, he recalls, was poor, but a craftsman who was proud of the barrels he made. Here the machine has all the brains, all the reason for pride. Perhaps

the rules also forbid him to talk to workers nearby, or to get a drink of water except at the break period.

VOCATIONAL MIGRATION There is a growing trend, in business, industry, and even in some of the professions, such as teaching, engineering, or the ministry, to send workers to new areas of the country when they are promoted to the higher-level jobs. Furthermore, with consolidation of business and industry, there is a growing trend to relocate factories and business establishments in the areas where the "parent" companies are located or where the labor market is more favorable.

Vocational migration can affect workers at any age. But it is far more likely to affect the middle-aged worker than the younger worker or the one who is approaching retirement age. Plant relocation affects the workers in the lower-level jobs, while shifts to a new plant or office affect workers in the higher-level jobs. As the Hechingers have pointed out, "Large companies pick up their executives and their families like office furniture and ship them and their households across the country" (64).

In past generations, workers had their roots in the jobs they expected to make their life careers by the time they reached middle age. They owned their homes, had established themselves as a part of the community, and had family members, friends, and neighbors who made up the circle of their social lives. This was the locale they knew would be theirs for the remainder of their lives, unless illness or financial problems forced them to move in with a married daughter or son in another community.

Today's workers, from the lowest to the

highest levels, are subject to change in locale at this critical time in their lives. Knowing how difficult it is to get a new job in middle age, the middle-aged worker is forced to move when his job is shifted unless he can get adequate unemployment insurance to tide him over until he can locate another job in the community in which he lives or unless he is willing to accept a job with lower pay, less prestige, and less responsibility as a price for remaining static (8,125,168). Figure 11-3, page 595, shows the decrease in moving to another locale as workers approach the retirement age.

Assessment of Vocational Adjustment

As is true of early adulthood, vocational adjustment in middle age can be assessed in terms of the success the individual achieves in his work and the degree of satisfaction he derives from his work. Unless both of these conditions are taken into consideration, the assessment of his adjustment will not be accurate.

Many middle-aged workers have climbed up the vocational ladder and are enjoying a degree of success that gives them the income, the prestige, the authority, and the autonomy they had hoped to have. Others, equally able through their training and experience, find themselves in jobs below their capacities. They have had to take a job they could get because their former work was abolished to make way for automation or because the company with which they were affiliated failed or was consolidated with another company.

Still others may be objectively successful because they do as well as they can with their abilities and training, but they regard themselves as "failures" because they have

not achieved the success they had hoped to achieve when they were younger. For such a man, middle age is (151)

...a climactic period of stocktaking, an often agonizing reappraisal of how one's achievements measure up against one's goals, and of the entire system of values one has lived by. What drastically confronts a middle-aged man at this moment is how the choices of the past have robbed him of choice in the present. As a young man, he was a creature of infinite possibilities, and his dreams spangled the future like stars. In his 40s, he must live with one actuality—he is the fruit of his limitations. In his 30s, a man can still blame his luck and jolly himself along with the notion that, by unremitting work and determination, he will lick the gods and win the top prizes. The gods prove intractable, and in his 40s, a man is forced to acknowledge that he has done pretty much what he was capable of doing. More depressing, he knows that he will have to go on doing it with ever-brighter, ever-younger men nipping at his heels.

Women, far more often than men, fail to achieve the success in their vocational fields that they are capable of during middle age. This is just as true of women who have worked continually since they finished their education as of women who left the vocational field for marriage and child rearing and then returned to it after their home and parental duties diminished. This lack of success is not due to lack of ability and training but to prejudice against women in positions of responsibility (112,113,158). In discussing the discrimination against women which leads to

their lack of success, Packard (113) has pointed out the following reasons:

Although nearly four out of ten job-holders in the U.S.A. now are female, women rarely ever attain the executive suites of substantial corporations except in secretarial capacities. They are perhaps the most discriminated-against of all minority groups in industry.... Male executives have developed a number of explanations and rationalizations to account for the prevailing barrier against women. The women are accused both of making too much of the job and of not being sufficiently dedicated to it.... If they are unmarried, the possibility that they will marry and leave represents the kind of major uncontrollable factor that worries many corporate managers.... One barrier blocking many women from real advancement in the typical corporation is the fact that in large cities executives are often expected to lunch at an approved local executive club. Many of these will either not permit a woman on the premises or allow them to enter only by a side door.

Among industrial workers, the forties are the "critical age" for job satisfaction (95). This age comes slightly later for workers in business and the professions. By the end of the fifties and early sixties, there is a sharp drop in vocational satisfaction (93,126). This is shown in Figure 13-7.

Studies of vocational satisfaction have shown what is back of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction the middle-aged worker experiences. During the forties, and even into the early fifties, satisfaction is a result of the worker's general adjustment to life and to work. He is glad to have employ-

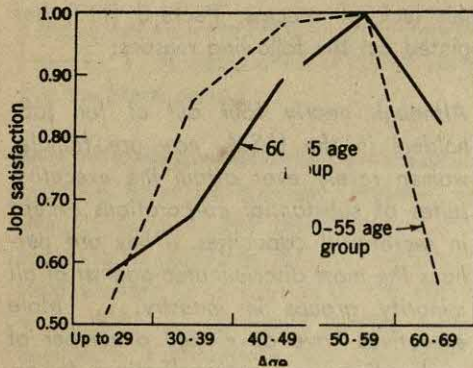


FIGURE 13-7 JOB SATISFACTION REACHES ITS PEAK IN THE MID-50S AND THEN DECLINES ABRUPTLY. (ADAPTED FROM S. D. SALEH AND J. L. OTIS: AGE AND LEVEL OF JOB SATISFACTION. *Personnel Psychol.*, 1964, 17, 425-430. USED BY PERMISSION.)

ment; he is better satisfied with working conditions, with management, and with the salary and treatment he receives than he was earlier. In addition he derives a degree of personal satisfaction and pride from his identification with the company as a place to work and its management (92,93,95).

About five years before the compulsory retirement age, whether it be sixty, sixty-two, or sixty-five, there is usually a sharp drop in the satisfaction the worker experiences. Refer to Figure 13-7, above. The reason for this drop is that the worker feels that there is now little if any chance for advancement, no matter how hard he may work or how faithful he will be in getting to work on time or in being at work regardless of weather conditions or his health.

Furthermore, he feels the pressures from

work because of his slowing down and his tendency toward greater fatigue, which are natural accompaniments of aging. In addition, he resents the attitudes of younger workers who can do the work more easily than he and who often seem, literally, to be counting the days until his retirement so they can take his place (93,126). None of these conditions could be expected to lead to job satisfaction.

Middle-aged women, even more than men, fail to derive the satisfaction they should from their work. And, like men, their dissatisfaction increases with each passing year until they welcome the compulsory retirement age. Their dissatisfaction comes from many of the same causes as the dissatisfaction of men. But it is intensified by their resentment at being treated as a "minority group" and not given equal opportunities to advance if their abilities justify it (93,102,104,113).

How satisfied or dissatisfied middle-aged workers are in their jobs will depend on a number of factors, the most important of which are: first, how close they are to achieving the goal they set out to achieve when they were younger; second, how satisfied their families, but especially their spouses, are with their vocational achievements; third, whether the work they do provides opportunities for self-actualization or whether they feel they are merely cogs in a big machine; fifth, how they feel about the treatment they receive from management and from those directly above them on the vocational totem pole; and, sixth, what provisions management has made for their retirement or disability, should they experience this before the compulsory retirement age (93,112,113,126).

When satisfaction is high, the worker will do all he possibly can to keep his work up to previous standards, even though it may

mean pressing himself to do so; he will be loyal to his employers and conscientious about time off from work; he will try to bolster the morale of his coworkers; and he will refrain from grumbling, even when things are not to his liking.

By contrast, the middle-aged worker who experiences vocational dissatisfaction because he feels "trapped" in a job not to his liking or in one where he feels he is blocked in getting ahead as he had hoped to do, becomes "introspective, resigned, and rebellious all at the same time" (151). This lowers his morale, and he shows it by grumbling, working below his capacity, and taking advantage of every ache and pain to stay away from work.

However, knowing that he is "trapped" and has little hope of getting another job at his age, he has no alternative but to remain where he is. How this feeling of being "trapped" affects the middle-aged workers has been described thus (151):

To blunt the pain of reality, he slips a whiskey bottle into his desk and nips at it. (Alcoholism climbs a steep 50% in the 40-60 group over ages 30-39.) His medicine cabinet begins to look like a pharmaceutical display, and he retreats into hypochondria. Indeed, the sense of being straight-jacketed by fate may contribute sizably to the cardiovascular and cardiopulmonary attacks that increasingly fell middle-agers.

Women who feel that they are "trapped" in jobs that are not to their liking react much as men do. But, in addition, they develop a bitter resentment against men who have blocked their paths to success, and they often feel that they are being treated as martyrs. This makes them cynical, bitter and resentful—attitudes which

do not encourage the development of loyalty toward their employers or toward their companies. Many displace their resentments by being harsh in their treatment of the women who work under them.

If they are "trapped" in jobs they do not like but which they must have to support themselves or their husbands who are unemployed or invalided, or to give their children opportunities for higher education, they will suffer many of the same bad effects of dissatisfaction as men do. If, on the other hand, economic conditions in the family make it possible for them to give up their jobs and devote their time to volunteer work, they often retire from the labor force long before the age of compulsory retirement.

ADJUSTMENT TO CHANGED FAMILY PATTERNS

The pattern of family life undergoes marked changes during the period of middle age. As Cavan has pointed out, "The most obvious change is the withdrawal of...children from the family, leaving husband and wife as the family unit" (33). This change is usually more difficult for the woman to adjust to than for the man, primarily because the woman's life is centered in the home and family. During the "shrinking circle stage," as Lopata has labeled the social role of the middle-aged housewife, the sources of satisfaction and prestige the woman formerly derived from her roles as wife and mother are removed, and what replacements there are for them, whether in work outside the home or in community activities, rarely compensate for what she has lost in satisfaction and prestige (84).

Changes in family patterns are more marked at the present time than in the

past. This means even more difficult adjustments for middle-aged men and women of the present generation than for those of past generations. These changes are the outgrowth of certain trends, the most important of which are early marriages, smaller families, prevalence of divorce, increase in the life span, and trend toward marriages where the spouses are of approximately the same age (33,46,54). How these trends alter the pattern of family life in middle age is illustrated in Figure 13-8.

A comparison of family patterns in 1950 with those in 1890 shows that women of today are marrying at an average age of twenty years as compared with twenty-two years in 1890; that the birth of their last child comes when they are in the mid-twenties rather than in the early thirties; that their last child leaves home when they are in the late forties as compared with the mid-fifties; and that the death of the average woman's husband today comes when she is in the early sixties as contrasted with the early fifties in 1890.

In 1950, the average woman could expect forty-one or forty-two years of marriage before the death of her husband. This means approximately fourteen years with no children at home, or approximately one-third of a couple's entire married life. In 1890, there was an average of thirty-one years of joint survival after marriage and one spouse, usually the husband, died about two years before the youngest child was married (54). Furthermore, because people live longer today than they did in the past and because compulsory retirement makes many older people economically dependent on their grown children, the middle-aged woman of today is far more often confronted with the problem

of caring for elderly relatives than was true of women of earlier generations (24,33).

Factors Complicating Adjustment

Difficult as adjustment to changed family patterns in middle age is, it is often complicated by additional factors. These factors include: physical changes; habit; lack of preparation; feelings of failure; feelings of uselessness; disenchantment with marriage; and care of elderly relatives.

PHYSICAL CHANGES Adjustment to changes in the pattern of family life are complicated for many women by the fact that these adjustments must be made simultaneously with adjustments to physical changes, not only those relating to appearance but, of even greater importance, those relating to the woman's childbearing function. The physical and psychological disturbances occurring at the time of the climacteric often intensify the other adjustment problems the middle-aged woman faces and they, in turn, intensify the physical disturbances of the climacteric (46). See pages 688-691 for a more complete discussion of the climacteric and its effects on the middle-aged woman.

Although the male climacteric comes later than the female, sexual desire and potency begin to wane during middle age. This change, like the female climacteric, is influenced by and, in turn, influences the male sexual and physical states. This intensifies the problems of adjustment to family relationships for the man, though usually to a lesser extent than for the woman (13).

HABIT Because of the responsibilities that necessitate their centering their lives around the home and family during the

early years of adulthood, parents form the habit of being at home, of centering their recreations around the children, and of maintaining associations with family members and relatives. Once formed, this habit, like all habits, is difficult to break. As children grow older and need less care, and as their interests shift from the home to members of the peer group, many parents, but especially mothers, are "left to their own resources" and many feel that they have been rejected by their children (24).

When their children marry or go away to school or college, most parents begin to increase the number of their social activities outside the home, and they take more active parts in community and social organizations. If they are able to occupy their time with activities that meet their needs and find substitute satisfactions for the satisfactions they formerly derived from their parental roles, the middle-aged parents will be happy.

However, like all habits, breaking the habit of centering their lives on the home and children is hard. As Sussman has pointed out, "Radical changes in the lives of parents do not occur immediately upon the leave-taking of children" (145). Instead, parents gradually take on more community activities and gradually change their relationships with their children (33, 145).

LACK OF PREPARATION Most middle-aged women are prepared for the physical changes that take place in middle age. However, few are prepared for the radical changes that take place in the pattern of their lives, especially in the home. Few, for example, face the fact that a time will come when the children will have left

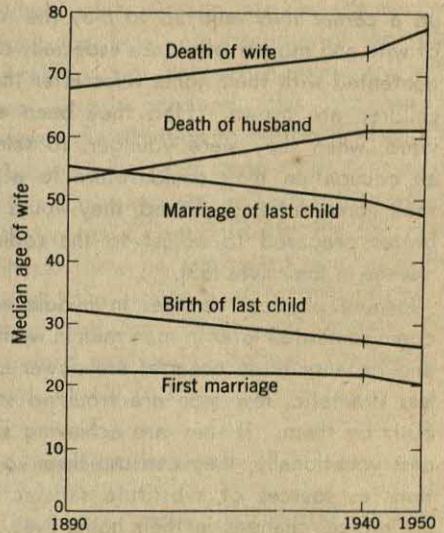


FIGURE 13-8 STAGES IN THE LIFE CYCLE OF WOMEN IN 1890, 1940 AND 1950, SHOWING CHANGES THAT HAVE A MARKED EFFECT ON WOMEN'S LIVES TODAY. (ADAPTED FROM P. C. GLICK: THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE FAMILY. *Marriage fam. Living*, 1955, 17, 3-9. USED BY PERMISSION.)

and when they will find themselves literally jobless as their parental duties come to an end (31). As one woman explained (89):

When we came home from taking Jane to college, it hit me all of a sudden as I washed the dishes. She always helped me wash the dishes. I started to weep. "I've lost my girl," I sobbed to my husband. "I've spent twenty years raising her, and now I have nothing." To myself I thought, "This is what a nervous breakdown must be like."

Middle-aged women who married after they finished their education or who gave

up a career they enjoyed to play the role of wife and mother often are especially discontented with their home roles after their children are grown. Had they been advised, when they were younger, to select an occupation they could return to after their home duties slackened, they would be better prepared to adjust to the radical change in their lives (53).

Because physical changes in middle age come somewhat later in men than in women and because these changes are slower and less dramatic, few men are troubled seriously by them. If they are achieving success vocationally, they can use their vocations as sources of substitute satisfaction for radical changes in their home lives.

Few men, however, are prepared for vocational changes that may occur, often through no fault of their own. Having found it relatively easy to get a new job if they lost one when they were younger, they are not prepared for the long search for a new one now, nor are they prepared for the necessity to take any job they can get, regardless of what it is.

FEELINGS OF FAILURE When children do not turn out as parents had anticipated, many parents blame themselves and feel that they have failed in the parental role. This is especially likely to happen if they have had a concept of a "dream child," carried over from the time before the child was born. Because many children, as they reach the adolescent years, become school problems in the sense that they do not achieve the academic successes their parents had hoped for, and because some adolescents cause trouble for their parents, the school, and the community, middle-aged parents, under such conditions, blame themselves and feel that they have been failures (21,46).

Older- and younger-than-average parents tend to have children who are more of a problem than do those who are approximately the normal age when they assume their parental roles (137). As these problems intensify with age, by the time their children reach adolescence, parents are confronted with even more serious problems than they had to cope with when the children were younger. This, in turn, intensifies the feeling they have had since their children were young that they are failures as parents.

FEELINGS OF USELESSNESS When parents, especially mothers, center their interests and activities around their children, they feel "lost" and "useless" when their children no longer need their constant care or when they leave home. Life tends to become "monotonous" for them because they have too few interests and activities of their own to replace the activities they formerly engaged in with the children (84). The more child-oriented the home, the more useless the parents will feel when the family nest becomes empty (24,46,54,89).

DISENCHANTMENT WITH MARRIAGE Disenchantment often begins during the early years of marriage and becomes progressively stronger as the individual reaches middle age. At first, the individual is disappointed because the mate has not come up to expectations and he, therefore, suffers a "reality shock." The more highly romanticized the concept of the mate, the greater the reality shock will be.

As marriage progresses, disappointments with marriage which lead to disenchantment are intensified by unforeseen changes in the marital situation, such as the husband's loss of job or failure to rise on the vocational ladder to anticipated heights.

failure of the children to come up to parental expectations, failure to win social acceptance in a new community or in a new neighborhood, feelings of loneliness when old social ties are broken, and a host of other conditions not anticipated at the time of marriage.

Men, as a whole, tend to experience disenchantment with marriage earlier than women primarily because their work becomes a "reality drag." Should they feel that their lack of anticipated vocational success was due to the strains of family life or the attitudes of family members toward their work, their disenchantment with marriage will be intensified (115).

Women's disenchantment is more likely to be intensified by the feeling of uselessness that comes when maternal responsibilities decrease or end and when they realize that their husbands are more concerned with their work than with their homes and families. In the case of both men and women during middle age, disenchantment comes more from conditions in their marriage than with the spouse, though the latter tends to intensify the former (115).

CARE OF ELDERLY RELATIVES In spite of feelings of uselessness that many middle-aged women experience when their children grow up and leave home, they do not welcome the care of an elderly relative as a substitute for the care of children. There are two reasons for this. First, they resent being tied down to the home as they were when their children were young and of being deprived of the relative freedom they enjoyed when their children reached the school age and were out of the home for a major part of the day.

Second, most middle-aged women know that their husbands resent having an

elderly relative come into their home and usurp the time and attention of the wife. If relationships between husband and wife are already strained, this can readily worsen the situation to the point where the husband will spend most of his time away from home, leaving the care of the elderly relative as a responsibility for the wife. Should there be adolescent children in the home, the strained relationships between them and the relative will intensify the strained relationship between the husband and wife (21,24,25).

Adjustment Problems

There are many adjustment problems middle-aged men and women must face in their family lives, some of which are individual in nature, while others are more or less universal and a product of the culture in which the individual lives. Of these problems, the most common are; adjustment to changed roles; adjustment to spouse; sex adjustments; adjustment to threats of marital instability; adjustment to widowhood; and adjustment to in-laws.

ADJUSTMENT TO CHANGED ROLES Throughout marriage, both men and women must continually make adjustments. At first, they must adjust to one another and then to their roles of parenthood. As the children grow older and less helpless, adjustments must be made to the new problems and demands that come with their more mature status (21,22,84). In fact, at no time until the children are grown up and leave home do parents find themselves without some problems of adjustment that must be faced in relation to their children.

When the children reach maturity and leave home, for marriage or careers, par-

ents become "deserted parents" and must face the adjustment problems of another period, one which is almost as long today as the whole period of parenthood. This means a change of roles for both parents, a branching out from the family, which is especially difficult for the woman (33,84, 145). For some adults, those who are childless, widowed, or unmarried, life patterns are different and adjustments are of a different sort. But for the average American who marries and has a family, changing family roles during middle age becomes a major developmental task (66,89).

Many, upon retirement from parenthood, find pleasure in the greater freedom they have and in the additional money they have to enjoy it. However, many parents, especially mothers, do not make satisfactory adjustments to their retirement from parental roles. From the beginning of adolescence, children try to cut the "psychic umbilical cord" and the mother tries to prevent them. Each year, as they grow older, the children's attempts become stronger, and the mother, in her efforts to prevent them, often tries to keep them from marrying or from having careers that will take them away from the parental roof (33,139).

Instead of welcoming the easing of the burden they have carried for so many years, many mothers cling to it in the hope that their lives will not seem empty and futile now that their main lifework has been completed and their principal role has come to an end. For such women, the ending of the parental role is a traumatic experience and neurotic difficulties are often the aftermath (41,46). Some women become temporarily neurotic or even psychotic when the need for making the adjustment to a changed parental role coincides with the need to adjust to the

physical and psychological changes accompanying the climacteric (31,114).

Difficulties of adjusting to the departure of the children from the home and to the changed roles for the parents this departure necessitates are increased when parents, because of a lack of outside interests, center the family life, their ambitions, and their time around their children. Overly protective and possessive parents are especially prone to center their lives around the lives of their children (21,22).

Should the mate selected by the child diverge in personal characteristics, status, or values from parental expectations, not only will the parents oppose the marriage, but also this opposition will militate against their making satisfactory adjustments to the child's departure from the home. Their opposition to the marriage generally results in a barrier between them and their child with the result that their contacts with the child after marriage are few and their relationships with the child's family are unfavorable (41,49).

Even when the relationships of the parent with the married child and his family are favorable, there is a "growing away" of the child from his parents as his time and attention are centered on his own family (20,121). However, married children often call on their parents for help, either in money, gifts, or services, during the early years of their marriage. Residential distance may affect services, but it does not affect money or gifts (1). As their married children become increasingly involved in their own affairs and in their families, it becomes apparent to the parents that they have greater interest in and affection for their children than their children have for them. This intensifies the parents' adjustment problems, especially those of the mother (140).

ADJUSTMENT TO SPOUSE Even when adjustments, both social and sexual, to the spouse have been good during the early years of marriage, there is a tendency for husbands and wives to grow apart as each fulfills his life role. The man becomes more preoccupied with his business as business responsibilities become greater and as economic demands on him by his family become stronger. The woman's time and interests are centered around the home and the children and there is little time or money for her to enjoy the activities she and her husband shared during courtship or in the early days of marriage.

As a result of the different roles the husband and wife must play throughout the early years of adulthood, there is a tendency for them to have less in common and to be less congenial than they were in the early part of marriage. As Desmond (45) has pointed out:

The breaking of identification with our children that comes with middle life is often a deep traumatic experience. The boredom that frequently develops at this stage may arise when the children leave home and husband and wife are suddenly left facing each other alone for the first time since early marriage. They may find they have no interests in common, no hobbies, no urgent goals. . . . In this period, both men and women are often assailed by moodiness and irritability, sometimes panic.

With the ending of parental responsibilities, the husband and wife once again become dependent upon one another for companionship. Whether they will adjust successfully to this changed pattern of family relationships will be greatly influenced by how well adjusted they have been dur-

ing the time of their marriage when parental roles took precedence over husband-wife roles (136).

A close relationship with the spouse leads to happiness in marriage during middle age for both the husband and the wife. The wife who feels that she is little more than a slave to the home, who has few opportunities for amusement because of housework or care of an elderly relative, or whose husband's income is inadequate to provide the amusements and social life she was denied during the years when her children were young is likely to be dissatisfied with her marriage and, as a result, has a poor relationship with her husband (107, 123, 145).

For men, frustration and unhappiness in marriage often center around their occupations. Those who are successful often find that their wives have not kept pace with them in their upward climb. As a result, they have little in common with them as they reach the peak of their careers in middle age. Those who have not come up to their earlier vocational aspirations often rationalize their failure by trying to convince themselves and others that they never had a chance to succeed because their wives were no help to them or were even handicaps. The wife, thus, becomes the scapegoat for the husband's failure (112, 113, 151). Such men find comfort in developing feelings of self-pity and animosity toward their wives, types of compensation which certainly do not improve husband-wife relationships at any age but especially at a time when the wife is, having difficulties adjusting to home situations which make her feel that her days of usefulness have ended with the end of her parental role (20, 46, 114).

In a study of the complaints men and women bring to marriage counselors about

their spouses, it has been found that in the case of the husband (42):

His complaints about his wife usually include poor housekeeping, oversensitiveness, waste of money, lack of appreciation, increasing interest in outside activities, frigidity or refusal to have sex relations. . . . In a large proportion of the cases studied, the husband has a strong wish to control, perfectionistic housekeeping standards, stinginess, a feeling that he is being "used," lack of social ease in mixed groups, uncertainty about his masculinity, conviction that his wife's behavior is designed solely to annoy him, and a belief that she could meet his specifications for a good wife if she wanted to.

Many wives complain that there must be something more in marriage than they have found. For the wife who is unhappy, her major complaints are that (42):

After a long period of submission to her husband's demands, . . . she feels unloved, misunderstood, unimportant, unappreciated, exploited, and unrewarded. . . . She may complain that her husband is stingy, unsociable, impossible to please, jealous, and insensitive. She feels she probably made a mistake in marrying this man and perhaps wishes he would leave and never come back or give her some good reason for getting a divorce.

In addition, women often suffer from a sense of insecurity in middle age, stemming from concern about whether their husbands will still love them as they age in appearance and lose their reproductive capacity. Furthermore, women who, as girls, saw their mothers and teachers "keeping males in line," often adopt this attitude toward their husbands. While men may

tolerate this during the early years of marriage, they ultimately revolt. As Clark has pointed out, "For the wife, middle-aged men are little boys with gray hair—or no hair at all—who want to be loved, but not dominated, and mothered but not smothered" (39).

SEX ADJUSTMENTS Sex adjustments are important to husband-wife relationships in middle age, just as they are during the early years of marriage. There is evidence, on the other hand, that sex is less important in marital satisfaction during the middle years of marriage than it is in early adulthood. Women, it has been found, can enjoy coitus without orgasm more during middle age than they could during the early years of marriage (162).

While poor sexual adjustment does not necessarily lead to marital unhappiness and divorce, it has been found to be an important contributing factor in the disenchantment with marriage that so often occurs during middle age (115). As such, it is a serious interference to good marital adjustment. As Clark and Wallin (38) have explained:

Women's lack of sexual gratification has repercussions for their husbands as well as for themselves. In a culture that stresses the equality of marital partners and the right of both to sexual enjoyment, it is to be expected that husbands will tend to suffer some guilt in urging an activity they know is not pleasurable to their wives. Added to the guilt, and accentuating it, may be feelings of inadequacy engendered in husbands by the thought that the fault is or could be theirs.

If marital adjustment deteriorates, because of disenchantment with marriage or

with the spouse, the individual become less responsive sexually, and this increases the deterioration of the marital adjustment (115). As Clark and Wallin have pointed out, "The negative quality of a marriage can thus inhibit women's responsiveness even when a pattern of responsiveness has already been established" (38).

Even under the most favorable conditions, middle age puts a great strain on the husband-wife relationship. This strain is intensified when sexual adjustments are unsatisfactory to one or both of the mates. However, in deeply religious women, marital satisfaction is not as greatly affected by lack of sexual satisfaction as is true of women who are less religious. This is not true for men. For men, marital adjustments are more affected by sexual gratification than is true of women, regardless of their religiosity (163).

Both men and women, but especially men, who feel that their sex lives have been unsatisfactory often turn to outside sources for satisfaction. This is one of the fears many women have when they realize that their hold on the husband, through the husband's feeling of responsibility toward the children, has ended.

Men who have not found sexual satisfaction from their wives often feel justified in seeking satisfaction in extramarital affairs or by divorcing their wives and remarrying younger women who they believe will meet their needs better than the wives of their younger years. This is one of the reasons for labeling middle age the "dangerous age" (14,88,151,165).

SEX DRIVE Studies of the pattern of development of the sex drive have shown that the patterns are different for the two sexes, with the masculine drive stronger in adolescence and reaching its peak earlier than

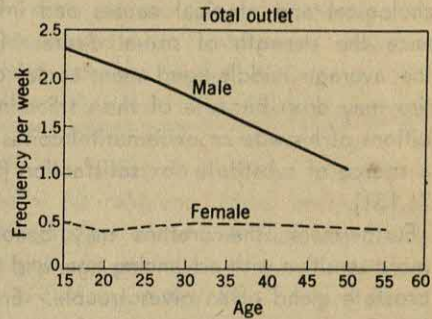


FIGURE 13-9 COMPARISON OF THE AGING PATTERNS IN THE SEXUAL INTERESTS AND BEHAVIOR OF MEN AND WOMEN. (ADAPTED FROM A. C. KINSEY, W. B. POMEROY, C. E. MARTIN AND P. H. GEBHARD: *Sexual behavior in the human female*. PHILADELPHIA: SAUNDERS, 1953. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the female sex drive. The woman's sex drive and interest, by contrast, become stronger as she approaches middle age (70,71). See Figure 13-9. As Greenson (60) has pointed out:

A middle-aged man often becomes bored with the sex life of marriage, while his wife looks toward sex as the activity most needed to hold the marriage together in these days of varying interests within the family. After 25 years, a man's sexual practices tend to become stereotyped and routinized. There are no more surprises or improvisations.

Because the woman's sex pattern in middle age follows a different course than that of her husband, this, when combined with differences in interest in sexual behavior, may result in marital discord (13,88).

Differences in the intensity of the sex drive in middle age stem from both psy-

chological and physical causes and influence the strength of sexual desire. For the average middle-aged man, sexual desire may drop because of the earlier inhibitions of his wife or extramarital coitus as a source of substitute sex satisfaction (51, 71, 151).

Furthermore, the urethra may become more sensitive with advancing age, and the prostate gland often gives trouble. Erection is not as spontaneous as in younger men, and there is greater difficulty in maintaining it. In addition, it takes longer to reach orgasm. If the wife is unsympathetic, this tends to increase the trouble (51, 70, 88). However, men who were sexually aggressive when they were younger continue to be so but to a lesser degree in middle age; those who were less sexually aggressive in early adulthood are even less so in middle age (51).

As we have seen, men who believe they are losing their sexual vigor with aging often develop feelings of inadequacy, or they may go to the opposite extreme and engage in sexual behavior with younger women to prove to themselves that such is not the case. For men who are concerned about the decline in their potency, androgen treatment is used to increase their potency (27, 38, 39, 163).

During the forties and early fifties, many women lose their earlier inhibitions and develop more interest in sex. Because this occurs at the time when interest in sex declines for men, women are sexually unsatisfied and unhappy (20, 88). A study of the sexual behavior of middle-aged women has revealed that, at the age of fifty, marital coitus is their chief sexual activity. This occurs once a week or more and then decreases slightly after fifty-five. In post-marital women, masturbation and erotic dreams have been reported to be the chief

sources of sexual satisfaction, though some engage in coitus with outsiders (36).

Some women, knowing that it is their last chance to have a child, take a last fling at childbearing. This often complicates adjustments to their husbands, who feel that a baby brings new problems at a time when they have won freedom from their parental responsibilities, or who are embarrassed at having a baby the age of their grandchildren.

Women who realize their husband's difficulties in erection and reaching orgasm are likely to feel that their husbands are no longer interested in intercourse or that they are no longer stimulated by their wives; women may even be embarrassed about continuing their sexual lives when they are grandmothers (31, 36, 163). The middle-aged woman who derives little satisfaction from intercourse or feels that intercourse is no longer interesting to her husband or a necessary part of marriage may take the initiative in stopping it. This adds to an already-existing belief that she is no longer needed or wanted, a belief that adds neither to her happiness nor to good adjustments with her husband (38, 39, 42).

ADJUSTMENT TO THREATS OF MARITAL INSTABILITY With the rising number of cases of desertion and divorce and with the changing social attitude toward divorce, marital stability is constantly threatened. Studies of desertion and divorce have shown that the most vulnerable times come within the first few years of marriage and in the forties (68, 120, 160). Recognizing the threat of marital breakdown, many couples seek help from marriage counselors, the usual ages for such help coming at the times when threats of divorce are greatest, between twenty-two and twenty-five years and in early middle

age, between forty-one and forty-five years (42,155).

The reason most often given for wanting a divorce among those married in late adolescence or early adulthood are sex, living conditions, parental interference, and incompatibility. By contrast, among the middle aged, sex is one of the least common reasons, while infidelity, claimed irresponsibility of the spouse, nagging, and incompatibility are the most common (24, 42,114).

During the early years of marriage, it is more often the wife than the husband who wants the divorce. As Nemser has explained, "A wife today is less willing to tolerate incompatibility without questioning her situation. The husband, by contrast, is more likely to accept the fact of a bad marriage and will persevere with it" (108). To a middle-aged man, "divorce is major surgery, and a man is reluctant to cut that much out of his life" (151). However, he often has extramarital affairs, which he tries to keep a deep secret, to ease his boredom when the novelty of marriage has worn off and to reassure himself of his vigor and virility (24).

Because divorce in middle age is "major surgery" for both men and women, it is not rushed into impulsively as often happens in the earlier years of adulthood. However, there is evidence that it is an accumulation of conditions that have persisted for years and which, in time, may become too strong to resist. In discussing the conditions that led to divorce among middle-aged men and women who applied for marriage counseling, Dame et al. (42) have given the following explanation:

for many years. Several husbands were preoccupied with unanswered questions about possible sexual activity of their wives either before or after the marriage. . . . Another man could not forgive his wife for failing to keep her promise to follow his religion. Many of the wives held grudges about their suffering during pregnancies and their husbands' attitudes toward them at that time. Mrs. F could never forget her husband coming to the hospital where she had been in false labor and accusing her of wasting his money. The actual turning point for the wife depends on many factors—release from the confining care of small children, the end of a shared endeavor (such as building and furnishing a home), a sense that life is slipping by or encouragement from another woman.

Studies of divorce in middle age have revealed that stable marriages increase with income, schooling, and occupation. The lower the income, schooling, and occupation, the more likely there will be a divorce or desertion. Marriages are also more stable among whites than among nonwhites, and among those of the Catholic and Jewish faiths than among those of the Protestant faiths (15,108). Figure 13-10 shows marital-stability variations.

In spite of the fact that men and women, on the whole, live longer now than in the past, marital stability in middle age is threatened by the death of the spouse, usually the husband. When the age difference between husband and wife is large, this threat is increased. According to the United States census report, widowed women outnumber men by more than three to one, with about one woman in eight widowed (132,160). Because this includes women of all ages, there are no statistics

One factor in the ultimate breakdown of some of the marriages was "grudges" which had been cherished on both sides

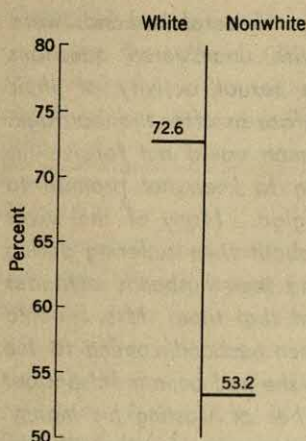


FIGURE 13-10 AMONG MEN AND WOMEN IN THE 45-54-YEAR GROUP, MARITAL STABILITY INCREASES WITH INCOME, SCHOOLING AND OCCUPATION AND IS GREATER FOR WHITES THAN FOR NONWHITES. (ADAPTED FROM J. BERNARD: MARITAL STABILITY AND PATTERNS OF STATUS VARIABLES. *J. Marriage Family*, 1966, 28, 421-448. USED BY PERMISSION.)

available for the number of middle-aged widows.

ADJUSTMENT TO WIDOWHOOD Widowhood, whether due to death or divorce, presents many adjustment problems for the middle-aged man or woman, but especially for the woman. Death of a spouse in middle age means marked loneliness for the remaining spouse. This is intensified by frustrations of the normal sex desires which are far from dormant. If the individual remains widowed for ten or more years, he generally makes satisfactory adjustments to his single state. There is, however, a tendency to be lonely and to find the single state unsatisfactory (36,51). Those whose marriages have been happy

usually react to the death of a spouse by idealizing the deceased, by escaping the loneliness through participation in social or community organizations, or by remarrying. Those who are satisfied with widowhood are glad to be liberated from a resented mate (21,42,52,56).

For the man, widowhood means a disruption in the pattern of living unless he has a daughter to manage the home for him. For the woman, widowhood not only means loneliness but it often also means that she is forced to give up her home, go to work, and live according to a very different pattern than she was accustomed to when her husband was alive or before her divorce (6,66,109,110). There are also social complications to widowhood for the woman which men do not face. With no male escort to count on, the widowed woman may be reluctant to go out, and the problem of entertaining is likewise awkward (33, 42). For the divorced woman, social complications are even greater. This includes not only being excluded from social activities but, even worse, it often means loss of old friends. While some of the divorced woman's friends will remain her friends, many will ostracize her or rally around her husband (108). As Goode (108) has explained:

The divorcee is often anathema to married couples because she embodies tensions they may be feeling but are trying to overlook. Wives, suspicious of her motives, misinterpret her most casual gestures toward their husbands. Husbands, meanwhile, assume she is in a perpetual state of tumescence.

Perhaps the most serious problem of widowhood for women, whether their widowhood is due to divorce or death, is

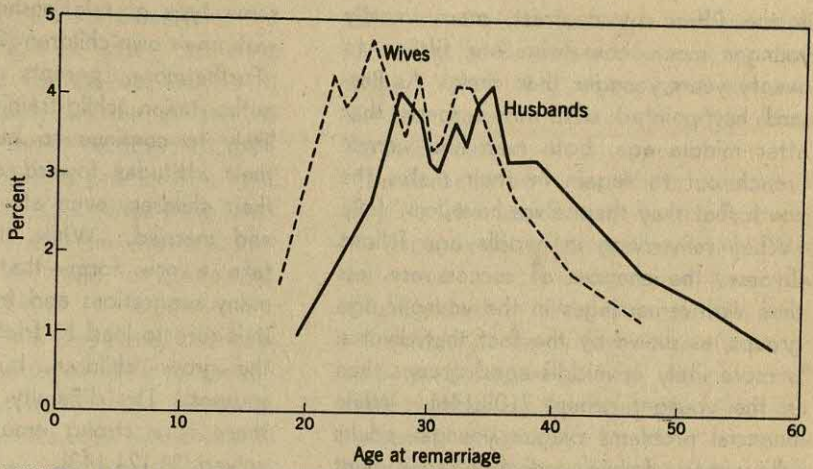


FIGURE 13-11 AGES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES AT REMARRIAGE. (ADAPTED FROM P. C. GLICK AND E. LANDAU: AGE AS A FACTOR IN MARRIAGE. *Amer. sociol. Rev.*, 1950, 15, 517-529. USED BY PERMISSION.)

the fact that their chances for remarriage grow slimmer as they grow older. And as women can expect to live longer than men, this means a long period of loneliness complicated by financial and social problems.

Statistics have shown that women widowed by forty years of age can expect, in 9 out of 10 cases to live for twenty more years; those widowed by fifty can expect, in 3 out of 4 cases, likewise to live for twenty more years. When husband and wife are the same age, there is a 60 percent chance that the wife will outlive the husband; when the age differential is five years, the chances are 70 percent, while for a ten-year differential, the chances rise to 80 percent (6).

The chances for remarriage for women who are divorced after the age of forty-five years are 50 percent, while the chances for those widowed by death are only 18 percent (54,55). In Figure 13-11 are shown the ages of remarriage for both husbands and wives. Note how the curve

drops sharply for women after forty and also for men, but less sharply for men than for women.

Remarriage after divorce usually comes within the first five years, but one-half of the men and three-quarters of the women widowed by death have not remarried in five years after the death of the spouse. This suggests that many are divorced to marry someone else, and this increases their chances of marriage as compared with those widowed by death (56,78).

When men marry during their forties, they generally marry women in their own age group. Those who are in the fifty-year group, by contrast, marry women younger than they in 76 percent of the cases, and in 3.5 percent, the women are thirty or more years younger than they. This means that only approximately 20 percent marry women in their own age group.

Women in their forties marry men more nearly in their own age group than those who are older or younger than they. Those

in the fifties, by contrast, marry mostly younger men, those who are fifteen to twenty years younger than they. As Bos-sard has pointed out, this suggests that after middle age, both men and women "reach out to regain in their mates the youth that they themselves have lost" (18).

When remarrying in middle age follows divorce, the chances of success are less than with remarriages in the younger age groups, as shown by the fact that divorce is more likely in middle-aged groups than in the younger groups (108,146). While financial problems plague younger adults who remarry following divorce, adjustment problems to one another and to a new pattern of living are more likely to interfere with success of remarriage in middle age. It is always difficult for middle-aged people to change their roles and follow new patterns of living (78,108).

ADJUSTMENT TO IN-LAWS There are two types of in-law adjustment that are especially difficult for middle-aged people. Both of these are new or relatively new during middle age. They are (1) adjustment to children's spouses and (2) adjustment to aged parents.

ADJUSTMENT TO CHILDREN'S SPOUSES Adjustments to their children's spouses are very difficult for many middle-aged people, especially women. This is true even though they may like their sons- and daughters-in-law as people and even though they may have had no opposition to their children's marriages. There are many reasons for this, the most important of which are living with the in-laws, expecting the same relationship to exist with one's children that existed before marriage, or expecting the

same type of relationship with in-laws as with one's own children (21,48,103).

Furthermore, parents who have used authoritarian child-training methods are likely to continue to be authoritarian in their attitudes toward and treatment of their children, even after they are grown and married. While this behavior may take a new form—that of offering too many suggestions and too much advice—it is sure to lead to friction, not only with the grown children, but also with their spouses. This difficulty is increased when there is a strong emotional conflict involved (21,121,143).

The mother who does not want to lose her main role in life, that of parenthood, or who has a strong attachment to one of her children will find it more difficult to adjust to that child's spouse than will the mother who has other interests, who is more concerned about her child's happiness than about her own interests, or who believes that she can share love with her child after marriage by a good relationship with that child's spouse. Like any role, it takes time, effort, and motivation to learn the in-law role. Learning the mother-in-law role is more difficult than the father-in-law role because the former requires greater adjustments than the latter (103, 138,139).

When the *sociocultural backgrounds* of the spouses are similar to those of the family into which they marry, especially in ethnic, religious, class, and educational backgrounds, there will be a more harmonious relationship between the parents and the in-laws than when the backgrounds are dissimilar. Under the latter conditions, relationships are likely to be strained, parents become critical of small and petty differences and tend to magnify them, and

they project their personal biases into the behavior of the in-laws, often distorting this behavior and the motives behind it. Furthermore, because of the differences stemming from different backgrounds, parents are often unable to predict how their in-laws will behave. This makes them ill at ease when they are with the in-laws, a condition that does not lead to harmonious relationships (21,33,48).

If children follow the *traditional courtship pattern*, with an engagement long enough for parents to get to know the future in-laws and their families, the relationship is usually better after marriage than when the courtship is brief, carried out without the parents' knowledge, or when the parents do not meet their future in-laws or their families until the wedding. Parents' relationships with their children's spouses are usually poor when there has been an *elopement*. The elopement may have been motivated by real or suspected parental disapproval of the proposed marriage, by the young people's objections to the type of wedding their parents want them to have, by premarital pregnancy, or other causes. Under any conditions, elopement will usually be disapproved of by the parents; it will cause them embarrassment because of gossip and will likely lower the family prestige in the eyes of others. Parents more often blame the in-law for the elopement than their own child, thus building up a resentment toward the in-law which will militate against good adjustments (21,143).

Residential propinquity plays an important role in determining the kind of adjustment middle-aged parents will make with their in-laws. When the married child lives in another community or another part of the same community as the parents, dis-

tance is not a serious factor in adjustment, providing the parents approve of the marriage. When they disapprove, however, distance makes it difficult to get to know the in-law better.

The husband who resents the amount of time his wife spends with her mother and her dependency on her mother, which often makes her resist moving away from the neighborhood in which her parents live, will antagonize his mother-in-law and cause poor relationships to exist with her and other members of the family (48,139). The husband's adjustment to his in-laws has been found to be independent of his wife's adjustment to her parents, and his adjustment to his mother-in-law negatively related to his wife's dependence on her mother. His adjustment to his father-in-law, on the other hand, is positively related to his wife's dependence on her father (141).

While psychological dependency on parents may result in poor relationships between middle-aged parents and their children's spouses, *material dependency* usually strengthens family ties. This dependency may take different forms, financial help from parents, employment of sons or in-laws, helping the young people in the care of their children or in household repairs, and giving the married children and grandchildren a vacation (1,142,145).

Parents who are able to give this help feel closer to their children and in-laws than do those whose children are able to be independent. Not only does this give middle-aged parents, a substitute for their former parental roles, but it also helps to counteract any feeling they may have that their days of usefulness are over (33,140,142). Furthermore, their children's spouses are more likely to try to be on friendly

terms with their in-laws when they receive help from them than when they are able to be independent. Married children with offspring of their own generally make better adjustments to their mothers and mothers-in-law than do those who have no children and who, as a result, have less need for parental help (1,140,142).

ADJUSTMENT TO AGED PARENTS The American family of today is, typically, a nuclear family with parents and children living together as a unit. Visits with relatives, especially parents of the husband and wife, are preferred to more frequent and closer contacts. This is especially true of families that are mobile. As we have seen, they realize that, to achieve the social status they hope to achieve, they must "bury the past." This often includes relatives, especially aged parents who have not moved up the social ladder with their children (48,112,121). As Sussman has pointed out, the "higher the social classes, the lower the family continuity" (145).

At middle age, a new in-law adjustment problem arises in many American homes, that of caring for aged parents. Sometimes it means bringing the parents into the home, while, at other times, it means financial sacrifices on the part of middle-aged men and women to enable the parents to live in their own homes. In many cases, these aged parents need physical care as well as financial aid, or they are widowed and it is unwise or unsafe for them to try to live alone (24,145).

Because women as a group outlive men, the chances are that the elderly parent who must be taken care of will be the mother of either the wife or the husband. When the elderly mother is brought into the home, the social adjustment problems are very great, not only for the middle-

aged parents, but also for any children who are living at home. If the elderly relative is the mother of one of the spouses, it means a predominantly feminine household (3,48). See Figure 13-12.

A three-generation household, especially when it is predominantly feminine, is a hazardous type of family living in which the "combined virtues of a diplomat, statesman, and saint are needed" (74). The elderly relative, having had considerable authority in his or her own home in the past, does not find it easy to relinquish this power to even a grown child, and especially not to an in-law (21,79).

Middle-aged husbands and wives, freed from most of the financial burdens of caring for their own children and the restrictions placed on their activities when the children were younger, often resent the added financial burden created by the care of an elderly in-law, the extra work the care of this elderly in-law makes, and the restraints on their independence (46, 145). Husbands are more resentful when the relative is an in-law than when it is a member of his own family. This also is true of the wife. When husband-wife relationships are strained in middle age, the in-law problem often strains them to the breaking point (48,68,73).

When the elderly in-law interferes with the parental authority over the adolescent children or tries to use the authoritarian methods of his own generation, resentments and friction are created which intensify the difficulties of adjustment between middle-aged parents and their children (21,98). Furthermore, parents who find the care of the elderly relative difficult often are reluctant to have their children marry and leave home, thus putting all the burden of care on the middle-aged parent. While this burden may help

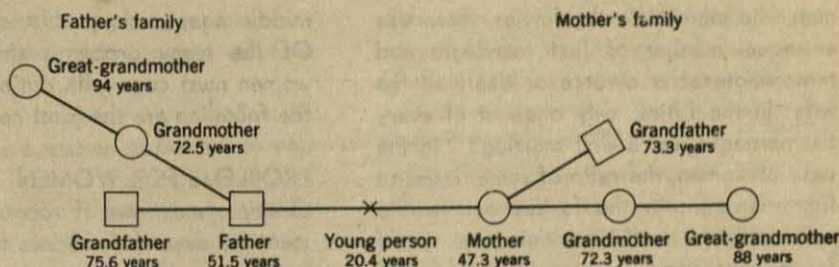


FIGURE 13-12 PATTERN OF AN ELONGATED FAMILY. (ADAPTED FROM R. ALBRECHT: INTERGENERATION PARENT PATTERNS. *J. Home Econ.*, 1954, 46, 29-32. USED BY PERMISSION.)

to fill the gap created when their children leave home, the substitute satisfaction they derive from the companionship of an elderly relative may be far from adequate and may even intensify parental loneliness (3,139).

How well the middle-aged person adjusts to the elderly parent will be markedly influenced by the type of experiences he has had in the past with that individual. The individual who felt, in childhood or adolescence, that he was rejected by his parent, that he was forced to work too hard at home, or that he was socially handicapped by his parent's occupation and the socioeconomic status of the family, will not make as good adjustments to his parent in middle age as will the individual whose relationships with his parent in earlier life were more satisfactory (33,34,48). As Albrecht has pointed out, "It is no longer realistic to take for granted that all people love their parents, or that all parents love their children" (2).

How satisfactory an adjustment is made to having to care for an elderly in-law in the home or elsewhere will be influenced likewise by earlier relationships with that in-law. Parents who approve of the marriage of their child generally get along bet-

ter, both before and after marriage, with their in-laws than do those who disapprove of the marriage (21,68). Furthermore, those who learn to play the "in-law role" satisfactorily in the early years of their child's marriage are guaranteed better adjustments to their children and their children's spouses as they grow older and become partially or totally dependent on them for help and support. In turn, middle-aged adults make better adjustments to in-law responsibilities when their attitudes toward their in-laws are favorable (2,34).

ADJUSTMENT TO SINGLENESS

Only about 8 percent of the adult population of the United States today is unmarried. Of this group, there are more men than women (101,122,160). By middle age, most of this group have adjusted themselves to singleness and are reasonably happy with the pattern of life they have established for themselves. However, some of those who went through the early adult years without marrying decide to do so at middle age (18).

A sample group of men and women who married late in life showed that among the

men who married in the forties, there was an equal number of first marriages and remarriages after divorce or death of the wife; in the fifties, only one out of every six marriages was a first marriage. In the case of women, the ratio of remarriages to first marriages in the forties was two to one, while in the fifties, only one out of seven marriages was a first marriage. While men and women in the forties tend to marry people from their own age group, those in the fifties more often marry individuals younger than they. This is true for women just as it is for men (78). If this sample study is representative of the population at large, it suggests that the middle-aged woman's chances of marriage are less than those of the middle-aged man.

Most women are realistic enough to know that after they pass forty, their chances for marriage grow slimmer every year. This is far more true for single women than for widows or divorcees. After forty-five, for example, the single woman's chances of marriage are 9 out of 100 as compared with 50 out of 100 for divorcees and 18 out of 100 for widows (78). See Figure 11-14, page 644.

Knowing how slim her chances of marriage are, the middle-aged single woman accepts the fact that her life pattern must be adjusted to this. As a result, her desire to marry is often replaced by vocational goals (77). See Figure 11-15, page 646, for a graphic illustration of this.

Problems Associated with Singleness

Just as marriage brings many problems for men and women in middle age, so does singleness. Furthermore, just as problems in marriage prove, as a rule, to be more difficult for women than for men during

middle age, so do problems of singleness. Of the many problems single men and women must cope with during middle age, the following are the most complex:

PROBLEMS FOR WOMEN The problems of *employment* and of *vocational advancement* are even more serious for the middle-aged woman than for the man. Should she lose her job, her chances of reemployment are even less than those for men, and, should she be fortunate enough to get another job, it usually means a cut in salary and a job with less responsibility and less prestige. Women who hold their jobs through middle age are far less often promoted to positions of prestige and responsibility than are men, and they must face an earlier retirement age in most companies. Refer to pages 719 to 722 for a more complete discussion of this matter.

As a result of these practices, vocational goals are not always a satisfactory substitute for family and home, with the security these normally bring. Worries about economic security and frustrations arising from the realization that promotion is blocked more because she is a woman than because of lack of ability make middle age a less happy period for women than early adulthood, when job security was taken for granted and when there was always the possibility of marriage.

In discussing the stresses a middle-aged unmarried woman often faces, Thompson (148) has emphasized how they affect her thus:

For the unmarried career woman, any birthday beyond the fortieth may add conflictual stress concerning her role as a woman in competition with men, concerning her professional status with

younger people coming on, and concerning her aloneness and financial security.

To add to her adjustment problems, it is usually the single woman of the family who is expected to assume the responsibility of *caring for an elderly parent* who is left alone after the death of the spouse, or for both parents, if their health is such that they cannot get along alone. This often adds a financial burden to the physical and emotional burden of caring for the elderly while holding down a job. In many families, it is assumed that the unmarried woman is financially able to carry this burden, and that she has plenty of time, which married members of the family lack (2,63).

Were it not for imminent retirement or the constant worry of losing her job, the financial responsibility of parental care might not mean serious adjustment problems for the unmarried woman. Were it not also for the fact that advancing age means a drain on her strength, the extra work involved in caring for elderly parents could be more easily adjusted to.

Should the single woman give up her job to take care of an elderly parent, or should she give up any thoughts and hopes of a career because of home responsibilities, she will suffer from even greater stresses than the woman who tries to carry a double burden of job and home responsibilities (24). As Thompson has pointed out, "For the unmarried woman who has stayed behind to maintain the old home, not only to help the parents but to free other siblings, the stresses from conscious and unconscious conflict are too numerous to mention!" (148).

Assuming responsibilities for the care of the parental home and of aging parents generally means limiting the single woman's

social life. As a result, the middle-aged woman often cuts herself off from social contacts and activities in community organizations so drastically that when the care of the parent ends with the parent's death, the middle-aged woman finds herself far lonelier than the middle-aged widow who usually has her children or the friends she has known during the years of her marriage to fall back on for companionship.

PROBLEMS FOR MEN The role of the single man in middle age is usually more favorable than that of the woman. Because he has not had the responsibilities of a family through the early adult years, he has been able to devote as much time as he wished to his business, and he has been free to move to areas where greater opportunities were available. As *business success* necessitates hard work and willingness to adapt oneself to new situations, the middle-aged man is usually better rewarded for his past efforts than is the middle-aged woman who has followed the same pattern of hard work and personal sacrifice in the earlier years. When promotions are made, they usually go to the man. The middle-aged bachelor, therefore, is generally at the peak of his career, and he has little reason to be concerned about unemployment (17,80).

If he finds himself lonely, there will be little difficulty in finding a wife and making a reasonably happy marriage. As has already been stressed, the chances for marriage for single men in middle age are greater than those for women. When men remain single, it is more often from choice than from necessity.

Furthermore, the man will not be handicapped by the problems of *caring for el-*

derly parents unless there are no other family members able to assume this responsibility. When he must take over this responsibility, he usually does so by financial aid rather than by sacrificing his time and efforts to take care of their needs. Consequently, he is free to make the type of life he wishes and has relatively few problems of adjustment of the sort the middle-aged single woman must face (24).

ADJUSTMENT TO APPROACHING OLD AGE

In recent years, it has been recognized by many business and industrial organizations that they owe it to their employees to help them to adjust to the problems of retirement since the employers are largely responsible for creating these problems. At first, the main emphasis was on stressing the importance of saving and investing in pension funds that would guarantee an income after retirement. It soon became apparent that problems more difficult to meet than financial problems should be included in this preparation for old age.

As a result, some large corporations today run series of lectures and provide individual counseling for employees who will soon reach the retirement age. This has brought to the attention of many laymen what psychologists have stressed for a number of years, namely, that adjustment to any problem is made more quickly and with less emotional stress if one is prepared ahead of time for it (24,85). The longer the individual has to prepare and the more aspects of the situation he explores and understands, the better prepared he will be to adjust to a problem, even though it may differ in its major aspects from what he had anticipated during the period of

preparation (99). It is now agreed that preparation for old age and retirement should begin in middle age. In emphasizing the importance of preparation for old age, Kuhlen (76) has pointed out that:

Programs designed to foster continuous learning and broad participation in life throughout the adult years (in the 30's, 40's, and 50's) will promote the development of the kinds of habits and personal resources (knowledge, skills, attitudes, and appreciations) which will make for good adjustment both at present age and later in old age.... The most effective educational program for old age is a program of adult education which is broad and varied in scope and which is sensitive to the needs of all ages including those in the older years.

Resistance to Preparation

In a study of attitudes of middle-aged people toward approaching old age, it was found that there are four common types of attitudes: positive, negative, neutral, and contingent ('old age will be fine if'). In general, neutral attitudes are the most common, with contingent next in frequency. Negative attitudes are most likely to develop when the individual's health is poor or when there is a dread of financial dependency. Women, on the whole, were reported to have more negative attitudes toward approaching old age than men (97).

When attitudes toward old age are unfavorable, middle-aged people literally shut their eyes and ears to anything relating to old age. It has been reported, for example, that middle-aged people show little or no interest in watching television programs about the problems of the aged

(7). Doctors are constantly confronted with the problem of middle-age resistance to help in preparing for old age. Advice to a middle-aged man to "slow down and take it easy" is usually ignored until a heart attack or some other serious illness persuades the individual that the doctor's advice was for his own good (156).

Similarly, the middle-aged woman often refuses to accept the advice of her husband and friends to develop interests outside the home in preparation for the time when her duties as housewife and mother will be reduced to a minimum. She believes that her children will always need her, as they have during their years of growing up. Then, when the time comes for them to leave home and establish homes of their own, she is faced with a traumatic experience for which she is ill prepared but which she could have spared herself had she been willing to face a fact which she dreaded—the fact that she was no longer as necessary to her children as she was when they were dependent (89).

Because far too many middle-aged men and women dread approaching old age, a dread based on their acceptance of the unfavorable stereotype so widely held in our culture, they reach old age with too little preparation to make the necessary adjustments to the problems that this age brings. As a result, they find old age one of the most, if not the most, unsatisfactory periods of life (154).

Areas of Preparation

Most of the problems of old age, it has been found, originate in middle age or even earlier (159). If, therefore, the individual is to adjust successfully to old age, major emphasis should be placed on preparation in areas where adjustment problems

in old age are most likely to arise. Of the many areas, the following have been found to be the most important: health; retirement; role changes; and family plans.

HEALTH The ability to live a happy, useful life at any age is greatly influenced by the *health* of the individual. Even the school-age child cannot do good school-work or make satisfactory social adjustments if he is in poor health. And because the demands of adult life are more exacting than those on the child, the adult whose strength, endurance, and general health condition are inferior to those of his contemporaries is at a disadvantage in whatever he undertakes. Medical research has shown that, as the years advance, different parts of the body show the effects of wear and tear (156,159).

Preparation for old age should consist, therefore, of health measures which are not designed primarily to increase the individual's life span but rather to prevent chronic and progressive diseases which will impair the efficiency and happiness of old age. Attention to diet, exercise, amount of sleep needed, pace of activity, boredom in work, and work load, for example, will go far to enable the organs of the body that are functioning at a lower level of efficiency than they did in the earlier years of life to continue to function efficiently throughout the remaining years of life (30, 156,159).

Many of the serious and debilitating diseases of old age could be prevented or at least mitigated if they were recognized and treated during middle age. With more health education, middle-aged people would know how to live so that they could keep themselves in good health as they grow older. This would help to prevent the development of the chronic ill-

nesses which are so common in old age (99,156).

RETIREMENT During the forties and early fifties, many men look forward to the day when they will no longer have to work and when their time will be their own to do with as they wish. See Figure 13-2, page 720. However, as they reach the later years of the fifties and realize that retirement is imminent, their attitudes often change. In one study, it was reported that only 47 percent of the group questioned had looked forward with pleasure to retirement (156).

While they are still in relatively good health and able to do their work successfully without too much strain, few men realize that with retirement will come progressive physical handicaps, a feeling of uselessness, lack of social contacts, loneliness, boredom, and inactivity. Because, in most cases, income after retirement is less than during the working years, it often means changing the pattern of living, giving up many of the activities formerly engaged in, and even moving into smaller quarters or living with a married child.

All of the changes in pattern of living that come with retirement tend to increase the feeling of uselessness and boredom which, in turn, aggravate any physical ailment that might be present. Thus the retired person is usually unhappy, and he makes his wife and other members of the family unhappy too.

When there is preparation during middle age for retirement through the building up of new interests and engaging in new activities which can later be substituted for work, the retired person makes better adjustments to old age and is, as a result, happier than the one who makes no preparations and whose unrealistic idealization

of retirement makes actual retirement a traumatic experience for him (24,150).

In one study of how a retirement-planning program affected the attitudes of retired workers, it was reported that when the preparation for retirement was begun at least a year before the worker reached retirement age and when the preparation included the wives as well as the workers themselves, there were more favorable reactions toward retirement and a reduction of fear about their future well-being. These more favorable attitudes came when emphasis was placed on financial planning, retirement living, the importance of nutrition in old age, and health care (85).

ROLE CHANGES Middle age is the time to prepare the individual for the role changes which are inevitable in old age. The objectives of this education include giving the middle-aged person knowledge of the physical and psychological changes which will occur so that he can understand them when they occur and make suitable adjustments to them; providing new knowledge and skills as a basis for continuing employment, volunteer services, and creative expression; education for the enjoyment of the arts, for intelligent citizenship, and the postponement of mental deterioration; upsetting the prevailing stereotype of aging and substituting for it constructive concepts with favorable social attitudes; and education to provide the specialized knowledge required by those working with older people (76,150,156).

How important preparation for role changes with advancing age has been illustrated in the case of community organizations planned for the elderly. In one community with a large old-age population it was found that over one-half of the elderly residents belonged to none of

these community organizations and only one-third belonged to one. Very few belonged to more than one organization, and those who did join attended the meetings only irregularly. Fewer women than men belonged and fewer married than single people.

Because they had not learned to enjoy such activities when they were younger and had not developed interests in community organizations during middle age, they were unprepared to take advantage of these substitutes for the loneliness, boredom, and inactivity which make old age an unhappy period of life for many men and women (164).

FAMILY PLANS Family plans for old age should occupy the attention of most middle-aged people, but few prepare themselves realistically for where and how they will live when they are old or when they reach the retirement age. In order to determine middle-age attitudes toward the future and the plans made for it, a group of middle-aged people were asked what plans they had for it. Of the group questioned, 17 percent claimed that they never thought about old age and the problems it brings. When questioned about their family plans, most felt it was the responsibility of families to help older people, either wholly or in part, if they cannot take care of themselves. Most of the group objected to homes for the aged or to being cared for by the government on the grounds that this was a family duty.

Living with their married children or other relatives was contemplated by only 15 percent of the group, while 30 percent claimed that under no circumstance would they do so. Most claimed that only in cases of disability or actual necessity would they live with their married children.

Their objections were based on the belief that this would give them no privacy or independence, that it would mean too crowded living quarters, and that they would feel that they were in the way. In cases of chronic illness or disability, about half claimed that they would rely on their families, live on insurance, or hire a housekeeper, while the other half said they had no plans (130). It is true that in this area of planning for old age, as in the case of retirement, the usual attitude of middle-aged people is to ignore the problems of the future because they are unpleasant and to wait until the problems actually arise before tackling them.

ASSESSMENT OF ADJUSTMENT TO MIDDLE AGE

Middle age should be the time of the "payoff," a time of "newfound freedom," not only from the cares and responsibilities of the home, but also from economic problems and worries, and a time for redefining oneself as a "person," not just "Mother" or "Father." It should also be a time of "contentment and satisfaction" coming from looking back on the years that have passed and feeling that they have been well spent (46). As Hervey Allen points out in *Anthony Adverse*, "The only time you really live is from 30 to 60. The young are slaves of dreams: the old, servants of regrets. Only the middle-aged have all their five senses in the keeping of their wits" (4).

For far too many people, unfortunately, middle age is a time of regrets, of disappointments, and of general unhappiness. They may be plagued by financial problems, vocational worries, career failures, or marital difficulties of long standing which flare up into serious problems at this age. In one study, for example, when brothers

and sisters were asked to rate the marital happiness of married couples, it was found that while happiness in marriage did not vary for men to any marked extent with age, for women the forties and early fifties were a "critical period" during which time they showed much discontent and unhappiness in their marriages (20).

Marital unhappiness, due to poor spousal adjustments, vocational problems, disappointment at the achievements of children, or any one of a number of other causes, often leads to displacing negative attitudes on the children of the family, rather than on the spouse. As a result, the children become emotionally disturbed. This further increases the poor adjustments the parents make to their marriage, to their careers, and to life in general (161).

That middle age is far too often a time of poor adjustment is evident in the severe climb in the number of suicides that occur at this time (152). In one study it was found that the suicide rate started to climb between the ages of thirty-six and forty years, reaching its peak between forty and sixty years. It then declines in the sixties, only to rise again at seventy (67). Suicide is more common among men than among women, and money problems are more often the cause than any one other thing (67,152). Rates of suicide at different ages are shown in Figure 13-13.

Factors Militating against Adjustment

Adjustments to middle age are made more difficult by a number of factors. The most common and most serious of these are: lack of preparation; physical ailments; difficulties in learning; mental rigidity; lack of motivation; and unfavorable family attitudes.

LACK OF PREPARATION Throughout early adulthood, most men and women are too busy establishing themselves vocationally, taking care of their families, and adjusting to constantly changing demands upon their time, energy, and money to be able to think ahead and prepare for the time when the patterns of their lives will be changed. What preparation they do make for middle age is largely negative in character, trying, for example, to convince themselves and everyone else that they are not aging. Preparation of a positive type, in the form of creating new interests and preparing themselves to play new roles when changed conditions within their living patterns demand this, is largely ignored.

PHYSICAL AILMENTS Physical ailments, either real or imagined, always complicate adjustments. This is especially true of the adjustments that must be made in middle age. Few adults reach the forties and even fewer, the fifties, without having some physical problems to contend with (27). The good health of early adulthood, which aided in the adjustments to the problems of that period of life, is usually lacking at middle age.

DIFFICULTIES IN LEARNING Adjustments often require the learning of new motor skills. For the middle-aged person, this is far more difficult than for the younger adult. Studies of learning have shown that there is, with age, a decline in speed and accuracy, just as there are more difficulties in adjusting to new situations (35). As Lehman has explained, "To learn the new they often have to unlearn the old and that is twice as hard as learning without unlearning. But when a situation requires a store of past knowledge then the

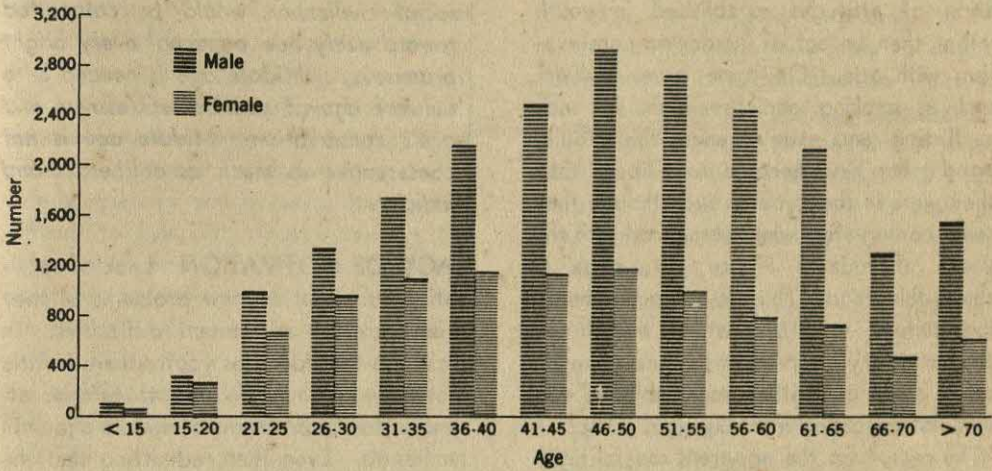


FIGURE 13-13 SUICIDES REACH THEIR PEAK DURING MIDDLE AGE. (ADAPTED FROM J. HIRSCH: SUICIDE. *Ment. Hyg., N.Y.*, 1959, 43, 516-525. USED BY PERMISSION.)

old find their advantage over the young" (80).

MENTAL RIGIDITY The tendency toward mental rigidity is a barrier to good adjustments, especially in a culture that is subject to rapid changes. Unless the individual can and will adjust his attitudes to changed conditions, he will find himself out of step with existing conditions.

It is popularly believed that mental rigidity is the result of mental decline, which is believed to set in during the middle years of life. Follow-up studies of the same individuals in middle age have revealed that there is a significant increase in test scores when abilities that require the use of reasoning or past experience are measured, and there is little or no change in tests where speed of mental activity is essential.

Thus, there is, with age, a highly significant increase in test scores and not a decrease, as is commonly believed (111).

Figure 1-10, page 23 shows a hypothetical curve of intellectual growth based on longitudinal studies from birth to fifty years. As may be seen, there is some increment up to fifty years (10). Although gains in test scores have been found for all age levels up to fifty years, the greatest gains are made by those with less education (11).

The tendency toward mental rigidity so often found in middle-aged people is, obviously, not the result of mental decline. A comparison of middle-aged people up to sixty years of age with college students of today revealed, for example, that the former were more conservative than the latter. But when the attitudes of the older people were compared with those of their youth, it was apparent that the older people were actually more liberal than they had been when they were younger.

Supposed conservatism or tendency toward mental rigidity is merely a continu-

ation of attitudes established in youth rather than an actual increasing conservatism with age. On some issues studied, such as smoking, social-sex behavior such as flirting, and extravagance, the middle-aged group have become more liberal than they were in their youth, even though they seem conservative when compared with the youth of today. Figure 1-1, page 4, shows this trend. Thus, in a rapidly changing culture, such as that of the United States today, conservatism may merely mean clinging to attitudes established earlier, not becoming mentally rigid (118).

The reason for the apparent mental rigidity among middle-aged people has been explained by Terrien (147):

The average man will resist these drastic changes with everything in his power for the simple reason that he is conscious of the work he has done to secure what he has, and he knows that he does not have the time to start over again. He has made his major effort in life; he has, with more or less success, adjusted to one way of living; he will have neither the time nor the energy to make another such adjustment. One time around is enough.... It is not true that you cannot teach an old dog new tricks, but the new tricks constitute an adjustment for the old dog which is difficult for him to make.... All people find, sooner or later, that there is a limit to this process.

Conservatism, unless it is carried to the point of rigidity, does not prove to be a handicap to adjustment. Instead, it is advantageous. As Desmond (45) has explained:

If middle age were as reckless as the twenties and thirties, our economic and

social civilization would be catapulted toward every new panacea, every bright promise.... Middle age is needed as a bulwark against youth's recklessness and age's conservatism. Middle age is not conservative so much as deliberate and judicial.

LACK OF MOTIVATION Lack of motivation to adjust to new problems as they arise increases adjustment difficulties. In a culture that idealizes youth, there is little incentive for the individual to turn his attention to the problems of middle age until he has to. Even then, admitting that the problems exist and making efforts to adjust to them mean admitting to himself and to others that he is getting old. This, he feels, is a step downward, and he avoids it as long as he possibly can.

Furthermore, in a culture that encourages young people to aspire to life goals that are often impossible for them to reach, the realization of failure by middle age is often a traumatic experience which saps any motivation a person might otherwise have had to try to adjust to new problems as they arise. If, on the other hand, the life goals are not only achieved but are also achieved early in life, the rest of life is likely to seem void and meaningless. This, like failure to achieve goals, militates against the individual's motivation to adjust to new circumstances in his life or to try to set up new goals (127).

UNFAVORABLE FAMILY ATTITUDES

When the attitudes of family members toward the person who is approaching middle age are unfavorable, it gives that person little incentive to admit his age or to try to adjust to the problems it brings. The personal problems of middle-aged men and women are complicated by the attitudes

and behavior of overly critical, rebellious adolescent offspring and by older parents who are not only a burden but who remind the middle-aged constantly of their own approaching old age. This leads to a critical, intolerant attitude toward the elderly relatives which makes them more difficult to live with, thus increasing the unfavorable model the middle-aged have constantly before them (9,22).

In business or social life, the increasing competition with young people who press the middle-aged to perform more actively and more efficiently adds to the unfavorable self-concepts established in the home. The result is that the middle-aged person's motivation to adjust to problems he dreads and tries to avoid is still further reduced (59,92,95).

Criteria of Adjustment

To determine how well the middle-aged individual, whether man or woman, adjusts to this period in his life span, four criteria can be applied. They are: (1) achievement; (2) emotional states; (3) personality; and (4) happiness.

ACHIEVEMENT The closer the individual's achievements approximate the aspirations he had in his youth for the time when he reaches his peak, the better satisfied and, hence, the better adjusted he will be. Unfortunately, not all middle-aged people attain success in what they do, nor are they recognized for their achievements. Many enter the prime of life with a past history of failure or mediocre success behind them (45).

For most adults, the early forties are the "testing stage" when the individual examines his career to determine the extent to which he has achieved the life goals and satisfactions he had hoped to gain.

Whether the outcome is entirely to his satisfaction or not, he is likely to regard the latter part of middle age, the fifties, as the time when he will concentrate on achieving the maximum gratification from what remains of a vigorous life. This is the stage of "indulgence" of middle age, as contrasted with the "testing" stage of early middle age (96).

During the "testing" stage of early middle age, when the individual compares his achievements with his level of aspiration, he may decide he is a success, a failure, or a partial success. Failures are of two types, acknowledged and grandiose. In the case of *acknowledged failure*, the individual recognizes that his abilities and the conditions that confront him will never permit him to achieve the goals he has set. Some react to this by revising their goals; others escape into daydreams or alcoholism, find comfort in other purposes, or develop a stoic outlook. The individual who experiences *grandiose failures* usually becomes embittered because of paranoid beliefs about the obstacles which have kept him from achieving the success he believed he was capable of.

Successes are also of two types, *satisfied* and *dissatisfied*. In the case of the former, the individual feels rewarded for his efforts and is happy. In the latter, by contrast, he lacks satisfaction even when he achieves his goals because he feels he has chosen the wrong goals. In such a situation, some try to escape, through daydreams, alcohol, or even suicide; others try to compensate for their dissatisfaction by enjoying pleasures; or they seek new goals to replace the ones that have not brought satisfaction (127).

Even when the middle-aged person has achieved as great success as could reasonably be expected with his abilities and

training, he often *feels* that he has been a failure because his achievements have not come up to his expectations. This is because he clings to aspirations developed in youth or even in childhood. As Whitman (166) has explained:

Many middle-aged men and women feel like failures when they aren't failures at all. They are merely using the wrong tape measure. They look at themselves in their 40s and 50s and take their measures by the standards of childhood dreams and ambitions. These standards are as ill-fitting to their present stature as the trousers or the dresses they wore when they were youngsters. Childhood dreams are wonderful for children; but when we keep clinging to them in our middle years, they can make failures of us all. This is not because the childhood dreams are wrong—it is rather that we misunderstand their function.... Somewhere in the middle years we must let go of the dream. We must, in our maturity, recognize the dream for what it really is: a childhood spur to get us on our way, a good.

Because many middle-aged people are not realistic about their potentials, they become discouraged when their achievements fall below their expectations. This discouragement, in turn, lowers their motivation with the result that they do less than they are capable of doing (117, 135). Figure 13-14 shows the gap between the individual's potentialities and his actual performance. Note how the curves for those who believe they are failures take a steep drop during middle age.

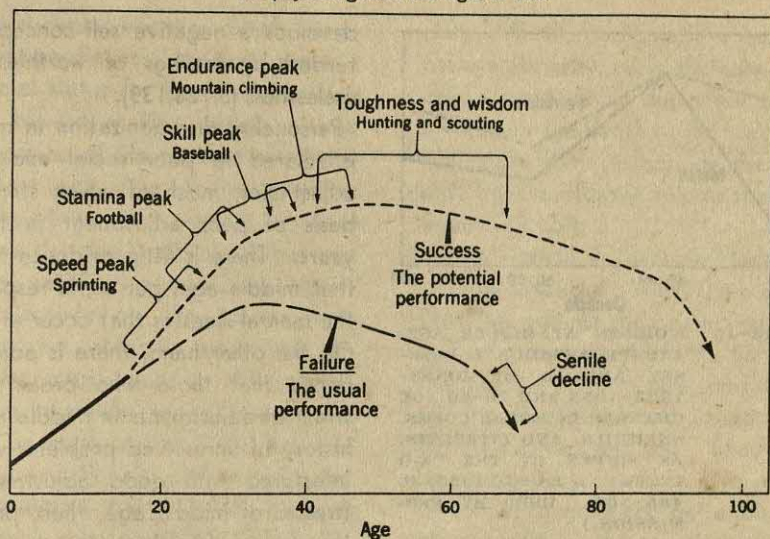
EMOTIONAL STATES An important criterion of adjustment to middle age is how stressful the individual is. As Billig

and Adams have pointed out, "There has been an increasing awareness that middle age can bring anxiety and insecurity" (16). Stress may be shown in many ways, the most frequent of which are conflicts with members of the family and a tendency to make great demands on them; excessive demands by the middle-aged person on those who work under him; glorification of youth patterns of behavior, especially in sex affairs with younger people; and intense anxieties (16). Studies of worries have revealed that middle-aged men and women worry more than do younger people (118). Figure 13-15 shows the increase in worrying in middle age, especially up to fifty years when it begins to subside. Figure 12-7, page 690, shows the tendency toward increase in nervousness during middle age. Note that it is greater in women than in men at this time.

There is evidence that emotional stress is more common during the early part of middle age than during the latter. The reason for this is that, during the forties, changes in living patterns, in accustomed roles, and in concepts of self resulting from physical and role changes generally come upon both men and women suddenly. Although changes are always difficult and, as a result, are generally accompanied by stress, they are especially disturbing and emotion-provoking for those who have not made adequate provision for them (16, 118). The woman, for example, who has not prepared herself for the loss of her role as mother, is far more upset when she is faced with this problem than is the woman who has gradually developed interests to replace the time and effort she spent in the care of her children (89).

Most men and women make reasonable adjustments to the physical and psychological changes of middle age within a

The physical growth and ages of man



The psychic growth and ages of man

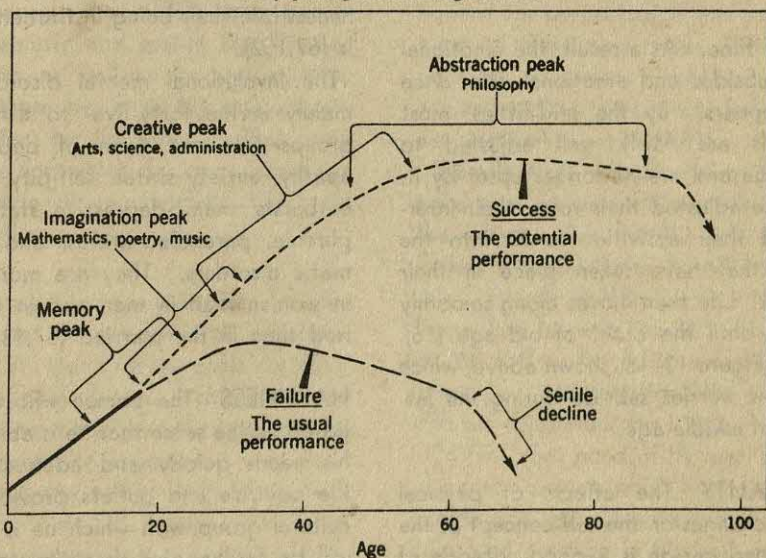


FIGURE 13-14 POTENTIAL AND ACTUAL PERFORMANCE. THE UPPER LINES INDICATE THE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL POTENTIALS OF NORMAL PEOPLE WITH PEAK PERIODS FOR VARIOUS ACTIVITIES; THE LOWER LINES INDICATE HOW MOST PEOPLE FAIL TO MEASURE UP. (ADAPTED FROM J. W. STILL: MAN'S POTENTIAL—AND HIS PERFORMANCE. *The New York Times*, NOV. 24, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

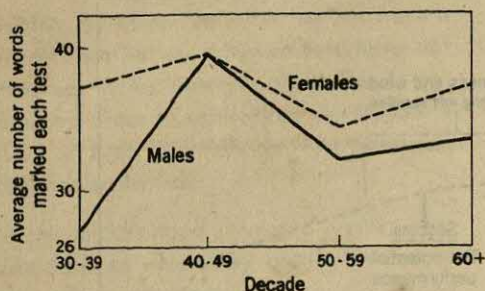


FIGURE 13-15 WORRIES AT MIDDLE AGE. (ADAPTED FROM S. L. PRESSEY AND A. W. JONES: 1923-1953 AND 20-60 AGE CHANGES IN MORAL CODES, ANXIETIES, AND INTERESTS, AS SHOWN BY THE "X-O TESTS." *J. Psychol.*, 1955, 39, 485-502. USED BY PERMISSION.)

period of time. As a result, the emotional tension subsides and emotional calm once again appears. By the mid-fifties, most individuals are fairly well adjusted to middle age and are no longer upset by it. They have adjusted their roles, their interests, and their activities to fit into the changes that have taken place in their organisms. Life then moves along smoothly for them until the onset of old age (16). Refer to Figure 13-15, shown above, which shows how worries subside during the latter part of middle age.

PERSONALITY The effects of physical and role changes on the self-concept of the middle-aged person is a good criterion of how well he is adjusting to middle age. When the individual makes satisfactory adjustments, his self-concept will be positive; he will feel that he is still a useful member of society and that he can still make worthwhile contributions, whether they be familial, social, or vocational. By contrast, the poorly adjusted individual

develops a negative self-concept, characterized by feelings of worthlessness and uselessness (5,128,133).

Personality disorganization in middle age is related to poor social and emotional adjustment, much of which stems from a basis of poor adjustment in the earlier years. There is little evidence to indicate that middle age, per se, is responsible for the mental illnesses that occur at that time. On the other hand, there is adequate evidence that those who break under the strain of adjustments in middle age have a history of unresolved problems which have interfered with good adjustments. The stresses of middle age, then, prove to be too severe for them to cope with and mental illness of a severe enough type to necessitate their being institutionalized sets in (67,152).

The involutional mental disorders found mainly in the forty-five- to fifty-five-year groups take the form of depression or apathy, anxiety states, self-pity, emotional outbursts, manic-depressive states, schizophrenia, paranoiac states, and psychosomatic disorders. They are more common in women than in men and in the unmarried than in the married (57,133).

HAPPINESS The person who is well adjusted, in the sense that he is able to satisfy his needs quickly and adequately within the controls and outlets provided by the cultural group with which he is identified, will be far happier than the one who has been unable or unwilling to make the adjustments essential to satisfy his needs. The woman, for example, who wants a career after marriage so she can have more outside contacts and amusements and less housework, will be far happier than she would be if her time and energies were limited to homemaking (62,89,151).

Success in a chosen vocation, which brings with it prestige, financial rewards, and improved social status for the family, goes a long way toward making middle age a satisfying period of life for men and helps to counteract lack of satisfaction in other areas of their lives. For women, to whom family life is the dominant role as business is for men, satisfaction in middle age is dependent mainly on the success with which they are able to adjust to the changes they must make in the role of homemaking in middle age. These adjustments will be made easier if the husband is successful vocationally and provides the money and leisure that make the changes in the woman's roles possible (112, 113, 124, 151).

To be happy, the middle-aged person must be realistic and realize that life has its problems as well as its rewards (46). However, there are, at middle age, certain compensations for the problems that come at this time and which, for some, seem too great to cope with successfully (153). As Levine (82) has pointed out:

What the mind loses in alertness, it makes up for it in the assurance of reflective thinking. If the muscles grow sensitive to fatigue, they learn to respond more selectively to stimuli. If the bodily functions show signs of impairment, they flash intermittently the amber lights of caution. And if the fires of passion are being damped, one comes to prize the release from their tyrannical domination.

Differences in Adjustment

Sex differences in adjustment are especially marked. As we have seen, women whose chief role in life is homemaking and child rearing, find the adjustments espe-

cially difficult, particularly when their roles change abruptly, as in the case of the last child's marriage or departure from home, divorce, or the death of the husband, which may make it necessary for the woman to shift from her former role to that of breadwinner (89, 124).

Many women are not prepared for these changes, especially when there are cultural pressures against their assuming new roles, such as a career outside the home. Unless she makes a shift to new roles, the woman will be dissatisfied and unhappy because she feels useless and idle. Should her roles be changed by death or divorce, she may be forced to move and get a job. To complicate matters, the emotional tensions accompanying the death or divorce militate against her psychological and social adjustment to these new roles. Often the adjustment is further complicated by the realization that the chances for remarriage are relatively slim (33, 46, 83).

The effects of role changes on the middle-aged man are very different from those of the woman. Because the man's main role is that of breadwinner, he will continue this role through middle age, unless illness forces him to retire early. Should he lose his job and be forced to accept a job with lower pay and prestige, there will be a difficult adjustment for him to make.

On the other hand, if he reaches his peak of earning power, which normally comes in middle age, he will have greater responsibility and prestige in his work, which then will compensate for the loss of his role as a father. While he may be caused greater stress by his desire to appear younger than he is in order to maintain this position of responsibility and prestige, his stress will not be much greater than that of the middle-aged woman who desires to retain a youthful appearance and vigor. In the

case of divorce or death, the middle-aged man's life patterns are less disrupted than those of the woman, and his chances of remarriage are far greater (33,78).

Social class differences likewise affect the adjustment problems of both men and women. Women of the middle class find the adjustments more difficult than do men or than do women of the upper and lower classes. The increased leisure resulting from the reduction of her homemaking responsibilities leaves the middle-aged woman with few sources of satisfaction unless she develops new roles, which may, in turn, be blocked by social or family pressures (46,124).

Women of the lower class who have worked for the major part of their adult lives, either through necessity to support the family or from a desire to give their children greater advantages than would be possible with only the husbands' earnings, find the decrease in their home roles satisfying because it relieves the pressure from carrying a double load and gives them

more money to spend as they wish. Women of the upper classes have adequate income to enable them to spend their increased leisure in community and social activities, the prestige from which is adequate compensation for the loss of roles as homemaker and parent (112,124).

As for men, the effects of middle age are more serious in the lower than in the middle or upper classes. In the latter, occupational status is higher and, as a result, more satisfying. Men of the lower class, on the other hand, may find it difficult to keep pace with the constantly changing methods of industry, and their slowing down as a result of physical changes may result in the loss of their jobs. Furthermore, learning new skills and getting new jobs becomes increasingly difficult with advancing age. For men of the lower classes, therefore, adjustment to middle age is complicated by the emotional tensions arising from fear of unemployment or humiliation at having to accept a job with lower wages and less prestige (82,94,153).

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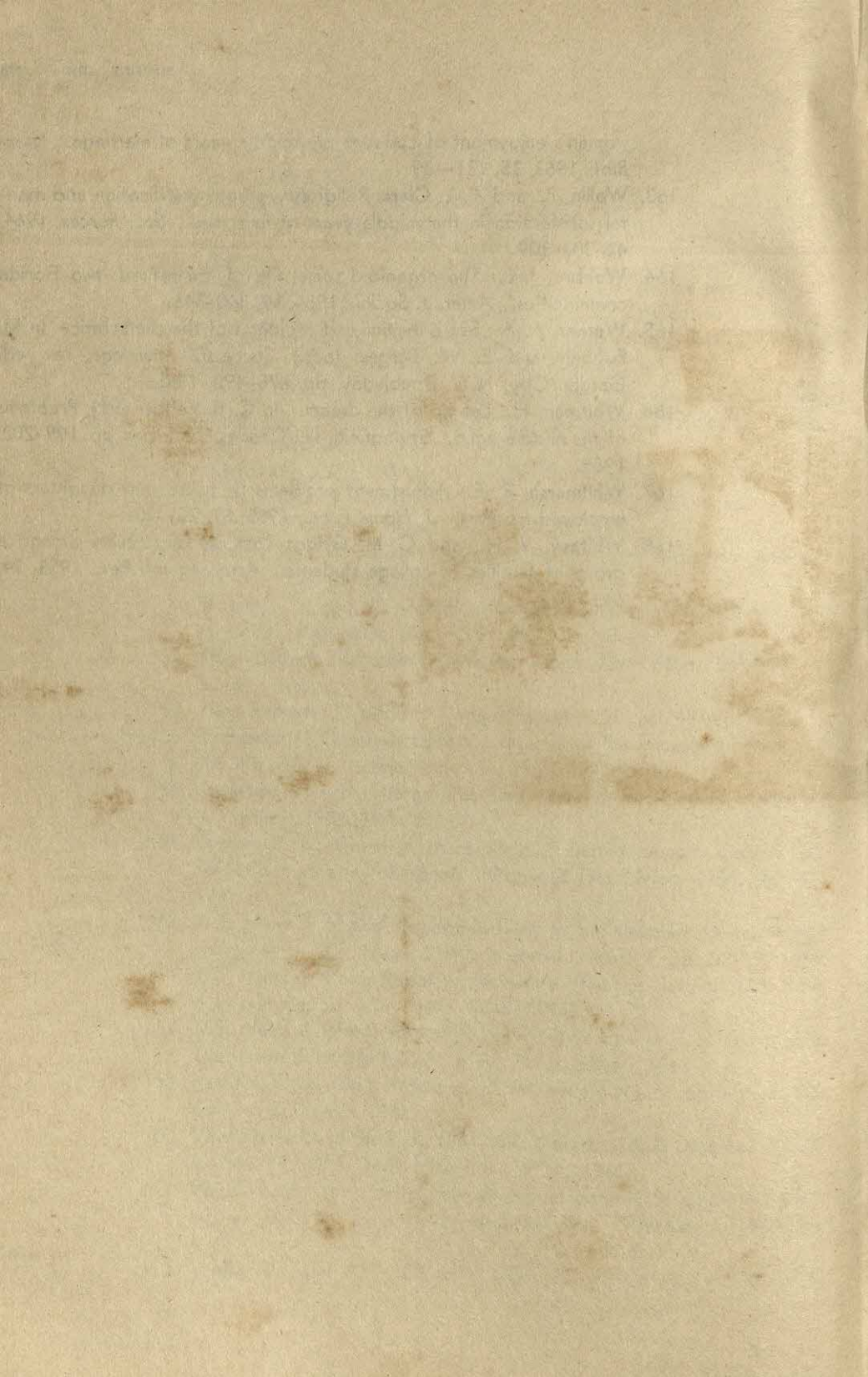
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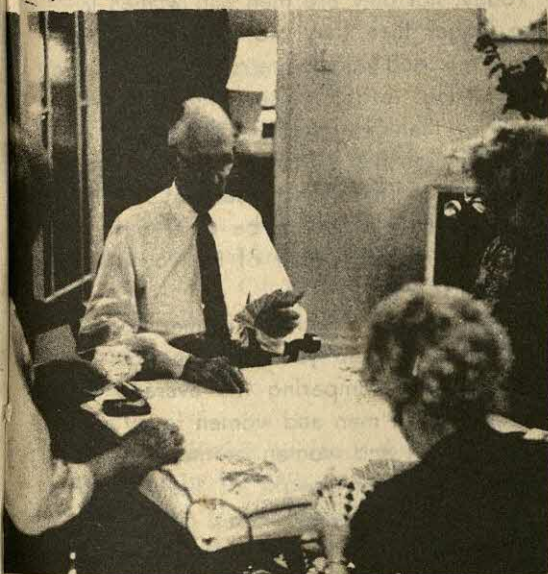
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Old age is the closing period in the life span. It is a "period of moving away from some previous and more desirable period—'the prime of life' or 'the years of usefulness'" (107). In "moving away" from the earlier periods of the life span, the individual looks back on his earlier life, often regretfully, and tends to live in the present, ignoring as much as possible the future (170).

With increasing age comes a decline, a regression or return to an earlier pattern of behavior and a simpler level of functioning. However, as Parker (189) has emphasized:

Aging is not a disease or a disintegrative force, nor is senescence a state of pitiable decrepitude of mind and body to which we must all succumb—if we live long enough. Both aging and senescence are inherent parts of life that we must acknowledge, accept, and seek to understand and thereby enjoy.

As has been stressed repeatedly, the individual is never static: instead, he constantly changes. During the early part of the life span, the changes are evolutionary in that they lead to maturity of structure and functioning. In the latter part of the life span, the changes are mainly involutional, showing a regression to earlier stages. These changes are commonly referred to as "aging," and they include physical as well as mental structures and functioning. As Birren et al. (26) have explained:

Aging is a process of changes involving all aspects of the organism. Its consequences range from altered structures and functions of the component tissues of the body to an altered relationship of the organism to its physical and social environment.... The term "aging" is meant to denote determinate patterns of late-life changes, changes eventually shown by all persons though varying in rate and degree. In this usage, aging lies close to concepts of growth and development in which most members of a species are regarded as showing a representative pattern of change.... Aging... is defined as a progression of adult changes characteristic of the species and which should occur in all individuals if they live long enough.

PERIOD OF OLD AGE

Sixty years is taken as the arbitrary dividing line between middle and old age. However, it is recognized that chronological age is a poor criterion to use in marking off the beginning of old age because there are such marked differences between individuals in the age at which aging actually begins.

Most men and women today, because of better living conditions and better health care, do not show the mental and physical characteristics of aging until the mid-sixties or even early seventies. For that reason, there is a gradual trend toward using sixty-five years as the beginning of old age—the age of compulsory retirement in many businesses—though the traditional dividing line between middle and old age—sixty years—is still used (26,112,189).

Whether old age will be a short or long period will be determined by how long the

individual lives. For some, old age is one of the longest periods in the life span; for others, it is one of the shortest. Of course some individuals never reach old age, having died or been killed during one of the earlier periods in life.

Today, not only are men and women living longer than they did in the past but more men and women are reaching old age and living into the seventies or even eighties than was true in the past. As Goodenough has expressed it, "The average span of life has increased not so much because the old live to be older but because a greater number of the young live to be old" (94).

How marked the increase in the life span has been in recent years can best be appreciated by comparing the average life expectancy of men and women today with that of men and women of the past. In Rome, the mean length of life was 23 years, and in Greece, it was 29.4 years. The first American life tables, "Wigglesworth's Table," constructed from data gathered in several towns in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, appeared in 1789 and showed the mean life expectancy at that time to be 35.5 years. By 1850, the life expectancy had risen to 40 years, by 1940, to 49.2 years, and by 1954, to 69.6 years (169). Between 1960 and 1965, there was a 9 percent increase in the population above 65 years of age and, by 1975, it is estimated that more than 10 percent of the population will be above 65 years of age (92,181,247). See Figure 14-1.

To explain why this proportional increase in the number of older people is taking place, Horwitz has pointed out the difference between those reaching the age of 65 and those above 65 who die. As he puts it (112):

On an average day 3,760 persons reach their 65th birthday and 2,960 persons, 65 and over, die. The net increase in the aged population is thus 800 person a day. Eight hundred persons a day are added to the separate, the often frightening world of the aged.

Variations in Length of Period

How many people will live to be sixty years of age and older and how long they will live varies greatly. Many individual characteristics as well as environmental conditions are now known to limit the survival rate (184). Of these, the most important have been found to be: heredity, sex, race, environment, family pattern, and education.

HEREDITY There is evidence that old age "runs in families." While it is true that accidents and serious illnesses can affect some family members adversely, the trend to live to old age, and even to a "ripe old age" is characteristic of certain families while, in others, the tendency is to "die young" (77,184,189).

SEX Records of the ancient Romans showed that women lived longer than men and that more women lived to be "old" for that time than was true of men (71). At the present time in America, this is true also. Because of this, the ratio of males to females has changed in favor of the females.

In 1900, for example, the ratio of males to females was 106 to 100; now it is 96.6 to 100. In the age group of sixty-five and over, the ratio is 85.7 males to 100 females. By 1975, it is estimated that there will be 40 percent more women than men in the

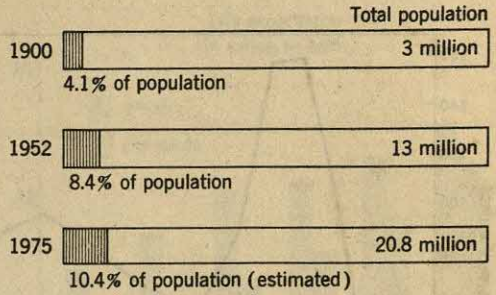


FIGURE 14-1 THE PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION, SIXTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER, HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED SINCE 1900 AND IS STILL GROWING. (ADAPTED FROM M. GUMPERT: OUR "INCA" IDEAS ABOUT RETIREMENT. *The New York Times*, JULY 27, 1952. USED BY PERMISSION.)

old-age group (34,256). Figure 14-2 shows the percentage of excess of male over female mortality at different ages.

Many reasons are given for the greater number of women than men in the old-age groups. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the roles women play in modern life are safer and less stressful than those of men. Women are not expected to be as brave and adventuresome as men and, hence, they are less accident-prone. Nor is care of diet and health in women regarded as a sign of a "sissy" as it often is in the case of men. In any work that might be dangerous, women are better protected by law against accidents than men. In addition, women tend, as a group, to handle the stresses of everyday life better than men. Hence, they do not suffer from the consequences of stress to their physical well-being, such as heart trouble or high blood pressure, as men more often do (34,61,189).

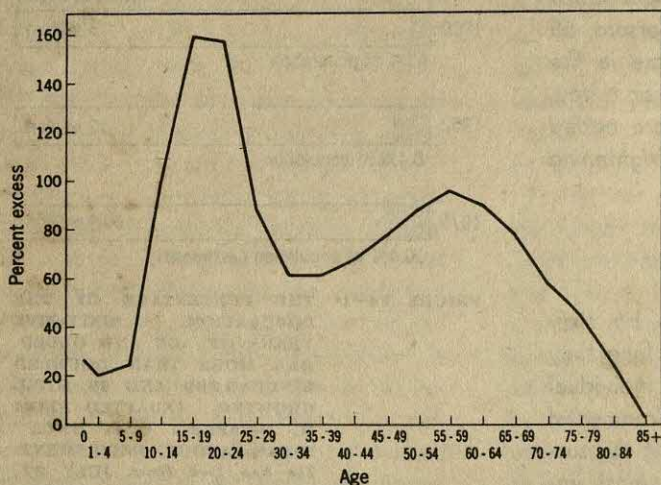


FIGURE 14-2 PERCENTAGE OF EXCESS OF MALE MORTALITY OVER FEMALE MORTALITY AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM J. YERUSHALINY: FACTORS IN HUMAN LONGEVITY. *Amer. J. publ. Hlth.*, 1963, 53, 148-162. USED BY PERMISSION.)

RACE Whites, as a group, live longer and in larger numbers, than do nonwhites. Since the turn of the present century, the greatest increase in life expectancy has been in white females, 73.6 years, and in white males, 67.4 years. The life expectancy for nonwhite females is 65.8 years and for nonwhite males, 61.0 years (169, 195). The life expectancy for whites and nonwhites is shown in Figure 14-3.

ENVIRONMENT The area of the country and the size of the community in which the individual lives have been reported to influence the length of his life span (184, 189). The life expectancy for people in the urban areas is greater than for those in rural areas (100). People living in the Western states tend to live longer than those in the Central states; those in the Scandinavian countries, especially Norway,

outlive those in the Mediterranean countries (256).

FAMILY PATTERN The mortality rate, age for age, is greater for single and divorced people than for the married. This is more true of men than of women (20). Men and women from large families, especially those who were older in sibship, tend to outlive those in small families or those born to older parents. The explanation for this is that they learn adaptive skills that enable them to face the stresses of life better than those born later in the sibship pattern (201).

EDUCATION The higher the educational level of the individual, the greater his chances are to live long. In a comparison of the survival rate of college, high school, and elementary school graduates, it was

found that those who went to college lived, on the average, longer than those whose education ended with high school or with elementary school (246). This is illustrated in Figure 14-4. Because those of higher education usually go into the higher vocational levels, there is a relationship between longevity and occupation. Refer to page 11 and Figure 1-7, page 13.

SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF OLD AGE

Scientific studies of old age are not of recent origin. There are records of treatments used by Hippocrates in ancient Greece for illnesses of old age and prescribed diets, with reduced food intake, for the elderly. There are also historic references to beauty aids for the elderly and to attempts at rejuvenation (7,150).

In recent times, impetus to the study of old age has come from the new social problems old age has given rise to—problems that have never before existed to such a marked degree or had such a strong influence on such large segments of the population. These problems have arisen because of the rapidly increasing number of men and women who live to be old, because of the economic burden of caring for old people when, through compulsory retirement, they are unable to be self-supporting, and because of the rise in mental illness among the elderly.

Because old age has created so many social problems, not only for the aged themselves, but also for their families, their employers, and society as a whole, old age has been subjected to extensive and intensive study by social scientists, home economists, doctors, and other professional groups (11,234). In discussing the inten-

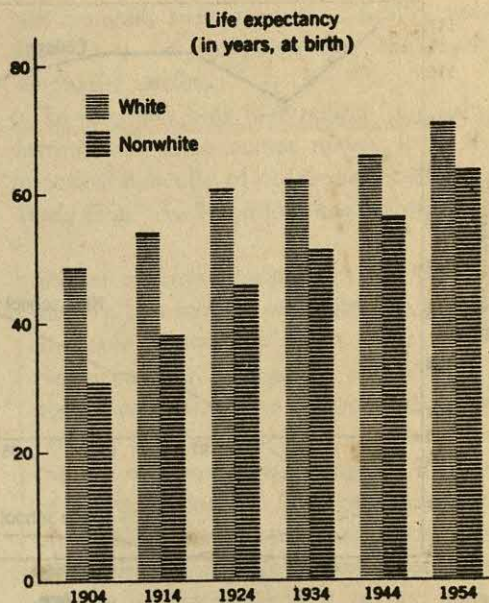


FIGURE 14-3 LIFE EXPECTANCY FOR WHITES AND NONWHITES, ACCORDING TO THE YEAR OF BIRTH. ESTIMATES BASED ON U.S. CENSUS BUREAU FIGURES. (The New York Times, FEB. 17, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

sity of modern scientific interests in old age, Birren (21) has pointed out that:

Beginning in 1946, a rapid series of developments occurred which merit 1946-1960 being described as the period of expansion. Laboratories devoted to the study of aging were started, research societies were initiated, and many national and international conferences were held. A new kind of scientist began to be seen, one whose major career interest was that of studying developmental processes and aging. Centers of research whose students reflected certain main ideas or theoretical positions came to be recog-

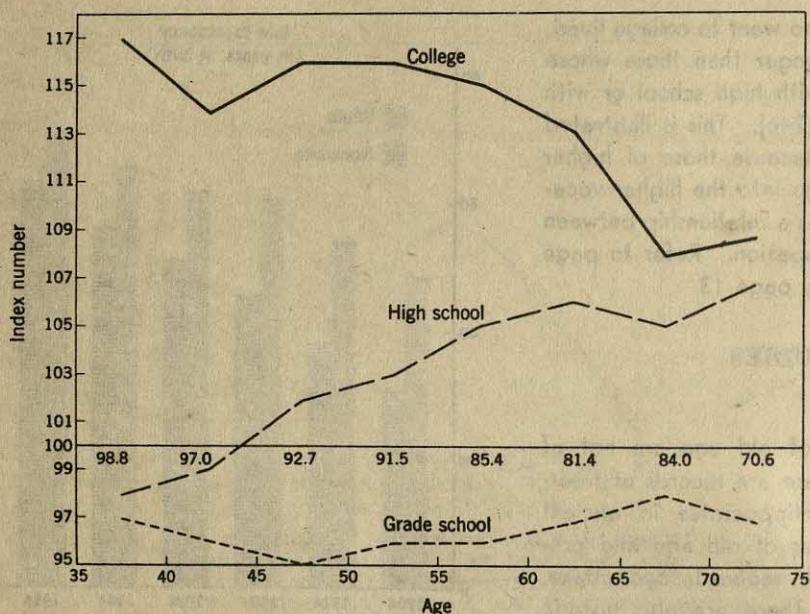


FIGURE 14-4 THE LIFE SPAN OF THE INDIVIDUAL VARIES ACCORDING TO THE AMOUNT OF HIS EDUCATION. (ADAPTED FROM H. M. UPCHURCH: A TENTATIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF MORTALITY DIFFERENTIALS BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL STRATA IN THE UNITED STATES. *Rural Sociol.*, 1962, 27, 213-217. USED BY PERMISSION.)

nized.... More research seems to have been published in the decade of 1950-1959 than had been published in the entire preceding 115 years the subject may be said to have existed.

The two new areas of scientific research which have developed recently to study the aged are *gerontology* and *geriatrics*. Gerontology is the science of aging. It is derived from the Greek *geron*, meaning "old man" and *ology*, meaning "the study of." As a science, gerontology is concerned with all facets of aging, with all forms of life, not human alone, and even with inanimate objects. Geriatrics, on the other hand, is that area of medical practice concerned with the physiologic and

disease problems of those in later maturity and of the elderly. It deals with the health of the aged, just as pediatrics deals with the health of infants and of children.

Focus of Interest

Although early interest in the study of the elderly was expressed in efforts to improve their lot through providing them with economic security, the emphasis today is on emotional security. To achieve this goal, it is not only necessary for the elderly to have reasonable economic security, but even more important, they must have a status in the social group where they feel wanted and needed.

How to provide emotional security in a

culture which emphasizes the values of youth is a problem which is occupying the attention of psychologists and sociologists. Their attack on this problem has been concentrated on gathering data to disprove the traditional beliefs about the aged which have led to the unfavorable stereotypes of old age, largely responsible for the unfavorable attitudes toward and treatment of the elderly in business, industry, social, and family life. This is the major goal of the studies in the area of gerontology.

To prolong the usefulness and happiness of old people through better health has been the goal of *geriatrics*. While improvement in the health of old people may and often does add years to their life span, this is of little value unless the individual is able to enjoy and make use of this added time not only for his own enjoyment but also to aid society. The goal of geriatrics is, therefore, to *add life to the years* of the elderly, not just years to their lives.

Methods of Studying Old Age

Even though studies of old age have been numerous in recent years, their results are often biased and inaccurate. There are two reasons for this: first, the samplings of subjects have not been representative of the population at large, and, second, the method of study used has been open to severe criticism.

For a majority of the studies of old people, the subjects have been mainly institutional cases. And yet it is estimated that less than 5 percent of the old-age population is in institutions (11). Because the results of these studies are based on data from such a limited sampling, they are certainly not representative of the aged. Furthermore, as institutional cases

are generally such because of health problems, it is not surprising that the results emphasize decline.

The sampling bias that results from using institutional cases comes mainly from the practical difficulty of obtaining subjects for study (26). As Breen (39) has pointed out:

Studies of older people are all too frequently devised to maximize the use of available persons and data. As a result, researchers study persons in homes for the aged, hospitals, or on pension lists. The retired, the rejected, the isolated, and the sick are most likely to be the subjects of aging research. Our generalizations about older persons are then made upon the basis of a sample not necessarily reflective of the older part of our population.

Bias in sampling is also a result of the attitudes of older people toward being studied. Most elderly people, aware of or suspicious of their failing powers, are unwilling to serve as "guinea pigs" for scientific research. Only those who are in institutions for the aged which are supported partially or totally by public funds feel obligated to allow themselves to be tested (11).

Equally serious as the sampling problem is the problem of *methodology*. Because the interest in studying old age is of relatively recent origin, the approach to this study is similar to that of the early studies of intelligence among children, that is, through the use of the cross-section method. Groups of children of different chronological ages were tested, and from the averages thus received, a curve of the growth of intelligence was then plotted.

The cross-section method has long since been recognized as inadequate for study-

ing the growth of intelligence, and it has been largely replaced by the longitudinal method, which studies the changes in intelligence in the same individuals year after year (11). However, since there are few records of the mental abilities of old people which trace back to their early adulthood, and even fewer, to their youth or childhood, most of the studies of physical and psychological changes with aging have used the same approach as was used in the early days of intelligence testing, the cross-sectional approach.

To the criticism of the cross-sectional approach of the growth of intelligence—that the age groups were not necessarily comparable—is added a new criticism to this method when applied to the studies of aging—the criticism that this approach fails to take into consideration *cultural changes* which always play a role of major importance in the physical and mental development patterns. The fact that the youth of today is stronger, healthier, and larger than the youth of several generations ago, owing to better pre- and post-natal care, better nutrition, and improved medical techniques, may be responsible for the fact that young adults of today are superior in size to those in their sixties and seventies, not to the fact that the elderly have *shrunk*, as the group comparisons suggest and as they are often interpreted.

Similarly, the better schooling of today and the widespread use of objective tests throughout the schooling of today's youth give young adults a decided advantage over members of the older generation when comparisons of mental ability are made through the use of intelligence tests and tests of specific mental abilities. Furthermore, lack of practice in writing and even in reading during the adult years, combined with the tendency to slow down

in all activities with advancing age, put old people at a decided disadvantage when their intellectual abilities are measured by tests that stress speed and what is taught in the standard curriculum of today. What have been interpreted as age changes may be only age differences due to cultural changes (103,155,192).

CHARACTERISTICS OF OLD AGE

As is true of every period in the life span, there are certain characteristics of old age that make it a distinctive period. Old age is a period of decline; psychological aging takes place; there are individual differences in the effects of aging; role changes take place in old age; the aged are subjected to cultural stereotype; old people have a minority-group status; the old desire rejuvenation.

Period of Decline

Decline in mental and physical abilities is at first slight and is often compensated for by the use of past knowledge (191). With aging, the individual may have less strength, vigor, and speed of reaction, but he compensates for this by increase in skill. In driving, his slower reactions may make him more accident-prone, but he compensates for this by driving more slowly, by taking fewer chances, and by not driving when conditions are hazardous (53). The period of old age when the decline is slow and gradual and when compensations can be made for the declines that take place is known as "senescence." The individual may become senescent in the fifties or not until the early or late sixties, depending upon the rate of physical and mental decline.

"Senility," in contrast to senescence, means the period of old age when a more

or less complete physical breakdown takes place and when there is mental disorganization. The individual who becomes eccentric, careless, absent-minded, socially withdrawn, and poorly adjusted is usually described as "senile" (3). Senility may come as early as the fifties or it may never occur because the individual dies before deterioration sets in. Many more people become senescent than senile. As a general rule, the senescent individual finds adjustments more difficult than does the senile person because the former is aware of the slipping, over which he can exercise little or no control, while the latter is so mentally disorganized that he is incapable of recognizing how rapidly he is slipping (124).

CAUSES OF DECLINE Decline comes partly from physical and partly from psychological factors (124). There are *structural changes* in the "matrix" of the tissues, the fibers and fluids through which nutrients are brought to living cells and waste products removed, rather than in the cells themselves. These changes in the matrix interfere with the nutrition of the cells and cause them to degenerate (224).

Cell changes with aging are not due to specific diseases but to the aging process. They are of different types, the most important of which are: gradual tissue drying; gradual retardation of cell division, the capacity of cell growth, and tissue repair; gradual retardation of the rate of tissue oxidation, or lowering of the speed of living; cellular atrophy, degeneration, increased cell pigmentation, and fatty infiltration; gradual decrease in tissue elasticity and degenerative changes in the elastic connective tissue of the body; progressive degeneration and atrophy of the nervous system; and general impairment of the

mechanisms which maintain a fairly constant internal environment for the cells and tissues (53,182,219,227).

The aging process is accelerated by the accumulation of such substances as iron and calcium in the cytoplasm, the jellylike material of the cell, thus affecting the permeability of the cell material to food and waste products (64,177). As Curtis has pointed out, "Aging is a biological process which causes increased susceptibility to disease." As tissues become senescent, they provide a favorable environment for some diseases, such as cancer (64).

Psychological Aging

Psychological aging does not necessarily parallel the physical changes that take place during old age. Whether it will occur early or late in old age will vary greatly according to what use the individual makes of his psychological capacities (160). As Parker (189) has explained:

Psychological aging is not to be measured in terms of capabilities alone, but in the use to which they have been applied from early age through all the years of maturity. This consists of a blending of a desire to learn, the ability to wonder and to derive satisfaction and pleasure therefrom, a diversity of interests, and the will to make the necessary effort.

Unfavorable attitudes toward self, other people, work, and life in general can lead to senility just as changes in the brain tissue can. Individuals who have no sustaining interests after retirement are likely to become depressed and disorganized. As a result, they go downhill both physically and mentally and may soon die. About one-half of the mental patients in the old-age groups have been found to have func-

tional disorders due to psychological factors rather than to brain disease (59,180).

Individuals who are poorly adjusted to the roles they must play in old age have been found to become senile sooner than those who make more satisfactory adjustments (3). How the individual takes the strains and stresses of living will affect the rate of his decline. The psychological causes of aging, when combined with the physical, accelerate the aging process by speeding up the rate of decline. As Havighurst and Albrecht have pointed out, "What old age will be like appears to depend partly upon physical constitution and partly upon the kind of life that has been led" (103).

Motivation plays a very important role in decline. The individual who has little motivation to learn new things or to keep up-to-date in appearance, attitudes, or patterns of behavior will go downhill much faster than the individual of the same chronological and physical age whose motivation to ward off aging is stronger (229). The new leisure which comes with retirement from work or lessening of home responsibilities often brings boredom, which lowers the individual's motivation (170).

The gap between the individual's potential, in terms of physical and psychological achievement, and his actual performance (see Figure 13-14, page 763) is largely due to lack of motivation. As Still has pointed out, in answer to the question of why do so many fail to achieve their physical and mental potentials (230):

It seems pretty clear that it is not because of poor heredity but because they fail to discover that they are able, if they choose, to make more of their lives. How to prevent these failures constitutes one of the great unsolved questions facing our society today.

Individual Differences in Effects of Aging

Individual differences in the effects of age have been recognized for many centuries. Cicero, for example, in his *De Senectute*, stressed this in his reference to the popular belief that aging makes people difficult to live with. According to him, "As it is not every wine, so it is not every disposition that grows sour with age" (150). Today, even more so than in the past, it is recognized that aging affects different people differently. As Parker (189) has pointed out:

It is obvious that some individuals are physically old at 40 and some young at 60 as measured by their physical abilities and activity. And that at 75 one individual is young and spry, while another is old and decrepit. Individuals have different rates of aging that do not correspond to the years they have lived.

Studies of vision, hearing, muscular strength, reaction time, complex psychomotor performance, job performance, and accidents have shown great individual differences at every age, among those who are old as well as among those who are young. As a result, it is impossible to classify anyone as "typically old" or any trait as "typically that of an oldster" (189, 200).

CAUSES OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

The reason that different people age differently is that they have different hereditary endowments, different socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, and different patterns of living. This is true within the same sex group but even more so when members of the two sexes are compared,

because aging takes place at different rates for the two sexes (53,200). As Bader and Hoffman have explained, "Older people are a very diverse group, more so than their younger counterparts, because of differences in social, cultural, and economic experiences extending over a long period of time, and these differences tend to increase with age" (11).

As differences increase with age, they predispose the individual to react differently to the same situation. For example, men react very differently to retirement from work. To some, it is a blessing, while, to others, it is regarded as a curse. Why they react differently to the same situation, Havighurst (102) has explained thus:

From middle age onward, the person confronts changes in the social environment and in his physical body which require readjustments on his part. Society does things to him, and his body changes negatively, but different personalities react differently to the same set of societal pressures and the same set of bodily changes.

TYPES OF DIFFERENCES Older people, it has been found, fall into three general categories, each with its own peculiar characteristics. However, within these general categories, there are individual differences, with some people having the traits characteristic of the category in more highly developed forms than others. The three categories are the autonomous, the adjusted, and the anomic.

The *autonomous* are characterized by creative activity and an aliveness of spirit that keeps the body alive. They are relatively immune to cultural changes and, for them, aging brings increases in wisdom without losses in spontaneity. They are

not necessarily balanced or well-adjusted individuals and, in numbers, they represent a relatively small group.

The *adjusted* are those who carry out the tasks given them by the environment and are kept alert by these tasks. The environment provides a "protective surrounding" for them and they can maintain themselves only so long as the cultural situation remains favorable.

The third category consists of the *anomic*, who decay as soon as physical vitality is lost because the culture no longer supports them. They are unable to function independently and must rely upon the forces that come from the cultural environment (197).

As a general rule, physical aging precedes mental aging, though this is not always the case. Sometimes the reverse occurs, especially when the individual believes he is growing old and, as a result, lets go mentally when the first signs of physical aging appear. As Stieglitz has pointed out, there is "greater danger of wearing out from disuse than from sensible activity" (229).

The life span of the different organs or systems within the human organism are different. The ovaries, for example, function for a predictable number of years and then become dormant. Disease may hasten the menopause just as accident or disease may hasten the loss of elasticity in the lens of the eyes. Normally, however, the life span of the different organs is determined by some "peculiar and obscure physiological time clock inherent within some particular genes of the hereditary constitution" (53).

There are also individual differences in *mental aging*, with some abilities declining sooner than others. Analysis of subtests in a general intelligence test has shown that the least decline occurs in tests of information, vocabulary, and comprehension, while

the greatest decline comes in tests for block design, picture arrangement, and digit symbol. These differences in rates of decline of mental functions may, however, be the result of pressure under test conditions rather than indications of decline under normal circumstances (80).

Role Changes in Old Age

Just as middle-aged people must learn to play new roles, so must the elderly. At any age, the role the individual plays in the social group depends not so much upon his ability as on the social attitudes toward him and the opportunities the group provides for different roles. When social attitudes are favorable, the aged are permitted to play roles involving prestige and authority; when social attitudes are unfavorable, few roles are open to the individual and these are lowly, with little authority and prestige (112,151,225). The status of the individual in the group and the roles he is permitted to play in old age are determined by the number of aged. If there are relatively few aged, they usually enjoy high esteem; when the number is large, the reverse is true.

Old age is viewed and treated differently by different social groups. However, the "liability phase" of old age, when the individual is regarded as useless and a social burden, is usually met with uniform attitudes and social responses (151,222,225). Regardless of the customary methods of treating the aged in different social groups, most people have a negative attitude toward the aged and there is evidence of hostility toward them. This is true even among the Chinese, where custom decrees that the aged be treated with homage (103). How the aged are treated

by the social group will influence their concepts of self, which will be reflected in their behavior. When social attitudes are unfavorable, this is reflected in unfavorable behavior among the aged and this, in turn, reinforces the unfavorable social attitudes (88,107).

ROLES IN HISTORY What role old people play in society depends not upon the degree of civilization but rather upon the customs and patterns of life that have been built up over a period of time. A social group made up almost exclusively of warriors, for example, will have less use for old people than a social group where the major pursuits are those of peacetime activities. This is true of civilized as well as of primitive peoples. The economic condition of the social group is also a factor of great importance in determining the attitude of the group toward the aged and the status accorded the aged. When conditions are favorable and when the group as a whole is prosperous, each member can afford to share what he has with a nonproductive member (151,225).

The effect of the environment and of the economic status of the social group is especially marked among *primitive peoples*. When living conditions are good, the prestige of the aged is high. When, on the other hand, living conditions are poor, when food is scarce, and when epidemics strike, the aged are poorly treated. Among some tribes, the aged are killed or they are deserted and allowed to die. Among the less highly organized forms of tribal life, where there is a common store of food, all share equally, regardless of age. In still other tribes, the position of the aged is high and they are revered by the younger members. They hold sway not

only as rulers but as teachers of the young (225).

Sex differences in the status of the aged are pronounced among primitive peoples. Aged women have more nearly equal rights with men in very primitive societies than when the social structure of the group becomes more complex. In many primitive groups, aged men were regarded as repositories of knowledge and imparters of valuable information. They were looked upon as experts in solving the problems of life, such as predicting the future and controlling the weather, and they were expected to treat disease and officiate at childbirth and at all similar important events in the life of the tribal members. Rarely did the elderly women attain positions of respect and responsibility equal to those of the men (221).

The position of the aged among civilized peoples has varied markedly. In ancient times, because of wars, famines, and diseases, there was a high mortality rate among younger people. As a result, few lived to be old. Among the distinguished Greeks, there was remarkable vitality. Philosophers, historians, and poets lived to be 60 years of age or older. Statesmen were the oldest of all, with an average age of 78.6 years. In Sparta, the Council of Twenty-eight Men was composed of those who were 60 years of age or older, and they held great power (150).

While it is true that distinguished Greeks were highly respected in old age, there is evidence that the elderly as a group were not held in high esteem nor were they treated with great dignity and respect. A study of Greek writings in which the predominant concepts of old age were either described or illustrated has revealed that the status of the aged was not as ideal

as is commonly believed. As Haynes (105) has explained:

In the Laws Plato revealed in a highly realistic manner a profound concern with the miseries many old people suffered in ancient Greece, and this concern brings him very close to Aristotle's view that old age indeed was not a golden age. In a final view of the situation for the aged in ancient Greece we must be aware first of the complaints about physical and mental decay uttered even by literary optimists on old age. Out of these complaints rise a kind of framework which is quite forcefully and certainly realistically filled in, by Plato's recommendations to the law-makers of a society for the benefit of aging men and women. Finally, we have to consider the rather dismal portrayal of old age drawn by Aristotle, one of the greatest philosophers. We then are left with perhaps a new, but quite dependable concept of old age and its fate in ancient Greece. The conclusion may be drawn with certainty that there was not a golden age for aged men and women in ancient Greece.

In Rome, old people had a higher position than in Greece. The Roman Senate, with its great power, was composed of old men. In all areas of life, even in the home, the old were revered. Much the same was true among the Jewish peoples of ancient times. The father was the head of the family with complete power over all members. The grandparents were provided for and respected, but their authority and influence diminished as age crept on (48).

The position of the aged in Eastern countries has been higher and more powerful than in any of the Western civilizations.

While this has proved to be an advantage for the aged themselves, it has proved to be a stagnating influence on the country.

Little is known about the position of the aged throughout the Middle Ages. Women, throughout the Christian era, have fared less well than men. In many European countries, as well as in Puritan America, old women were often accused of being witches and sorceresses, positions which held them in disrepute if not in actual danger (48).

ROLES TODAY In the American cultural pattern of today where efficiency, strength, speed, and physical attractiveness are highly valued, elderly people are often regarded as "useless." Because they cannot compete with young people in the areas where highly valued traits are needed, the social attitude toward them is unfavorable (127).

Furthermore, it is expected that old people will play a decreasingly active role in social and community affairs, as in economic life. As a result, there is a marked reduction in the number of roles the elderly person is able to play, and there are changes in some of the remaining roles. While these changes are due, in part, to the individual's preferences, they are due mainly to society's pressures (126, 127, 128).

Not only do roles change markedly during old age, but they usually change abruptly as well. In earlier ages, by contrast, role changes tend to be slow. For example, courtship prepares the individual for the new role of spouse, and the period of pregnancy prepares the individual for the role of parent. While retirement may be anticipated in old age, there is usually little or no preparation for it; the individual is a full-fledged member of the work force

one day, and, the next, he is "in retirement" (128).

Even worse, there is little or no social support or help for the role changes in old age. This contrasts markedly with the help the school child or college student gets for his new academic role or the indoctrination in the work force the young person gets in his job. The old person not only has to make adjustments to the new role unaided, but he also recognizes that the social attitude toward his role is unfavorable.

Because of these unfavorable attitudes, there are few rewards associated with old-age roles, no matter how successfully they are carried out. Feeling useless and unwanted, elderly people develop feelings of inferiority and resentment—feelings that are characteristic of members of minority groups (137). As Tuckman and Lorge have pointed out, "Old people are living in a social climate which is not conducive to feelings of adequacy, usefulness and security, and to good adjustment in their later years" (244).

As a result of these unfavorable social attitudes toward the elderly, there are few roles that they can perform with prestige and respect. Because they must compete with younger people for the valued roles, a competition in which they invariably lose, they must accept the roles that the younger members of society shun. Under such conditions, it is difficult to be happy, and it is impossible to expect the respect and prestige which are paid to the aged in societies where old age is revered (48, 253).

Stereotypes of the Aged

Role changes among the aged are markedly influenced by the cultural stereotypes of that age group. These stereotypes, in

turn, have led to unfavorable social attitudes toward old people. Stereotypes can come from many sources. In the case of the stereotypes of old age, there are three sources that are known to play important roles. First, *folklore and fairy tales*, handed down from one generation to another, tend to depict the aged unfavorably. Although it is true that some of these picture kindly old people, many of them depict old people, especially women, as wicked and cruel. This results in unfavorable concepts, such as the concept of the "wicked stepmother."

Second, *mass media*, whether books, magazines, newspapers, television, or radio, tend to emphasize the unfavorable characteristics of the elderly. Throughout literature, for example, there are frequent references to old age, and they are, for the most part, unfavorable. Shakespeare, for example, has made 132 references to the senescent process, not only to the physical changes but also to changes in behavior (248). In describing senility, Shakespeare wrote,

*Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans
everything.*

Shakespeare has given an equally unflattering picture of the appearance of the elderly when he said:

*His youthful hose, well saved, a world too
wide
For his shrunk shank; and his manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble,
pipes
And whistles in his sound.*

One of the few cheerful literary references to old age is the picture painted by Brown-ing when he wrote,

*Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was
made.*

Third, stereotypes have been reinforced by *scientific studies* of the aged. Because most of these studies, as was emphasized earlier, have been based on institutional cases where decline in physical and mental capacities is primarily responsible for their institutionlization, it is not surprising that the results of these studies give weight to the prevalent stereotype (85). And yet, when representative samplings of noninstitutionalized elderly people have been studied, there is little evidence that this stereotype is justified (234,252).

The common stereotype of the aged emphasizes the fact that they are ineffective, worn out both physically and mentally, crotchety, hard to live with, and should be pushed aside while awaiting life's end to make way for younger people who are more useful to society (143,249). Because of this unfavorable stereotype, there is a tendency to differentiate "old people" from "people in general" and to treat them differently (138). Sometimes their treatment is characterized by tolerance and sometimes by acceptance. More often, however, it takes the form of rejection (143). As Chown and Heron have pointed out, "It appears to be difficult for anyone to see ageing as anything but a 'negative phase,' with the old viewed as more conservative, less active, and less fit" (57).

This unfavorable attitude inevitably is reflected in the way the younger members

of the social group treat the aged (10,136, 137,168). As Golde and Kogan (90) have pointed out:

If the younger generation believes that the older generation is old-fashioned and narrow-minded and, in turn, thinks the older generation views them as wild and foolish, the interpersonal relationships that do develop will, in part, reflect these views. Furthermore, old people can hardly be expected to be totally unaware of such attitudes and beliefs.

So long as the unfavorable stereotype of the aged persists, the aged will be treated in accordance with this stereotype. That is why it is essential to revise this stereotype in view of the recent scientific information that shows how inaccurate the stereotype is (249). However, like all stereotypes, the stereotype of the aged is likely to be persistent. As Arnhoff and Lorge have pointed out, "Whether dissemination of factual information, in and of itself, can change the negative attitude is still moot" (9).

Minority-group Status

In spite of the growing number of old people in America today, they occupy a minority-group status—a status which excludes them from interaction with other groups in the population to some extent and which gives them little or no power (112,137,199). This minority-group status comes primarily from the unfavorable social attitudes toward the aged that have been fostered by the unfavorable stereotype of old age. As Rosow (203) has pointed out:

Their second-rate citizenship is no accident, no minor malfunctioning of our insti-

tutions and values. It is inherent in the nature of our society. Underlying the practical immediacies of health and income, the deeper human problems of old people boil down to two central issues: (1) How will we share the fruits of our abundance with them, and by what principles? (2) How can we integrate them into our society on a basis of dignity and respect? Or, simply put, how can we redeem their second-class citizenship?

The effects of "second-class citizenship," as is always true of minority-group status, are to put the elderly on the defensive. This has a marked effect on their personal and social adjustments (137,178). It makes the latter years of life far from "golden" for most people. And, it causes them to be victimized by the majority group. As Langer (144) has stressed:

If the aged are victimized in general, they are also victimized in particular. Their illness, loneliness, and terrors make the aged easy prey to a growing army of charlatans in whom their vulnerability arouses instincts not of sympathy but of greed. An ingenious array of frauds, from quack medicines to uninhabitable homesites, and from dancing lessons to fake furnace repairs has been revealed.

Desire for Rejuvenation

The minority-group status accorded to the majority of the elderly has, naturally, given rise to a desire to remain young as long as possible and to be rejuvenated when the signs of aging appear. Among the ancients, elixirs or potions, alchemy, witchcraft, and sorcery were used to achieve these ends. Later, there were searches for "fountains of youth" that were believed to have the magical powers of turning the

aged into young men and women (189,234).

Today, medicine is taking over the task of trying to ward off old age. Because the sex hormones, when deficient, play such an important role in aging, attempts have been made to rejuvenate aging people by means of sex-hormone therapy. Recent experiments have shown that it is impossible to rejuvenate or to make aging people young again. The administration of hormones can, however, build up the health and vigor of the individual, thus slowing down the rate of aging (140,147,189).

At the present time, evidence points to the fact that all one can do to stave off the process of aging is to deal with its secondary causes, and to improve one's general health condition and manner of living. As Kallman and Sander (118) have stressed:

Within the genetically controlled limits of variability, human life can be lengthened or shortened by outside factors and the degree of efficiency in utilizing constitutional potentialities, but in terms of present knowledge it cannot be prolonged beyond the present boundaries of man's vital capacity.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF OLD AGE

For the most part, the developmental tasks of old age relate to the individual's personal life more than to the lives of others. (See page 15 for a list of these tasks). The old person is expected to adjust to decreasing strength and to gradually failing health. This often means marked revisions in the roles he customarily plays in the home and outside. He is expected to find activities to replace the customary work activities that consumed the major

part of his days when he was younger. Failure to do so means poor adjustment to retirement. With retirement comes reduced income for most older people. Adjustment to this often means a radical adjustment in the pattern of living he has found satisfactory.

Meeting social and civic obligations is difficult for many older people as their health fails and as their income is reduced by retirement. As a result, they are often forced to become socially inactive. Failing health and reduced income likewise require the establishment of new living arrangements that are often radically different from those of the earlier years of adulthood.

Sooner or later, most old people must adjust to the death of the spouse. This is far more likely to be a problem for women than for men. Because the death of a spouse often means reduced income and hazards from living alone, it necessitates changes in living arrangements that might have been possible to retain, had both spouses lived.

As grown children become increasingly involved in their own vocational and family affairs, the elderly can count less and less on their companionship. This means establishing affiliations with their own age group if they are to avoid the loneliness that plagues the elderly when their contacts with the larger social group are cut off by retirement and by gradually reduced contacts with community organizations.

While most older people, during childhood and adolescence, learned to affiliate with their age-mates successfully, the major part of their adult lives have necessitated affiliations with individuals of all age groups. Regressing to a pattern of social life they mastered earlier is often difficult because it now emphasizes affiliation with

a group that is largely rejected by society. Having discovered, in childhood and adolescence, that affiliation with a rejected group brings little prestige, old people have little motivation to affiliate themselves with such a group in old age.

During old age, there are certain problems of adjustment resulting from these developmental tasks that are unique. In addition, there are the normal problems which all people face but which in old age have certain unique aspects. Among the problems unique to old age are those resulting from physical helplessness, more serious for women than for men because women, as a rule, outlive their husbands and cannot, therefore, depend on a husband's care as the man can depend on the care given by his wife; economic insecurity, often so severe that it necessitates a complete change in the pattern of living; feelings of rejection by society, by the family, or by both; loss of a husband or wife, due to death or divorce; and loss of work due to compulsory retirement.

Among the problems which have a unique old-age aspect are making satisfactory living arrangements in order to adjust to changes in economic or physical conditions; making new friends to replace those who have died, moved away, or are invalided; developing new activities to fill in the increased leisure time resulting from retirement or reduced home responsibilities; and treating the grown children as adults rather than as children (3,103).

ADJUSTMENT TO PHYSICAL CHANGES

While it is unquestionably true that physical changes do occur with aging and that these changes are, for the most part, in the direction of deterioration, individual

differences are so marked that no two individuals of the same age are necessarily at the same state of deterioration (174). Furthermore, within the same individual there are variations in the rates of aging of different structures. The organs of reproduction, for example, age sooner than the other organs (53).

Even in senility not all organs of the body have deteriorated. While senility is usually a mental, not a physical, state, it is often accompanied by physical ailments and damage of the blood vessels of the brain caused by hardening of the arteries and atrophy of the brain cells (103).

Causes of Physical Decline

The earliest recorded explanation of physical decline is attributed to the Greek philosophers and physicians who explained aging as the result of a decline of an "innate heat" within the body. Arabic medical writers attributed aging to a progressive loss of moisture in the body, thus causing shrinking and hardening of the tissues. More recently, biologists have suggested that when differentiated germ plasm is no longer produced, senescence ensues. Others maintain that old age is a generalized kind of disease, not one specific thing.

Today, it is widely recognized that the physical condition of the elderly person depends partly upon his hereditary constitution, partly upon his temperament, partly upon his manner of living, and partly upon environmental factors. That hereditary constitution plays a primary role is shown by the fact that different species have different life spans characteristic of them and that, within a species, aging appears at different ages for different individuals. Within a family, the rate of aging shows a high correlation for the different family

members. Those of small build have been found to live longer than those of larger builds (118).

Even though hereditary factors are of primary importance, the secondary causes have marked influences on the rate of physical decline. The vicissitudes of living, such as faulty diet, malnutrition, infectious intoxications, gluttony, lack of repose, emotional stresses, overwork, laziness, traumata, and endocrine disorders are some of the most common of the secondary causes of physical decline. Then, too, there are environmental conditions, such as heat and cold, which influence the rate of aging (53,190,229).

The endocrine glands play a role of great significance in bringing about the different physical changes characteristic of old age. There is a reduced output of anterior pituitary and of adrenal cortical hormones, as well as of the hormones from the thyroid and sex glands. Hormone deficiency is not the primary cause of physical aging, though it accelerates and intensifies the process of aging in some organs and functions. This is especially true of deficiency of the sex hormones (219). That deficiency of the sex hormones is an important factor in physical aging has been shown by the fact that hormonal treatment of aged persons improves their physical strength and vigor (140,189).

Changes in Appearance

The face tells the individual's age more forcibly than any other part of the body, especially the lower part of the face. Due to loss of teeth or wearing down of the teeth, the jaw becomes smaller and the chin sags. The cheeks become pendulous, with wrinkles and bags, and the eyelids become baggy with the upper lids over-

hanging the lower. The eyes seem dull and lusterless and they often have a watery look, due to the poor functioning of the tear glands. The nose elongates in vertical dimension. As the lower part of the face is shortened by changes in the jaw, the nose is made to appear larger than it actually is (44,46,189).

Most elderly people have lost some or all of their teeth. Even with the best dentures, this is likely to change the shape of the mouth as well as the facial expression. Under the dentures, atrophic changes take place in the bones, and the dentures become loose and act as irritants. This often causes speech problems, especially lisping (130,189).

Changes in the facial *skin*, as well as in the skin covering the entire body, are very marked. The epidermis gradually thins and becomes more flexible and flaccid with age. Under the epidermis, the tissues are less elastic than they formerly were because of atrophy of many of the elastic fibers that make up a considerable share of the intercellular matrix. Because of loss of elasticity, the skin springs back less readily, it sags here and there, and creases or folds are fixed as wrinkles.

Atrophy of the oil and sweat glands makes the skin rather dry and coarse. Perspiration is less profuse even in areas of the body where formerly it was abundant. In true senility, dark spots or white scaly plaques often appear in exposed areas of the skin. Moles, warts, and other skin blemishes often appear as age advances.

The *hair* on the head becomes thin and gray. Gradually it becomes so thin that the head is bald or nearly bald, especially in the case of men. The gray color turns into white, often with a yellowish cast (46, 142,189). Tough, bristly hairs come around the opening of the external ear and the

nose. The hairs of the eyebrows usually become coarse and more bristly, though they may not change in color as the hair on the head does.

The *nails* of the hands and feet become thick and tough, with a slight increase in brittleness. The *hands* show the ravages of age not only by the toughened, rough skin that characteristically develops at this time but also by the veins that show clearly on the backs of the hands.

The *arms* and *legs* are likely to be flabby and unattractive with veins showing through in the legs. The *feet* frequently grow larger because of sagging muscles and they develop corns, bunions, and other disfigurements which necessitate the wearing of larger and less attractive shoes than the individual formerly wore.

The individual's *stature* decreases, and there is a stooping of the *shoulders*, thus making the individual appear smaller (189). Because of poor eating habits, stemming from food dislikes, difficulties in eating, or economic factors, many elderly men and women are 10 percent or more above their desirable *weight*. Others lose weight with advancing years as a result of poor health or poor eating habits (157, 179).

There is a gradual shrinking of the *secondary sex characteristics* with advancing age and the body does not seem to be either masculine or feminine. Loss of *muscular tone* and *stiffness of the joints* cause difficulties in locomotion. The gait of the aged shows a shortened step, lack of elasticity, a widened base, and forward leaning in a slightly flexed attitude.

Tremors of the hands, forearms, head, and lower jaw are common among old people though not necessarily continuously present. They are usually increased by fatigue, emotions, or activity in the area involved. Restless movements, such as tap-

ping, twitching, patting, or rocking the body are common.

Internal Changes

Although internal changes are not as readily observable as external, they are nevertheless as pronounced and as widespread. Changes in the *skeleton* come through hardening of the bones, deposits of mineral salts, and modifications of the internal structures of the bones. As a result of these changes, the *bones* become brittle and are subject to fractures and breaks which are increasingly slow in healing as age progresses. Bone fragility has been found to be more intimately related to endocrine changes, decreased activity, and loss of muscle tone than to the level of the individual's nutrition (104).

Changes in the *nervous system* are especially marked in the case of the brain. In old age, there is a loss in brain weight, the lateral ventricles tend to be dilated, and the ribbon of cortical tissue is narrowed. Central nervous system changes come early in the aging period, as is shown first in a decrease in the speed and later in the power of intelligence.

The *viscera* go through a marked transformation with advancing age. Atrophy is particularly marked in the spleen, liver, testes, heart, lungs, pancreas, and kidneys. There is increased density of the solid organs. The color of the different organs changes to gray or a brownish tone; there is a change in translucency, atrophy of adipose tissue, and increased dryness and toughness of the muscles.

Perhaps the most marked change of all is to be found in the *heart*. In the early years of life, the position of the heart is more nearly in the center of the chest than it is in advanced age. Also, its position is

more erect in the young individual while later, in middle and old age, it assumes a horizontal position. It increases in bulk with age and continues to grow even after the body has ceased to do so. Therefore, the ratio of heart weight to body weight decreases gradually with age. The softness and pliability of the valves gradually change because of an increase in fibrous tissue from deposits of fat and calcium, and from changes in the quality of the elastic tissue. The gastrointestinal tract, the urinary tract, and the smooth muscle organs generally are the least and last affected by aging (26).

Changes in Physiological Functions

There are also changes in the functioning of the organs. Regulation of *body temperature* is influenced by impairment of the regulatory devices. Old people cannot tolerate extremes of temperature, either hot or cold, because of the decreased vascularity of the skin. Reduced metabolic rate and lessened muscular vigor make regulation of body temperature difficult in cold environments. It is also difficult in hot environments because of the degeneration of the capillaries and sweat glands in the skin. On the whole, old people feel the cold more than the heat.

When an old person becomes short of breath as a result of unusual exertion, it takes longer to restore breathing and heart action to normal than it did when he was younger. Pulse rate and oxygen consumption are more varied among elderly people than among the younger (141,220). Elevated *blood pressure* due to the increased rigidity of the walls of the aorta and central arteries is quite common in old age (26,161). Among elderly people, less *urine* is excreted, and there is less creatine in the

urine than the customary amounts for younger adults (113).

In old age, there is a decline in the amount of *sleep* needed and in the quality of sleep. By the age of sixty or seventy years, the daily amount is reduced an hour or two and brief periods of rest and sleep—"cat naps"—generally replace the longer periods of sleep of the younger person. Most old people suffer from insomnia (198, 206). This is especially true of women (166). Figure 14-5 shows the increase in disturbed sleep that occurs with aging. Because they get too little sleep at night, there is an increase in daytime tiredness (166). Refer to Figure 10-2, page 537, which shows how daytime tiredness increases markedly after the age of sixty-five years.

Digestive changes are perhaps the most marked of the regulatory functions. Difficulties in eating come partly from loss of teeth, which is fairly universal in old age. Even with well-fitted dentures, the old person has difficulties in chewing his food. In addition, there is a decline in smell and taste sensitivity with old age, and this causes even the best food to be somewhat tasteless.

As a general rule, old people eat less than they did when they were younger primarily because they do not feel the need or the desire for food that they formerly did. When they do eat, it is usually in smaller quantities and at more frequent times. Old people cannot tolerate long periods of starvation because their blood sugar falls to undesirably low levels (53).

Gradual atrophy of the glands lining the walls of the stomach and bowels means a decrease in the ferments and juices that carry out *digestion*. As a result, the old person needs more fluids to lubricate and to dissolve food elements. The lower

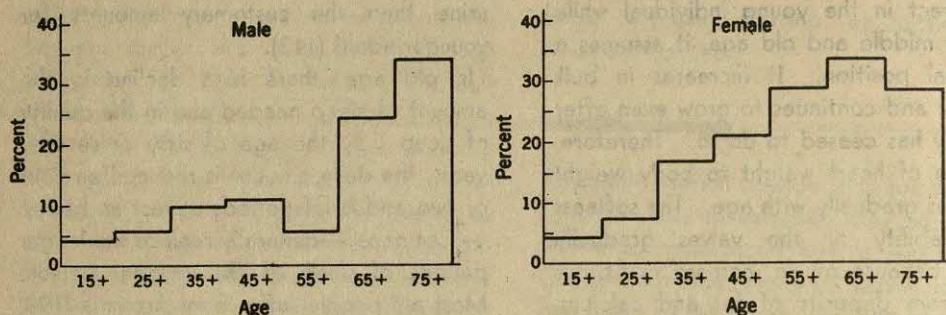


FIGURE 14-5 THERE IS AN INCREASE IN DISTURBED SLEEP AMONG BOTH MEN AND WOMEN WITH ADVANCING AGE. (ADAPTED FROM A. MCGHIE AND S. M. RUSSELL: THE SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF NORMAL SLEEP PATTERNS. *J. ment. Sci.*, 1962, 108, 642-654. USED BY PERMISSION.)

bowel, or colon, is more sensitive to irritation by roughage because it is less well lubricated with mucus. This is especially serious for old people whose loss of teeth makes it difficult for them to chew well.

Strength and work capacity decrease as the ability to use the muscles declines because of muscular flabbiness and general weakness. The ability for brief and violent effort diminishes with age, while the ability to withstand a long, steady grind increases. *Physical fatigue* requires longer time for recuperation with advancing age. This is true also of fatigue from continued mental work or from nervous strain. As a result, most old people learn to cut down on any work that requires either strength or speed (166).

Sensory Changes

All of the sense organs function less efficiently in old age than they did when the individual was younger (56). However, because the decline in efficiency of use is slow and gradual in most cases, it gives the individual an opportunity to make adequate adjustments to these changes. Fur-

thermore, modern aids in the form of glasses for impaired vision and hearing aids for impaired hearing compensate for the decline to such an extent that the adjustments can be almost perfect.

Of all the sense organs, the most useful, the eyes and ears, are most seriously affected by old age. The marked decrease in the efficiency of the eyes may be due partly to poor care during the years of maturity and to generally lowered physical condition with old age, though the pupil size decreases significantly with age. This may account partially for visual changes (27,56).

With age, there is a consistent decline in the ability to see at low levels of illumination owing to changes in certain basic physiologic functions in the nerve cells of the brain and retina (165). There is a decrease of color sensitivity with age. After forty-five years of age, members of both sexes show a loss in color vision (135). In color-matching tests, blue and green are the most difficult colors to match, while less decline in this ability is found in the case of yellow and red (87). See Figure 14-6. Most old people suffer from *presby-*

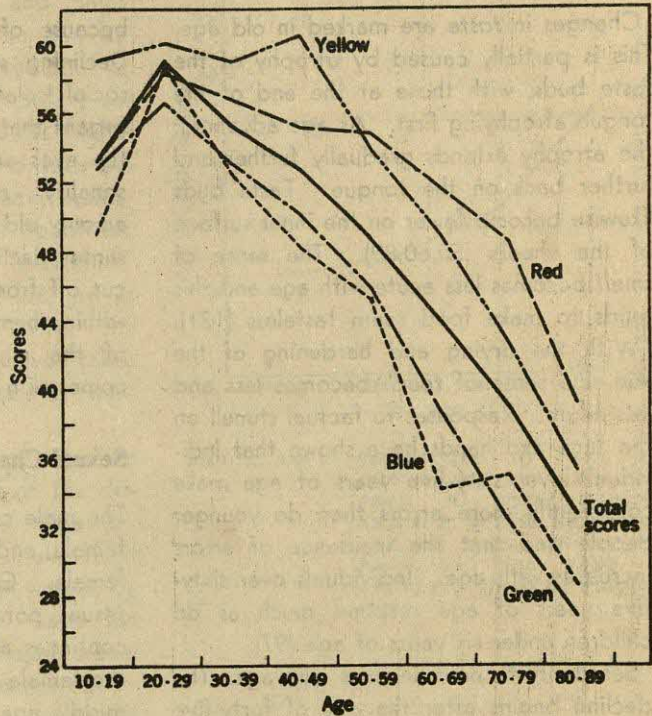


FIGURE 14-6 AGE CHANGES IN COLOR MATCHING AS MEASURED BY A COLOR-MATCHING TEST. (ADAPTED FROM J. C. GILBERT: AGE CHANGES IN COLOR MATCHING. *J. Geront.*, 1957, 12, 210-215. USED BY PERMISSION.)

opia, or farsightedness, because of the diminishing elasticity of the lens, which makes it impossible for the lens to change its shape adequately to accommodate for near vision (103).

Deterioration in hearing is greatest for high-pitched sounds. Sensitivity is entirely lost for extremely high tones because of atrophy of the nerve and end organs in the basal turn of the cochlea. For tones below high C, most old people have hearing as good as younger people do. Old people as a rule regard hearing difficulties as caused by stimulus rather than by response. In other words, they blame others for

"mumbling" and do not in any way feel that the trouble lies within themselves (4,78, 108,207).

In personal conversations with just one person, the elderly individual has little difficulty in hearing because he can face the speaker directly and can read lips. In groups, on the other hand, the old person must be close to the speaker and must face him directly if he is to hear what is being said. Loss of hearing is greater for males than for females in old age, and for members of the lower socioeconomic groups than for those of the upper groups (6,207, 216,223).

Changes in *taste* are marked in old age. This is partially caused by atrophy of the taste buds, with those at the end of the tongue atrophying first. As age advances, the atrophy extends gradually further and further back on the tongue. Taste buds likewise become fewer on the inner surface of the cheeks (50,60,89). The sense of *smell* becomes less acute with age and this tends to make food seem tasteless (131).

With the drying and hardening of the skin, the sense of *touch* becomes less and less acute. Responses to factual stimuli on the face and hands have shown that individuals over sixty-five years of age make consistently more errors than do younger people and that the incidence of errors increases with age. Individuals over sixty-five years of age respond much as do children under six years of age (97).

Sensitivity to *pain* declines with age. The decline begins after the age of forty-five years and becomes more marked after sixty. This is illustrated in Figure 14-7. Decline in pain sensitivity comes at different rates for different parts of the body. It is greater, for example, in the forehead and arms than in the legs (209). Among old people, because of this decline, pain is a less valuable danger signal than it is for younger people (216). Added to this is the fact that upsets of the *labyrinthine* and *kinesthetic* sensations make elderly people liable to falls, trippings, and imbalance.

In general, the decline in sensory efficiency that is so characteristic of old age has a marked influence on the individual's life. Diminution of sensory experiences removes for him one of the chief sources of enjoyment from life. No longer, for example, is eating as pleasurable as it formerly was, nor can the individual enjoy to the same extent what he sees and hears

because of poor vision or poor hearing. Declining sensitivity is likely to result in social isolation, especially when the sense organs that are most seriously affected are the eyes and ears (4). And, finally, personality maladjustments are frequent among old people when the use of their senses declines to the point that they are cut off from social contacts and must live within themselves. This, therefore, is one of the major areas of adjustment that comes with physical decline.

Sexual Changes

The male *climacteric* comes later than the female, and it requires more time than the female. Generally there is a decline in sexual potency during the sixties which continues as age advances. As is true of the female climacteric, which comes during middle age (see pages 688-691) there is a decline in gonadal functioning, which is responsible for the changes that accompany the climacteric (140,189).

The characteristic symptoms of the male climacteric have been found to be a decrease in sexual potency and, often, of libido or sexual desire (81). It is usual for benign prostatic hypertrophy to accompany decline in sexual potency. These sexual changes are generally accompanied by nervousness, headaches, giddiness, emotional instability with inclination to tears, increased fatigability, mental and physical lassitude, irritability, difficulties in concentration, a desire to be left alone, and insomnia.

Like women, many men experience hot flushes, fits of perspiration, chill sensations, especially cold feet, numbness in their hands and feet, and tingling sensations. There is a tendency toward obesity at this time; constipation is common; the individ-

ual experiences many aches and pains; fatigability is frequent; and the skin becomes rougher, darker, and wrinkled.

There is a waning of the secondary sex characteristics; the voice becomes higher in pitch; the hair on the face and body becomes less luxuriant; and the heavy musculature gives way to a general flabbiness. In general, older men are less "masculine" than they were in the prime of life, just as women are less "feminine" after the changes of the climacteric have taken place. This is the "third sex" or the "neuter gender" (140,162).

Because there are no "old wives' tales" to exaggerate the significance of or the discomforts associated with the male climacteric, as is true of the female, most men are affected much less than women by the fact that they no longer have the power of procreation. Even though sexual potency has declined, this does not necessarily mean a decline in sexual desire or the ability to have intercourse (81,133,134).

Cultural influences are more important in the waning of the sex drive than are physical changes. Cultural influences produce anxieties which, in turn, affect sex attitudes and behavior. Men and women in old age often refrain from continuing sexual relations or from remarriage because of the social attitudes toward sex among older people, because of fear about their own capacities, and selfconsciousness about their power to please (58,200). To avoid having their pride hurt, men especially are likely to refrain from sexual activity as they grow older (133,162). This is illustrated in Figure 14-8.

As Lawton has pointed out, to age successfully, the elderly person must retain the feeling that one is still a man or woman (148). Because the cultural attitude is unfavorable toward sex among older people, and be-

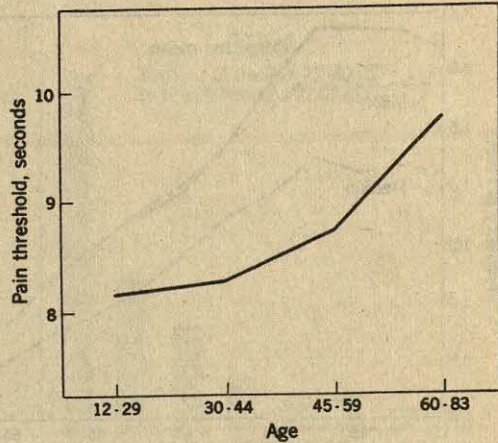


FIGURE 14-7 SENSITIVITY TO PAIN DECLINES WITH AGE. (ADAPTED FROM E. SCHLUDERMANN AND J. P. ZUBEK: EFFECT OF AGE ON PAIN SENSITIVITY. *Percept. mot. Skills*, 1962, 14, 295-301. USED BY PERMISSION.)

cause this cultural attitude has a marked influence on the attitudes of elderly men and women, the sexual life of the elderly is often unsatisfactory (81,133,134). There is reason to believe that sexual deprivation affects the individual not only psychologically but also physically, and that it may affect longevity. Those who are married are healthier in old age than are those who are single or widowed. There is some evidence that sexual deprivation has similar effects in old age to the effect of emotional deprivation in young children (58, 162).

How strong or weak the sex drive will be in old age will depend largely upon the general health of the individual and the type of sexual adjustments he made earlier in life. Those who made poor sexual adjustments in their earlier years have been found to have the sex drive disappear ear-

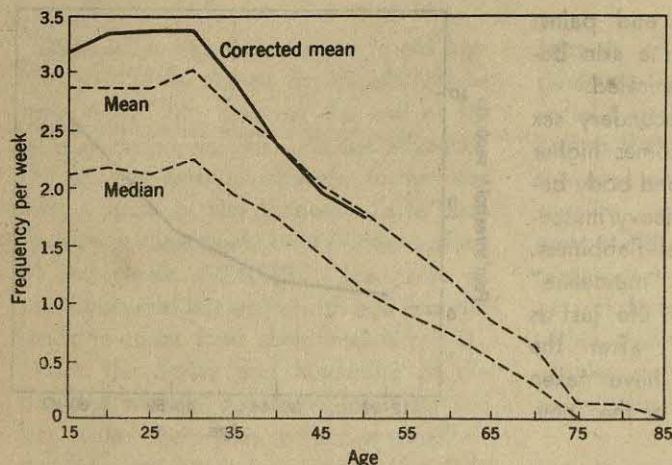


FIGURE 14-8 FREQUENCY OF SEXUAL OUTLET DECLINES WITH AGE. (ADAPTED FROM A. C. KINSEY, W. B. POMEROY AND C. E. MARTIN: *Sexual behavior in the human male*. PHILADELPHIA: SAUNDERS, 1948. USED BY PERMISSION.)

lier than those who made better sexual adjustments when they were younger (49, 58,81).

Physical Hazards in Old Age

There are many hazards to the physical well-being of people at every age. Of these hazards, the most common and most serious are diseases, physical handicaps, malnutrition, and accidents. In old age, these hazards are not only more common and more serious than at any other age, but they also affect a larger proportion of men and women than they do earlier. The causes and effects of these hazards are discussed below.

DISEASES Normally, old age is a period of increasingly poor health. Even if there is no illness, there is a tendency to feel less well than usual. In the sixties, poor general

health is less common than it is when individuals live to be over seventy years of age. Men and women of the middle and upper classes tend to have fewer illnesses than do those of the lower classes, and they enjoy better general health (200). The health of married couples tends to be better than that of the nonmarried (152).

There are few illnesses limited to old age, but some occur more commonly at this time than at any other. This is particularly true of constipation, hemorrhoids, digestive disturbances of all types, cancer, and different forms of heart disease. The diseases that are peculiar to senescence are circulatory disturbances, metabolic disorders, involutional mental disorders, disorders of the joints, and tumors, both benign and malignant. Figure 14-9 shows the most common causes of death among elderly people in 1964. Note how heart disease and cancer lead all others (181). Figure

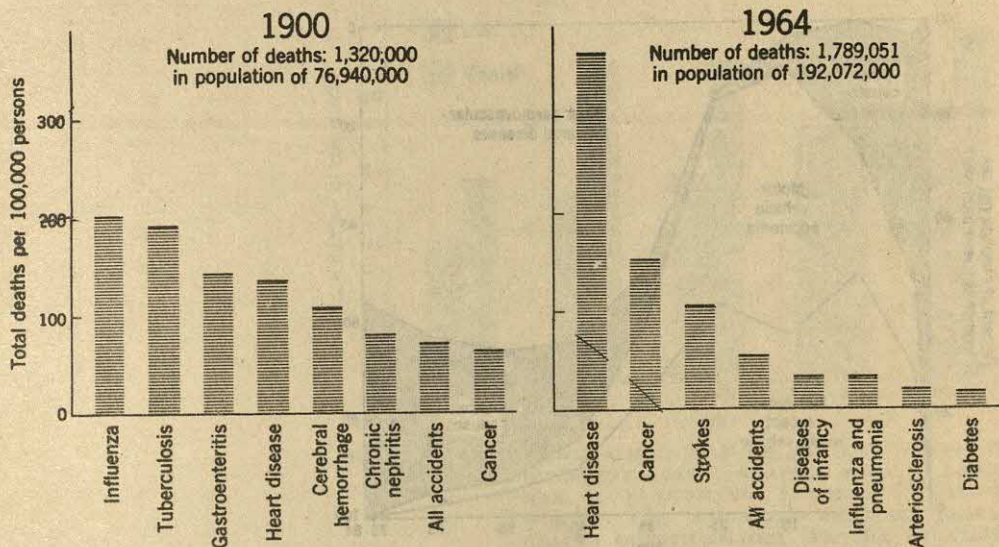


FIGURE 14-9 MAJOR CAUSES OF DEATH AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY AND NOW.
(ADAPTED FROM STATISTICS OF THE U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., 1966. USED BY PERMISSION.)

14-10 shows sex differences in deaths due to illness during old age.

Because the older organism repairs itself much more slowly than the younger, any illness is far more serious and is likely to incapacitate the individual for a longer time than is true of the younger individual. This tends to discourage the individual and to present special problems of adjustment (216,219).

In addition to actual illness, many old people suffer from *imaginary illness* and concentrate on any ache or pain they may have, thus increasing it out of all proportion. Talking about aches, pains, medicine, and doctors is a favorite pastime of many old people. It serves as a means of attracting attention to themselves as well as of winning sympathy from others (68,83).

Poor health interferes with good adjustment, and poor adjustment is responsible,

in part, for poor health (96,211). Adjusting to the restrictions on activities formerly engaged in because of poor health is made with greater resistance than at earlier ages because the old person is aware of the fact that the chances of recovery are slight and that restrictions of his activities are likely to be permanent and to be increased rather than decreased with advancing age (158,211).

The fact that old people resist adjusting to poor health and the restrictions it brings is evident in their tendency to complain to others about their ailments, such as digestive disturbances, difficulties in elimination, giddiness, and troublesome feet. Women, as a group, complain more about their ailments than do men, but both complain more than younger people do (41,68). This is illustrated in Figure 14-11.

As old age advances, there are fewer

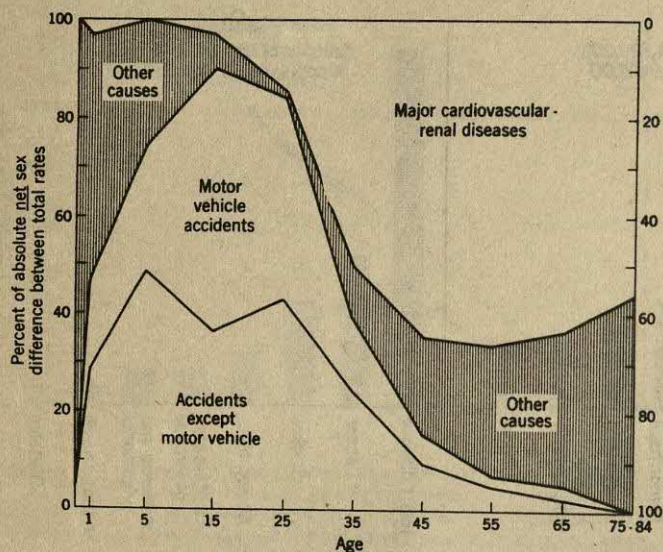


FIGURE 14-10 SEX DIFFERENCES IN DEATH RATES AT DIFFERENT AGES, ACCOUNTED FOR BY THREE MAJOR CAUSES OF DEATH. (ADAPTED FROM J. YERUSHALINY: FACTORS IN HUMAN LONGEVITY. *Amer. J. publ. Hlth.*, 1963, 53, 148-162. USED BY PERMISSION.)

complaints about poor health. This does not necessarily mean that individuals have made better adjustments and have accepted the fact that this is an inevitable accompaniment of old age but rather that the threshold of pain rises with age and they do not, as a result, experience as great physical discomforts as they formerly did (190,245).

PHYSICAL HANDICAPS Most older people suffer from some physical handicap that interferes with their adjustments to the normal pattern of their lives. After the age of seventy years, fully half of all men and women can anticipate several years of semi- or complete invalidism before they die (108,124). The marked increase in

physical disability with advancing age is shown in Figure 12-6, page 687.

In a recent study by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, it has been reported that four-fifths of those who are more than sixty-five years old have at least one chronic ailment. The severity and frequency of such ailments increase with age. Of the most common disabling chronic conditions, heart disease, arthritis, and rheumatism are the most common. Other common chronic disabling conditions are visual impairments, hypertension, impairments of hearing, gait disorders, and mental and nervous conditions. All of these are more frequent among women than among men (160,182,228).

How physical disabilities affect the elderly

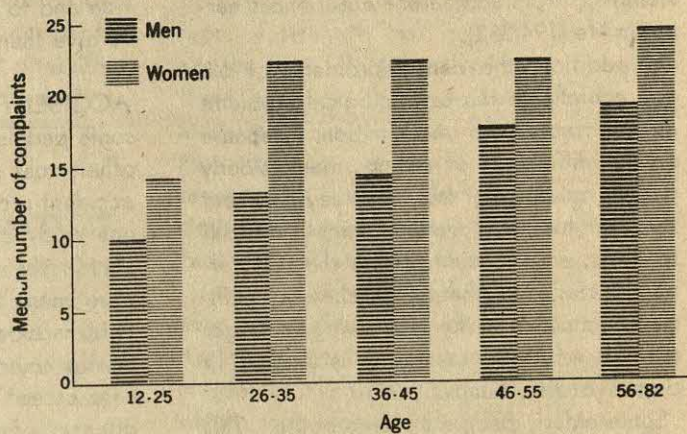


FIGURE 14-11 BODILY COMPLAINTS OF MEN AND WOMEN AT DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM K. BRODMAN, A. J. ERDMANN, I. LORGE AND H. G. WOLFF: THE CORNELL MEDICAL INDEX-HEALTH QUESTIONNAIRE. VI. THE RELATION OF PATIENTS' COMPLAINTS TO AGE, SEX, RACE AND EDUCATION. *J. Geront.*, 1953, 8, 339-342. USED BY PERMISSION.)

will vary greatly. As Pressey (190) has pointed out:

An older person previously well-adjusted and competent may, after a severe illness or accident causing a period of invalidism, not re-establish independence even though recovery physically is good, and perhaps deteriorate into a functionally senile condition. But other old people seem to come through illness or surmount handicaps, even becoming finer personalities than before.

Many older people learn to cope with physical disorders that come with aging; others do not. Some feel sorry for themselves. This takes away any motivation they otherwise might have had to cope with them successfully. Still others make practical use of their disorders as a way

of controlling others. As Kassel has pointed out, "Their disabilities have become status symbols, a means whereby they can obtain attention and control their families" (121).

MALNUTRITION Malnutrition in old age often comes more from psychological than from economic causes. More often the elderly person eats less than he needs for his age and general health, especially of the foods needed to maintain his physical and mental efficiency. This is shown in inadequate vitamin intake, especially a deficiency of vitamin C (111,119).

Malnutrition in old age comes from such psychological causes as lack of appetite due to anxiety, depression, and feelings of not being wanted; to loneliness and lack of interest in food because of having to eat alone; and to food aversions and prejudices

stemming from unpleasant experiences earlier in life (194,232).

In addition, the dental problems of old age complicate the psychological problems as contributors to malnutrition. Because of the difficulties of eating, many elderly people not only eat less than they need but they eat too little protein, which is difficult to chew, and concentrate on the soft carbohydrates. Furthermore, chewing difficulties encourage the swallowing of larger and coarser food masses, thus leading to digestive disturbances (130).

Some elderly people become obese. This obesity is due in part to abundance of food and absence of hard physical work and, in part, to the wrong type of diet (212,232). In discussing the food habits of the elderly, Morgan (172) has explained:

The food habits which do little to combat the changes induced by aging are those largely prevalent in this country. Excess caloric intake especially from sugar, alcohol, white flour, and fats, too little meat, fish, poultry and eggs, too little milk and cheese, too little of the vitamin-rich fruits and vegetables, characterize the diets of the elderly people.

Even when the food intake of the elderly is not deficient qualitatively or quantitatively, many older people do not get the value from the food they eat because of malabsorption or lack of full utilization of food—a result of intestinal or digestive disturbances or failure of the endocrine system to function as it formerly did. Most older people need as much food as they did when they were younger because their bodies do not utilize it as efficiently as they formerly did. But, food must be qualitatively suited to their physical condi-

tion and to the pattern of their lives if it is to give them proper nutrition (172,214).

ACCIDENTS Although it is true that some people are more accident-prone than others, old people, as a group, are more accident-prone than younger people. In one study of accidental deaths, it was reported that more than half of all victims were more than sixty-five years old (183). Fatal accidents are responsible for more deaths among elderly people than any disease except cancer and the cardiovascular diseases. Even when the accidents are not fatal, they frequently leave the individual disabled for the rest of his life (70,116).

Falls are the major cause of accident mortality in old age, with women more subject to falls than men. Most of these falls occur in the home, with the bedroom, bathroom, and stairs being the most common places for accidents. Among the external factors responsible for falls, furniture, slippery floors, "throw rugs," improper lighting, and floors on different levels are the most common.

In addition, many falls come from internal causes, such as dizziness, giddiness, weakness, arthritis, and defective vision. Falls outside the home are less numerous than in the home and are about equal in number for men and women (70,116,183). Refer to Figure 14-10, page 804, for a graphic illustration of sex differences in accidents during old age.

Motor-vehicle accidents rank second as a cause of fatal injury among the elderly and outrank falls as a cause of death among men. Some of these accidents occur when the elderly person is driving and are the results of impaired vision, hearing loss, and slower reaction time (5,129). Many more, however, occur when the elderly is a pedes-

trian and is crossing the street when hit by a car (183). In addition, many accidents that are fatal or cause permanent disability come from burns when the individual is trapped in a burning building by the infirmities of age (169).

CHANGES IN MOTOR CAPACITIES

Most old people are aware of the fact that they are slower, less well coordinated in their movements, and less sure of their movements than when they were younger. These changes in motor capacities come mainly from the decrease of strength and energy that accompanies the physical changes of aging, though psychological factors play some role also.

The individual is aware that he is "slipping." He knows the social values placed on skills, strength, and speed, and he is constantly reminded of his inferiority to younger people in these areas. Emotional tension stemming from these psychological causes may hasten the changes in motor capacities or may decrease the individual's motivation to do what he is capable of doing. However, even under the most favorable conditions and with the strongest motivation, few individuals can hope to keep their motor abilities up to the peak performance achieved when they were younger.

Areas of Change

While all motor capacities decline to some extent with advancing age, some decline more rapidly and earlier than others. Of the important motor changes, the most serious to personal and social adjustment are strength, speed, and skills.

STRENGTH Decline in physical strength begins in the mid-twenties and advances

throughout the adult years. Whatever type of strength test is used, the results are the same. In the case of hand strength, there has been found to be a decline in average grip strength of 17 percent from the maximum at sixty years and, by seventy-five years, the maximum grip strength is approximately equal to that of twelve- to fifteen-year-olds (219).

Decline in strength with age varies, however, with different groups of muscles. The decline is most pronounced in the flexor muscles of the forearm and in the muscles which raise the body (179). Declining strength is shown also in the speed with which the elderly person becomes fatigued. It takes only a short time and a minimum of use for him to complain of fatigue in this or that set of muscles.

SPEED Tests of *reaction time* show that the elderly subjects are significantly slower than the younger and that they become increasingly slower as the difficulty of the task is increased (23,25,30,109,216). Figure 14-12 shows the rate of decline in speed of reaction and movement among female subjects. Note how decline occurs slowly from twelve years of age on and then speeds up abruptly after sixty. Furthermore, older subjects require more time to organize a response or to develop a state of expectancy than do younger subjects (37). Fatigue, stress, tension, and other factors affect the velocity of reaction time, thus increasing individual differences in this aspect of aging (204).

Skilled movements, learned earlier, likewise tend to become slower with advancing age. In the case of writing, for example, older people write at a slower rate than they did when they were younger. This, however, may be influenced to some extent

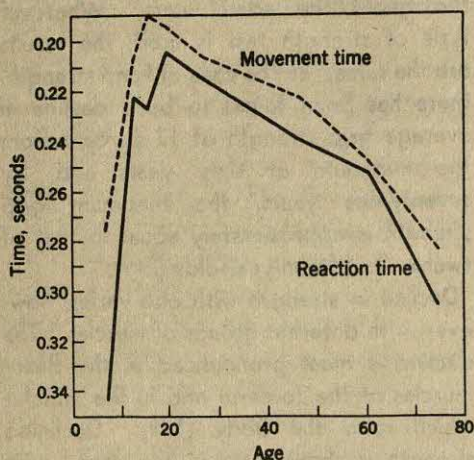


FIGURE 14-12 REACTION TIME AND MOVEMENT TIME DECLINE SHARPLY AS AGE ADVANCES. (ADAPTED FROM J. HODGKINS: INFLUENCE OF AGE ON THE SPEED OF REACTION AND MOVEMENT IN FEMALES. *J. Geront.*, 1962, 17, 385-389. USED BY PERMISSION.)

by the frequency with which the elderly person writes (145). In a test of a simple manual skills, involving the moving of beads with tweezers from one receptacle to another, decline in speed with age was also reported (236). Slowing down in industry is commonly reported even though many workers try to keep their production up to previous standards by increased conscientiousness (40,57).

SKILLS Because motor coordinations become increasingly difficult with advancing age, there is a tendency for old people to become awkward and clumsy in their movements, thus causing them to spill and drop things, to trip and fall, and to do things in a careless, untidy manner (176,236). The breakdown of motor skills proceeds in in-

verse order to that in which skills were formed: the earliest-formed skills are retained longest, and the most recently formed ones are lost first. With advancing age, however, even the most firmly established coordinations begin to break up, and the individual reverts to the state of semi-helplessness characteristic of the early part of life (175,226).

The tendency to be awkward, together with the greater amount of energy needed to do things than was formerly necessary, very often causes older people to shun motor activities whenever possible. As a result of voluntarily giving up activities, often before it is necessary, many old people are more in danger of wearing out from disuse than from sensible activity. On the other hand, continued exercises of a skill can delay the decline of this skill (17,45, 229).

Learning *new skills* in old age is an unusual experience. Not only is learning more difficult than it formerly was, but lack of motivation on the individual's part further militates against the learning. When the learning is of skills that will benefit him personally, there will be the necessary motivation to put forth the effort needed, though the learning will progress more slowly, and the end results will be inferior to those of younger learners (17,76,226).

That motivation plays a dominant role in the learning of new skills is shown by the fact that the Balinese, who believe in reincarnation, retain the ability to learn new and complicated skills which they believe will help them in the new life after death (167). Furthermore, measures of steadiness in the hand and arm have shown that at seventy years of age, many are as steady or even steadier than younger people. This suggests that they are capable of learning new skills and of doing good skilled

work if they have the necessary motivation and the needed opportunities.

CHANGES IN MENTAL ABILITIES

Elderly people become aware of their forgetfulness, their difficulties in learning new names, figures, or facts, and their emotional stress when they must solve even the simplest problem quickly. They realize that they are "slipping" mentally. This they dread because it is a telltale sign of aging. Older adults often refuse to be tested or to participate in any games where quick thinking is involved because they feel "threatened" by these situations and do not want to know or to have others know that they do not compare favorably with younger people (251).

Normally, the decline in mental abilities, begun in middle age, continues throughout the closing years of life. As is true of all other areas of decline, there are marked individual variations in mental decline. There is no one age at which the decline begins and no specific pattern of decline that is characteristic of all old people (18, 19, 186). In general, among those of the higher intellectual levels, there is relatively less decrease in mental efficiency than among those of lower levels (22, 86). On the other hand, as Latimer has pointed out, there is evidence that "Bright people do not become dull at 60 nor do dull people become moronic" (146).

The rate of mental decline is dependent to a large extent upon the physical condition of the individual. Lack of environmental stimulation likewise leaves its mark on the rate of mental decline. Studies of the elderly have shown that those who continue to work have more normal brain functioning and do better on intelligence tests than do others (49).

- The mental decline associated with old age may not be as great as popularly supposed or as reported in earlier studies. As has been pointed out, there is a growing belief that what is assumed to be a decline in mental ability may be the result of discrepancies in the choice of groups at different age levels for comparisons and of the difference in education that exists today and at the time the elderly groups were school children (26, 86, 155).

Most old people are not familiar with testing, are not sympathetic toward it, and refuse to be tested. This biases the samplings used for studies and usually means using institutional cases for the old-age groups, thus giving an unfair sampling of the old-age population (22, 146, 251).

The only true measure of amount of decline is to have an accurate record of the individual's abilities at their peak and then determine from this standard the percentage of decline that sets in at different ages. To date, as has been stressed earlier, there have been few studies made by the longitudinal method; most have been made by using samples from different age levels—the cross-sectional method (8, 38, 238). In studies where gifted individuals have been followed since early childhood into middle and old age, there is evidence that mental decline sets in later than is popularly believed (14, 15, 159, 186, 238).

In addition, since it is a known fact that speed of action slows down with advancing age, tests of mental ability that emphasize the time element are unfair to older subjects (238). As Lorge has pointed out, in measuring mental decline, the "power to cope with mental tasks must be considered freed from the influence of other factors or traits that may obscure it. In my opinion, speed obscures sheer mental power in older adults" (154).

Cause of Mental Decline

In the past, mental changes in old age were attributed to arteriosclerotic brain disease or to senile dementia (49,74,96). It has also been assumed that with physical deterioration, mental deterioration is inevitable. This, however, has not been proved, though there is no question about the fact that decline in physical strength and vigor, decrease in sensory acuity, brain changes, and diseases common to old age affect not only the physical well-being of the individual but also his emotionality, his outlook on life, and his desire to do good work (8).

That physical decline contributes to mental decline has been shown by the fact that sex-hormone treatment of elderly women resulted in improvement in ability to think, to learn new material, to memorize, to remember and in willingness to expend intellectual energy (52). In mental as in motor learning, continuation of practice through the years slows down the rate of decline (19).

Since many of the old people who are used as subjects for studies of old age are institutional cases with few interests and little opportunity for mental stimulation, they may lack proper work habits, and this suggests greater mental decline than would be true of a more representative sampling of the old-age population (120,146).

Probably the most common cause of decline in mental abilities with age is the individual's attitude. Tradition holds that as the individual grows older, he is "too old a dog to learn new tricks." Most elderly people accept this point of view. As a result, they underestimate their abilities and fear criticism of any attempt they might make to learn new things. This stifles their motivation (146). In addition,

society calls on them little for new adjustments. This increases the already-present feeling of uselessness which militates against the individual's motivation to remain mentally alert or to learn new things. With little or no learning, there will be little or no memory, and this hastens mental decline (51,154).

Areas of Decline

Just as there are differences in the rate of mental decline among different individuals of the same chronological age, so there are also differences within the same individuals in the rate of decline for different mental abilities. Even when the element of speed is eliminated and the tests are given as power tests to measure different mental abilities, declines of varying degrees have been found.

Tests of *general intelligence*, given to the same group of individuals from 1919 to 1961 when the median ages for the group were 19 and 61 years respectively, have shown that mental efficiency remains constant in the early fifties and then begins to decline slightly as individuals approach sixty (186). This is illustrated in Figure 14-13.

An analysis of the different mental abilities measured by these tests has shown the decline to be greatest in the tests involving learning and formation of new associations and least in those stressing general information and vocabulary (29,35,51,110,216). In *learning* tasks, older subjects are more cautious, need more time to integrate their responses, and are less capable of dealing with novel material that cannot readily be integrated with earlier experiences than are younger subjects (28,35,36,132).

As the complexity of the task increases, older subjects require more time, are less

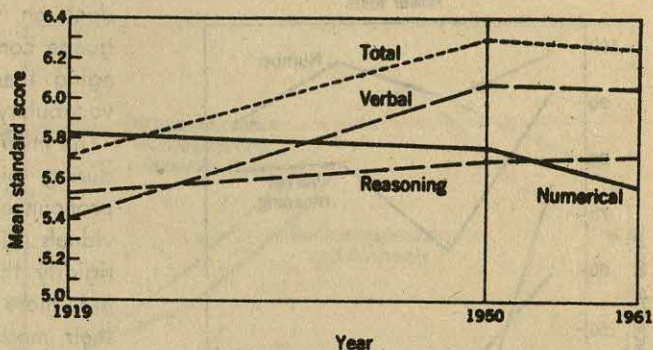


FIGURE 14-13 CHANGES IN TEST PERFORMANCE OVER A 42-YEAR PERIOD, WHEN THE MEAN AGE OF THE GROUP TESTED WAS 61 YEARS OLD. (ADAPTED FROM W. A. OWENS: AGE AND MENTAL ABILITIES: A SECOND ADULT FOLLOW-UP. *J. educ. Psychol.*, 1966. 57, 311-325. USED BY PERMISSION.)

accurate, and do not always comprehend the task. They often become confused when the task is complicated, and this militates against their ability to organize their material in a logical way (43,55,139). Even when they slow down, they continue to make mistakes as the complexity of the task is increased (24).

The ability to *reason* declines at a much faster rate than the abilities of verbal meanings and numbers (208). This is shown in Figure 14-14. There is a general decline in both inductive and deductive reasoning with age which is partly the result of the tendency to become increasingly cautious with age (28,35,163). Old people tend to lack the capacity for independent and creative thinking, and they show limited ability to perform on an abstract level (35, 36,239).

Tests of intellectual abilities have shown that old people have poor recent *memories* but good remote memories. Because motivation is important in memory, old people do not always have as strong a motivation

to remember as do those who are younger. Furthermore, old people are usually not as attentive as they were when they were younger. As a result, they do not get a clear impression of the things they see and hear, thus aiding forgetting (51,82).

The ability to *recall* is affected more by age than is recognition. In one study, it was reported that the ability to recall showed an almost 50 percent loss among the older subjects as compared with a younger group. To ward off the difficulties elderly people experience in recall, many use extra cues, especially visual, auditory, and kinesthetic (210).

The tendency to *reminisce*—to think and talk about the past even to the extent of literally living in the past—becomes increasingly more marked with advancing age. However, how much the individual reminisces will depend mainly on how great the mental decline is and on how pleasant or unpleasant he finds the conditions in which he lives. People who are happy in old age tend to reminisce less than do

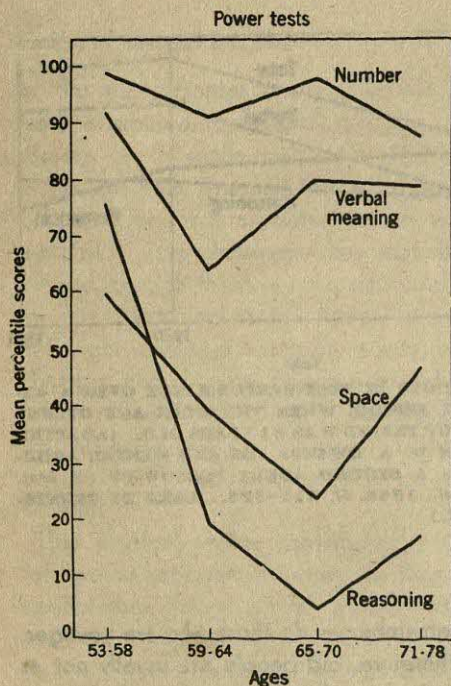


FIGURE 14-14 AREAS OF MENTAL DECLINE AS INFLUENCED BY AGE. (ADAPTED FROM K. W. SCHAE, F. ROSENTHAL AND R. M. PERLMAN: DIFFERENTIAL MENTAL DETERIORATION OF FACTORIAL "PURE" FUNCTIONS IN LATER MATURITY. *J. Geront.*, 1953, 8, 191-196. USED BY PERMISSION.)

dent on verbal comprehension and language communication are less affected by aging than are those less dependent on vocabulary (29,163).

The *mental rigidity* that sometimes sets in during middle age becomes increasingly pronounced as age advances. While individuals differ in the degree of mental rigidity they experience, men as a group are more flexible than women because their mode of life throughout their adult lives gives them more opportunities than women have to adjust to new situations. This aids in warding off mental rigidity (35, 132). Part of the mental rigidity characteristic of old age comes from the fact that learning is slow and laborious as age advances (51). As a result, the individual takes the easiest way out by doing things in the old and tried way (103).

Old-age "childishness," often found in individuals in their seventies and eighties, is shown in forgetfulness, slowness of comprehension, emotional immaturity, and in animistic tendencies in which they attribute living qualities to inanimate objects, as children do (67). Perhaps the most characteristic behavior pattern of old-age childishness is the tendency to live in the past, to reminisce about the "good old days" and to ignore the present and future (125,240).

Effects of Mental Changes

those who find old age a difficult period in life (35,125,240).

Deterioration in *vocabulary* is very slight in old age as compared with other mental abilities. This is because vocabulary is in constant use and the words used have, for the most part, been learned when the old person has a child or youth. Even in the late sixties, decline in vocabulary is less than in all other tests (35,80). Because of this, intellectual activities that are depen-

Significant achievements in creative work are less common among older than among younger people (149,216). Quality of output has been found to decline more rapidly than quantity as age advances, and output of the highest quality declines faster than that of lesser merit (42,149). Among scientists, for example, there is a peak in reading scientific literature, followed by a falling

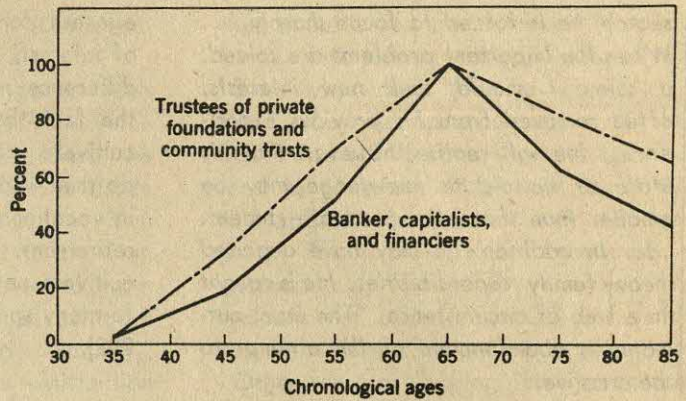


FIGURE 14-15 ECONOMIC CONTROL OF THE U.S. AT DIFFERENT AGES. Solid line: BANKERS, CAPITALISTS AND FINANCIERS; broken line: TRUSTEES OF PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS AND COMMUNITY TRUSTS. (ADAPTED FROM H. C. LEHMAN: *Age and achievement*. PRINCETON, N.J.: PRINCETON, 1953. USED BY PERMISSION.)

off as the individual grows older. Scientists in the sixties publish about half as much as those in the thirties and forties, the peak years for productivity (66).

In spite of the fact that the individual's achievements have passed their peak in both quantity and quality by the time the individual reaches old age, he is generally not accorded full recognition and prestige until he reaches the latter years of life. Economic control of the United States, for example, is largely in the hands of bankers, capitalists, and financiers in the latter decades of life, as shown in Figure 14-15 (149). By that time, the individual is literally "resting on his laurels" and is reaping the harvest of hard work and sacrifices made during the earlier years of his life (35, 149).

While decline in achievements may come at any time in old age, it is most likely to occur just before death—the "imminence-of-death factor," as Berkowitz labels it. This rapid decline usually lasts for less than

twenty months. Furthermore, there has been found to be no difference between those who die suddenly and those who die from a chronic disease (18).

In an attempt to explain why people "rest on their laurels" in old age and why, as a result, their achievements decline, Abelson has given the following suggestion, as applied to scientific achievement. According to him (1):

The slow decay which follows this early flowering probably is not due to lessening of potential mental ability. Of the many factors which combine to diminish creativity in the maturing scientist, perhaps the most important are decreased motivation and obsolescence of his personal store of knowledge. The period of peak creativity follows closely a period of intense intellectual growth in college and graduate school. Later, as his activities become devoted to a specific area of re-

search, he is forced to focus sharply.... When the important problems are solved, a scientist should seek new interests, often removed from his previous experience. He will realize, however, that his store of up-to-date knowledge may be smaller than that of a graduate student.... In addition, he may have acquired heavy family responsibilities. He is caught in a web of circumstance. The usual outcome is abandonment of the attempt to be creative.

CHANGES IN INTERESTS

Instead of developing new interests, old people concentrate on interests acquired when they were younger and select from them the ones that give the greatest satisfaction. Even those that are satisfying often must be given up because of failing health, living conditions, money, and lack of companionship with their contemporaries. Changes in health and energy are reflected in an increase in sedentary pursuits and a decrease in activities that require strength and energy (128).

How much narrowing of interests there will be during old age will be greatly influenced by the *social class* of the individual. Old people of the higher socioeconomic groups usually have a wider variety of interests than do those of the lower. Many of these are carry-overs of interests developed in the earlier years of life. Lower-class older people, for example, have less interest in community organizations, and they engage in fewer forms of recreation than do those of the upper groups (95,106, 200,202).

Just as *women*, throughout adulthood and middle age, have a wider range of interests than do men, so they do in old age. This is to be anticipated as the interests of old

age are, for the most part, a continuation of interests formed earlier (132). This sex difference may be explained, in part, by the fact that women have more time to cultivate interests during adulthood than do men whose time and energies are spent in vocational activities. When they reach retirement, men often find it difficult to cultivate new interests to occupy the time formerly spent on their vocations (106,200, 202).

Interests and Adjustment

There is a close correlation between the number and types of interests the individual has and the type of adjustment he makes to old age. The type of adjustment he makes to old age, in turn, determines how happy or unhappy he will be (47). While members of the upper socioeconomic groups are, on the whole, more dependent upon themselves for their leisure-time activities than are those of the lower groups, most old people are happier if they have interests that bring them in contact with people (54).

If poor health or inadequate money makes the elderly person withdraw from contacts with others and thus further narrow the range of his interests, he usually makes poorer adjustments and is less happy than those who are not handicapped in this way. This is especially true of elderly people who are institutionalized because of poor health or poverty (65).

Adjustments are markedly affected by whether the narrowing down of interests is voluntary or involuntary. If the elderly person wants to narrow down his interests because of health, money, living conditions, or for some other reason, he will be better satisfied than if he is forced to do so by unfavorable attitudes of the social group

toward his participation in activities he enjoys (156).

If, for example, an elderly person feels that it is time to let "the young carry the burden" in community organizations, he will have a far more favorable attitude toward being a passive participant in them than he would if he wanted to show an active interest but was prevented from doing so by unfavorable social attitudes toward the elderly (95,202,259). Similarly, an older person gains more satisfaction from being a sports' spectator when he wants to play that role than when he wants to continue to be active in the sports he formerly enjoyed but is unable to do so because of failing health (257).

Fortunately for older people today, conditions make it possible for them to have more interests and more activities that are interesting to them as they grow older than was possible in the past. The conditions that make this possible include greater affluence among the elderly, better health, fewer home, family, and vocational responsibilities, and the rapid growth of "retirement communities," where they can find congenial companionship among their age-mates (102).

Areas of Interest

Among the "typical" interests of old people, the following are the most common: Self, appearance, clothes, and money.

INTEREST IN SELF People become increasingly more preoccupied with self, especially how they feel and what they want to do, as they grow older. They become egocentric and self-bound to the point where they are selfish and self-centered—thinking more about themselves

than about others and having little regard for the interests or wishes of others (107).

Even when their physical condition is good, they are preoccupied with their health and with the bodily processes. They tend to complain about their health and to exaggerate any ailment they may have (231). This is done, either consciously or unconsciously, to win the attention and sympathy of others, especially of family members whom they believe neglect them.

Other ways of showing their preoccupation with self consist of talking endlessly about their pasts, wanting to be waited on, and wanting to be the center of attention in whatever group they happen to be. It is this self-centeredness that contributes to the unfavorable social attitude toward old people that is so prevalent today (107). Younger people, whether children, adolescents, or adults, are so aware of the social expectation of cooperativeness and unselfishness that the self-centeredness of old people is completely contradictory to their standards of socially acceptable behavior.

INTEREST IN APPEARANCE Interest in appearance usually wanes as age progresses. Some old people are as appearance-conscious as they were when they were younger, but they are the exception to the rule. Most old people show little interest in how they look. They do not try to make the best of their appearance through the use of clothes that hide the telltale signs of aging.

This lack of interest in appearance is also shown in carelessness of grooming. While few are dirty and slovenly in appearance, most elderly people are careless in that they do not take the time and trouble to make the most of their looks or to camouflage the telltale signs of physical aging as well as they could (121,205).

Lack of interest in appearance in old age is often a form of compensation. The old person who is unwilling to accept the fact that he is aging often develops an "I don't care" attitude toward his appearance and frequently becomes slovenly and careless.

Old men, as a rule, are more interested in their appearance than are old women. This is in direct contrast to the prevailing interests of younger people and may be explained by the fact that women use this as a compensation for the distress that failing looks bring them. It may also be explained, in part, by habit. Older men have become accustomed to being careful in grooming as a vocational asset and this habit often persists even into retirement (121,205).

The more socially active the elderly person, the more incentive he has to be appearance-conscious. Socially withdrawn elderly people, by contrast, have little motivation to care how they look and, as a result, their appearance suffers.

Furthermore, as the physical changes of old age distort the shape of their bodies, men and women find the clothes they would like to have simply do not fit, and the clothes they can wear are often drab enough to kill any motivation they might otherwise have to try to improve their appearance. Older women, for example, usually find the only clothes that will fit them are half-sizes—garments designed to take into account the thickened waistline of old age. Few of these are as attractive as the regular sizes for women who have the figures of young adulthood (13,31,205, 237).

INTEREST IN CLOTHES As is true of interest in appearance, interest in clothes in old age varies greatly. It depends, to some extent, upon how socially active the

individual is and, to an even greater extent, upon how willing he is to accept the fact that he is growing old and to adjust to it. Some elderly people cling to styles they wore before and refuse to change to fit into the prevailing fashions, even when this means that they must have their garments made to order.

Other older people, by contrast, want to be up-to-the-minute in style, wearing garments in design and color meant for those young enough to be their children or even their grandchildren. They are rebelling against old age and are trying to convince themselves and others that they are younger than their years.

Many elderly people are prevented from having as great an interest in clothes and appearance as they might otherwise have by their limited incomes. Studies of the amount of money elderly people spend on clothing and beauty aids have revealed that there is a sharp drop after sixty-five years of age. Many older people simply do not have enough money available to buy new clothes except when it is absolutely necessary. This is bound to have a marked effect on their interest in clothes and to contribute to lack of motivation to make as attractive an appearance as they could, were they not so economically handicapped (72,91,205,213).

Lack of income also contributes to their social withdrawal. Knowing how important clothes are to younger people, the older person who cannot afford to be well dressed shuns social and community activities where, by comparison with younger people, he will feel embarrassed by his shabby and out-of-date appearance. This is especially true of women for whom styles change more than they do for men (13, 205,215,237).

The economic problem is not the only one

that decreases older people's interest in clothes. They have difficulty in getting ready-made clothes that are stylish and yet designed to fit the figure that changes with aging. When skirts are short, for example, it is hard for an older woman to get a ready-made dress, skirt, or coat that covers even part of her aging legs. What clothing is available, they complain, is poorly designed, uninteresting, monotonous, and made in nondescript prints or colors unsuitable for the skin and hair changes that come with aging (205). The problem of getting ready-made clothes that fit aging bodies and in colors that are suitable and becoming affects elderly men also, but to a lesser extent than it affects women.

In spite of the obstacles just discussed, some older people feel that clothes are important to their morale and that they should make an effort to be as attractive as possible. They are well aware of the fact that while the young can get away with sloppy, casual attire, those over sixty who are "not neatly dressed and well groomed arouse pity or contempt" (205). As further evidence of their interest are reports that elderly people read fashion magazines, attend fashion shows, and shop around to see what are the latest styles. This holds true for the elderly in rural as well as those in urban areas (205).

INTEREST IN MONEY Interest in money, which starts to wane during middle age, generally is revived and becomes more intense as old age progresses. With retirement or unemployment, the elderly person generally finds himself with a greatly reduced income or with no income at all unless he is eligible for social security benefits. This focuses his attention on money and stimulates his interest in how he can

get more or how he can make two ends meet with what he has.

Studies of personal and family incomes in old age have revealed that they are usually at their lowest for all adult age groups at this time and that the elderly have the smallest savings (92,213). The personal incomes of men, 65 years of age and older, for example, average \$1,800 a year and of women, \$850 a year. This compares with an average for men of \$4,600 and for women, \$1,500 in the 55 to 64 age group. Family income for the elderly group averages \$3,026 annually as compared with \$6,712 for the 45 to 54 age group and \$5,810 for the 55 to 64 age group (195, 213). Refer to Figures 13-1 and 13-4 on pages 719 and 722 for a graphic illustration of how radically income drops during old age.

With this radical drop in income, interest in money is not for the purpose of having more material possessions, as is true in adolescence and early adulthood, but rather for the purpose of maintaining independence—being able to live where and how they wish, free from dependency on charity or relatives (55,213). To be able to maintain a pattern of life they wish to maintain, many older people are forced to cut down their expenditures for clothes and aids to appearance, for social life and recreations, and for membership in different community organizations (92,213).

In one survey of expenditures for clothing, it was found that for people under 65 years of age, 10.9 to 12.3 percent of the total budget was spent on clothes, while for those from 65 to 75 years of age, the percentage had dropped to 8.8, and for those over 75 years of age, to 7.8 (91). When it is taken into consideration that the total income for the elderly drops markedly, the drop in percentages spent for clothes

shows that the elderly cannot afford to be well dressed, no matter how great their interest in clothes and appearance may be (205).

RECREATIONAL INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

As a general rule, the recreational interests of elderly people are similar to those of the middle-aged. Elderly men and women tend to retain their preferred patterns of recreational activities, formed in early adulthood, and they change only when necessary to do so. As Zborowski (257) has pointed out:

Aging has a rather insignificant influence upon people's recreational patterns and preferences. There may be a necessity to give up or curtail certain activities, due to social pressures (in terms of role definitions) because of physiological limitations, and because of the contraction of the family and social environment which is beyond the individual's control) but the general tendency is in the direction of retaining the patterns of living which have been developed in the past.

What changes do occur are primarily in the form of a gradual narrowing down of interests, rather than a radical change in the pattern of interests, and a shift from the active to the more sedentary recreations that the individual has been interested in through the adult years (54,170,257).

It is rather unusual for an old person to cultivate a new recreational interest. He may, however, devote his time to an activity which interested him when he was younger but which he had to put aside because of the pressures of work and family

life, or for economic reasons (101). An older woman, for example, may take up painting which she enjoyed in her youth but which, during the busy years of home-making and child rearing, she had to abandon. However, it is not a new interest but a revival of an old recreation.

Causes of Recreational Changes

Because the recreations that filled the needs of men and women when they were younger may not be able to fill their needs as they change physically and mentally with aging, changes in recreations in old age are inevitable. However, most of these changes are through necessity, not choice. As one woman, over seventy, put it, "I am holding on to life with both hands, but I feel that as life goes on society pries loose one finger after another" (257). Of the many factors that affect the recreational patterns of the elderly, the following are the most important: health; economic status; education; sex; and living conditions.

HEALTH As health gradually fails, the recreations engaged in by the elderly become sedentary in character and require a minimum of physical strength and energy (101). Poor health, for example, requires a shift from active to spectator sports for the man who formerly enjoyed being an active participant. It also necessitates engaging in more and more home recreations rather than in recreations in homes of others, in clubs, or in places of public amusement, such as theaters and movies (54,257).

Increasing physical disabilities likewise force changes in recreational patterns. Poor eyesight limits the amount of reading

the elderly can do and often limits television watching. Arthritis and rheumatism, which make many elderly people house-bound, eliminate recreations where muscles are involved, such as all sports, painting, embroidering, or carpentry.

ECONOMIC STATUS Decline in income, discussed on page 817, has a marked influence on how many and what types of recreation the elderly can engage in. It eliminates or certainly cuts down the participation in commercial recreations, such as theaters and movies; it makes watching sports as a spectator limited to television watching, and it eliminates recreations associated with clubs because of the dues (257). Many elderly people, as will be discussed later, drop out of church clubs and other recreational activities in the church because they feel they have too little money to make contributions to these activities or to have clothing suitable for them (95).

That economic status plays an important role in the narrowing down of recreational activities in old age may be seen by the fact that members of the higher socioeconomic groups have, as a rule, more hobbies, more interests, and are more self-sufficient about the use of their time than are those of lower socioeconomic status (106,200,257). In addition, because individuals of the higher socioeconomic groups had a wider variety of recreational interests and activities when they were younger, narrowing down of recreations in old age is not so serious for them as it is for those of the lower groups. (47,54,55).

Furthermore, there are few recreations provided by the community for the elderly who cannot afford to participate in commercial recreations or to buy the equip-

ment needed for home recreations. Until now, community interest has centered largely on providing recreations for the young and has left the elderly to provide their own recreations (170). With the exception of homes for the elderly, few recreations are provided for those whose economic condition eliminates expenditures for these activities.

EDUCATION At every age, members of the higher educational groups have a wider variety of recreational interests than do those whose education is limited. As was pointed out earlier (see pages 550 to 551), the more formal education men and women have, the more variety there is in their recreations and the more emphasis is placed on such recreations as reading, card games, and hobbies. Because most of these recreations require little expenditure of physical energy, they can be carried out in old age (187,202,257). Among the less educated, sports and television watching are especially popular in the earlier years. When failing health makes participation in sports impossible, the elderly are forced to limit their recreational time mainly to television watching (33,47,187).

SEX The range of recreational interests is wider for girls and women than for men and boys from early childhood. Furthermore, members of the female sex, at every age, are interested in the more sedentary recreations than are members of the male sex. As a result, when failing health necessitates the cutting down of time spent on recreations requiring physical energy, such as sports, elderly men find themselves with fewer activities for their leisure time than do women. Unless they cultivate new recreational interests, such as watching sports

on television instead of actively participating in these events, few forms of recreation will be left for them to enjoy.

LIVING CONDITIONS Where the older person lives will greatly influence the opportunities he has for recreation. If he is living in a home for the aged, he will have recreations provided for him that are suited to his physical and mental abilities. Should he, on the other hand, be living in his own home alone or with a spouse, there will be fewer opportunities for recreation, especially if his economic status is poor.

Because many of the recreations he learned to enjoy earlier were family-oriented, now that the family size has decreased with the marriage of the children, opportunities for such recreations will be limited to holiday celebrations or visits. Even then, they are likely to be centered around the interests and abilities of the grandchildren, and these are usually unsuited to his age (170,257). If he or his contemporaries are house-bound because of ill health or are unable to get together because of transportation difficulties, the elderly person will be cut off even from the recreations that are suitable for his age and abilities (170,257).

Common Recreations of Old Age

Among the common recreational interests of older people are reading, writing letters, listening to the radio, watching television, "visiting," sewing, embroidering, gardening, traveling, playing cards, going to the theater or movies, and taking part in civic, political, or religious organizations (33,49, 55,103). However, which of these will be engaged in by a given individual will be greatly influenced by the conditions described above. In general, the number

and variety of activities will decline with advancing age, even though an interest in them may persist.

SOCIAL INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

Old people suffer increasing social losses with age. Their social contacts are narrowed by loss of work associates, death of relatives, friends, and spouse. Poor health, economic conditions, and unfavorable social attitudes toward their usefulness restrict their participation in social activities (28). As a result, they suffer from social *disengagement*—a voluntary or involuntary withdrawal from social contacts and activities (63,122,190,243).

There are three types of social relationships that are affected by aging: *close personal friendships*, as husband and wife, sister and sister, or chums from childhood days; *friendship cliques* made up of couples banded together when they were younger; and *formal groups* or clubs. Once broken, these social relationships are rarely replaced (122,258).

Women, as a rule, retain their friendships longer than men, mainly because their friends come from their neighborhoods, while men's friends are largely from their work associates who live in scattered areas of the community and who are not brought together by their common interest in work after retirement (103).

Furthermore, as the elderly person's interest in self increases, interest in other people decreases. At first, he loses interest in acquaintances, then in his friends, then in a few intimate friends or "cronies," thus limiting his social interests to his immediate family. The more the elderly person is socially isolated, the more ingrown he becomes and the fewer opportunities he has

to keep up-to-date. As a result, he becomes "boring" to others. This further adds to his social isolation (128).

Sources of Social Contact

To the elderly person, the family circle constitutes the nucleus of his social life (153, 190). The older he is, the more he must rely upon members of his family for companionship. Figure 8-4, page 409, shows the average hours per day spent in family and community settings. Note how the number spent in the home increases with advancing age and the number in the community decreases.

The reason why the elderly person must rely so heavily on members of his family for companionship is that many of his contemporaries have either died or are physically unable to do things with him. He, in turn, may not have the strength or the means of transportation to go to see them. If his income is limited, he may not be able to participate in social activities in the church or community. He often finds it difficult or impossible to keep up the pace set by his younger relatives or friends. As a result, he is no longer a welcome member of many groups where there are younger people (16,75,190).

Thus, the older person must limit his social contacts to individuals of his own age who are still able to participate in social activities and to family members of approximately his own age (258). Many men, after retirement, are forced to rely mainly on their wives for companionship and to play "homebody" roles which they find blows to their masculine egos (128). Only when the man has a group of intimate friends, many of whom are his contemporaries and have been friends since childhood days, can he rely to any extent upon

social contacts outside the home. Even then, these contacts may be infrequent because of health, transportation, and other obstacles (63,200,243).

One of the advantages of institutional living for the elderly is that it provides opportunities for social contacts with contemporaries which are usually not available when the elderly live in homes of their own or with their relatives (193). Social contacts with contemporaries have great advantages for the elderly, even though many elderly people resist making this adjustment (103). The elderly person's contemporaries have interests in common with his; he does not have to make radical adjustments in his pattern of behavior when he is with them; he moves physically and mentally at a tempo similar to theirs; he knows he is certain of acceptance because his friendship will help to eliminate their loneliness; and he has an opportunity for prestige, based on his past accomplishments, which he would not have in a group of younger people. The social advantages of institutional living for the elderly will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Social Participation

As age advances, participation in social activities declines and its scope narrows (190,193). As may be seen in Figure 12-9, page 702, the number of married men and women who belong to three or more clubs or community organizations begins to drop after the age of sixty years, while the number holding two or more offices or committee memberships declines even more steeply. There is also less attendance at the meetings of community organizations and different social functions (63,106,243).

While declining *health* is generally believed to be the main reason for decline

in social participation, this is not always true. There are other reasons that are as important and are sometimes even more important. The extent of the individual's *participation when he was younger* will have a marked influence on his participation in old age (103). Studies of social participation at different ages have shown that those who are active in adolescence and early adulthood continue to be active in middle and old age, except when such obstacles as poor health, economic privations, or family responsibilities prevent them from being so (101,117,243). As King and Howell have pointed out, "The community role at 15-25 years of age seems to reflect the image of the late adult community role" (132).

At every age, *socioeconomic status* plays an important role in the amount of participation in community organizations. Members of the upper groups dominate the organized life of the community and supply it with leadership. Because members of the lower groups usually do not belong to these organizations when they are younger, they hesitate to join them when they are older (63,106,243).

Not only do members of the lower socioeconomic groups belong to fewer social organizations and take a less active part in them, but they also have fewer friends outside the family than do members of the middle and upper groups. This is true throughout the adult years. By the time they reach old age, both men and women find the number of social contacts they have outside the home dwindling to the point where they have few friends and acquaintances. This coincides with the time when their contacts with family members likewise are fewer as their grown children are tied up with family and vocational obligations (200).

How seriously this affects their social lives and how it contributes to loneliness and unhappiness in old age has been highlighted by one study in which men and women reported on their happiness in old age. According to this study, 17 percent of the lower-class elderly said they lacked social intimacies and had no one to talk to about personal matters, as compared with 2 percent of the middle-class group; 11 percent of the lower-class group claimed that they had few friends and were lonely as contrasted with 2 percent of the middle-class group. This led Rose to conclude that, "Old age is generally likely to have a greater deleterious effect on the social relations of the lower class than of the middle class" (200).

Because many of the community organizations are *occupation-oriented*, as is true of the different business clubs and trade unions, older people who are retired no longer belong to these organizations (106). What participation they engage in, then, is limited mainly to the nonoccupationally oriented organizations that emphasize sociability rather than opportunities to satisfy occupational aspirations or achieve advancement. This, in part, accounts for the dropping off of membership and participation in community organizations on the part of elderly people (187,235).

Married people are socially more active in old age than are those who are single or widowed, and those from the upper socioeconomic groups among the married are more active than the married of the lower groups (63,250). Whenever there is a *change in status*, due either to widowhood or to retirement, it is likely to affect the friendships and social participation of the individual. During the sixties, for example, fewer men and women are widowed than in the seventies. As a result, the

social life of people in the sixties is usually dominated by the married. During the seventies, by contrast, more are widowed and most are retired. As a result, the social life is dominated by the widowed. This gives men and women who are widowed more opportunities for friendships and social activities. As Blau (32) has pointed out:

The effects that changes in major status have on the friendships of older people depend on the prevalence of these changes in the social structure. A change in status which places the individual in a deviant position in his age or sex group interferes with his opportunities to maintain old friendships.... But if the same status change becomes predominant in a social group, then it is the individual who retains his earlier status who becomes the deviant, and consequently it is his social participation that suffers.

The same principle holds true for *retirement*. A man or woman who retires earlier than his age group or than his friends is a deviant in the sense that he does not fit into the social life dominated by those who are at work. After the majority of his friends retire, he finds that they have more time for socialization and more interests in common with him (32).

Women, in old age, are more active socially than are men, just as is true in the earlier years. This is not because older women have more time for socializing than men do, but rather because members of both sexes follow, in old age, the patterns of socialization they developed when they were younger (35,63,243).

In addition, when men retire, they have no clear-cut role, and this prevents them from

trying to participate in community or social organizations. Having left the social activities in the hands of their wives since early in marriage, it is difficult for them to make plans now for their own social life, even with members of their own sex (122).

Provisions for Social Activities

Even when there are community organizations available that provide old people with opportunities for social contacts and activities, many do not belong to these organizations, and those who do belong attend meetings infrequently or take an inactive part when they do attend. This is not because of a lack of interest in social activities but for other reasons: most of the meetings, for example, are held at night when it is difficult for older people to go out; they cannot attend when the weather is unfavorable, as is true during a major part of the winter; they often find the dues and cost of transportation too great for their reduced incomes; they lack interest in the activities planned by the younger members who are now in leadership roles; or they feel rejected by the younger members of these organizations (103,190).

Because of this, many communities are trying to meet the social needs of the aged by establishing social clubs for them with activities planned to fit into their interests and capacities. These clubs are designed to offer entertainment and opportunities to form friendships with men and women of the same age level (69,190).

Equally as important, any social activity planned for the elderly must require responsibility on the part of the individual and generate self-respect as well as esteem from the social group. This contrasts markedly with many "make-work" projects that give the elderly something to do and

opportunities for social contacts but which do not challenge the individual's abilities nor do they generate either self- or social respect (164).

Because of the present dearth of workers in many civic organizations, such as hospitals, it has been suggested that the social needs of the elderly can be met by encouraging them to engage in volunteer work in these organizations. Volunteer work of this sort is a suitable alternative for work among the retired because it closely resembles employment in that it is a personal challenge for the individual, thus generating self-respect, while, at the same time winning social approval and esteem for desirable activities (202).

Elderly men tend, on the whole, to be less willing to engage in volunteer community work than women. This is partly because they have been so accustomed, throughout their adult years, to being paid for their services that they resist "working" for nothing and partly because they associate volunteer work with the feminine role (128). The more educated among the elderly are interested in volunteer work as compared with the less educated. This may be because the less educated feel that they are unwanted in such organizations, or it may be because they feel inadequate as a result of having little or no past experience in participation in community organizations (202).

Among the elderly, those who take advantage of any opportunities they have for social participation and who make an effort to retain old friendships or establish new ones not only make a better adjustment to old age than do those who are socially inactive, but they also find old age a far happier period of life than they had anticipated when they were younger (128,190).

RELIGIOUS INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

It is popularly believed that old people turn to religion as life draws to a close. However, there is little evidence of increased interest in religion with advancing age. Although an old person may become more religious as death approaches, or when he is seriously disabled, for the average elderly person this is not necessarily true (84,185). As Havighurst and Albrecht have pointed out, "There is no evidence of a large-scale turning to religion of people as they grow older" (103).

In an analysis of research studies relating to attitudes toward religion and religious practices in old age, it has been found that there are some evidences of greater interest in religion with advancing age and some evidences of declining interest. According to the findings (84):

There is conflicting opinion among gerontologists and geriatricians in regard to the personal significance of religion in the latter years of life. The thesis that religious faith and practice increase in importance as death approaches—which has become . . . "part of the folklore of the psychology of religion"—now is increasingly challenged by psychologists and sociologists. Many of them maintain that aging people tend to withdraw from religion as they disengage (or are disengaged) from society. A review of research in this field indicates that formal ritual practice (such as church attendance) does seem to diminish with increasing age. But religious concern may actually become more intense among older individuals who have an acknowledged faith. . . . Thus both disengage-

ment and re-engagement with religion are typical in old age.

Instead of a turn to or away from religion in old age, most people carry on the religious beliefs and habits formed earlier in life (185). As Covalt (62) has pointed out:

The attitude of most older people about religion is probably most often that with which they grew up or which they have accepted as they achieved intellectual maturity. Patterns of worship and of church attendance have remained much the same or have been modified by circumstances which, to the individual, are logical modifications.

Areas of Change

There are certain changes which are typical of the older group in the American culture of today. These include changes in religious feelings, religious beliefs, attitudes toward death, and religious observances.

RELIGIOUS FEELINGS Although there is evidence that religious feelings do not increase with aging, in the sense that elderly people become more devoutly religious than they were when they were younger, there is evidence of a shift to a less strict adherence to religious dogmas and to a more tolerant attitude toward the church, the clergy, and people of different faiths (49,55,84).

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS When there are changes in religious beliefs during old age, they are generally in the direction of the traditional beliefs of the individual's faith.

In one study, for example, it was reported that 81 percent of those over 65 years of age regarded God as a "loving Father" as compared with 76 percent in the 45 to 54 age group. Sixty-five percent believed that one should prepare for life after death instead of being concerned with the comforts of this world as compared with fifty-one percent of the younger group (84).

ATTITUDES TOWARD DEATH Although some elderly people believe that death is the "end," the tendency to think of death as the beginning of life hereafter grows as the age increases. In a study of elderly people of different faiths, it was found that the proportion who believed in heaven and an afterlife rose from 30.1 percent at ages 30 to 35 to over 40.5 percent at ages 60 to 65 (84). Those who have strong religious beliefs are more likely to think of death as the beginning of an afterlife than are those with weaker beliefs (79,95).

With advancing age, especially during the period after seventy, many people begin to fear death (173). This is in direct contrast to younger people to whom death seems like a far-away experience of little concern to them. This may explain why, to some extent, many older people to whom religion was less important in their younger years resort to a religious outlook to cope with their fears of death (115,196,233).

Among the elderly whose health is failing, many want to be told by their doctors of the possibility of their deaths. The reasons given are: "to settle my affairs," "to do what I really want to do," and "to have time to live with the idea and learn to die" (180).

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES As we have seen, as age advances, there is evidence of

a falling off in *church attendance* and a decline in participation in *church activities*. This is not so much the result of poor health, as is popularly believed, as it is because older people have problems of transportation; they often feel they cannot dress properly; or they are embarrassed because they cannot contribute financially.

Furthermore, there is a strong belief on the part of older people that church activities are planned mainly for younger people, who want to run things as they please. As a result, many men and women withdraw from leadership roles in the church after sixty and are less active participants in the different church organizations than they formerly were. Dissatisfaction with the attitudes of the younger members toward them is, in many cases, responsible for their dropping out of these organizations (84,93,95).

Women, more often than men, continue to attend the meetings of the church organizations as they grow older because of the opportunities these organizations offer for social contacts (103). Members of the upper class and the upper middle class are less active than are those of the lower middle class and upper lower class, for whom the church offers about the only opportunity available for social contacts outside of the family circle. Members of the lower lower class are relatively inactive in church affairs and attend infrequently

because they feel they do not have the proper clothes (2,93,187).

Effects on Adjustment

The *quality* of church membership is more important than membership *per se*. Those who joined voluntarily when they were younger and who have been active participants, tend to be better adjusted in old age than are those whose interest and activity in religious organizations have been limited. Religion is only one factor in the adjustment to old age, but it is an important one (171).

The relationship between church attendance and personal adjustment in old age may be affected more by the social experiences the church offers than by the religious experiences. The church offers opportunities for social life and companionship, thus satisfying the older person's need to belong and to feel useful, and it minimizes feelings of loneliness. In addition, religion alleviates anxieties about death and afterlife (79,84,95).

Whatever the reasons for interest in religion, attendance at church, and participation in religious organizations, there is evidence that these contribute to good adjustment in old age (79,95). There is also evidence that "the religious have a reference group that gives them support and security: the nonreligious are more likely to lack such social support" (84).

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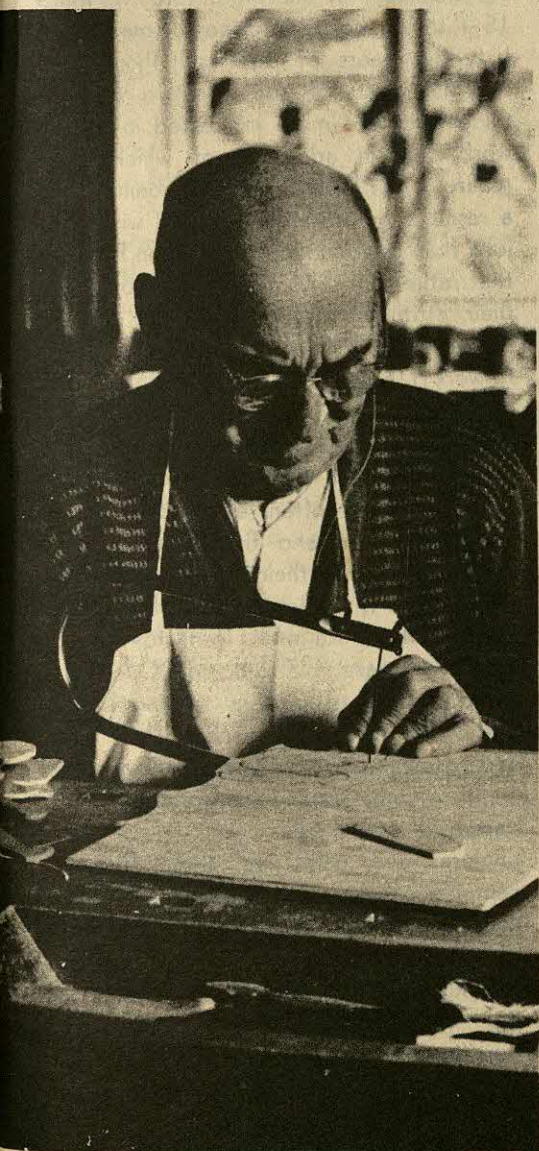
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Two of the most difficult developmental tasks of old age relate to areas of life which are especially important for all adults—work and family life. These areas present adjustment problems common in some respects to those of other periods in life but with features that are unique to old age. Not only must the elderly person adjust to working conditions in his chosen vocation but, in addition, he must adjust to the realization that his usefulness is lessened as he grows older and, as a result, his status in the work group is lower. Furthermore, he has the problem of adjusting to retirement when it is considered that his usefulness to the work world has come to an end.

In the family, older men and women must adjust to the dependency on one another for companionship, to the lack of contact with and influence on their children, and to widowhood for the remaining spouse when the marital relationship is broken by death. Elderly people who are not married are faced with adjustment problems that are often more serious than those of the married and widowed.

Vocational and family adjustments in old age are complicated by the economic factor which plays a far more important role than it did in the adjustments of earlier periods of life (103,161). Although governmental aid in the form of social security, old-age benefits, and Medicare and the gradual spread of retirement benefits from business and industry are, to some extent,

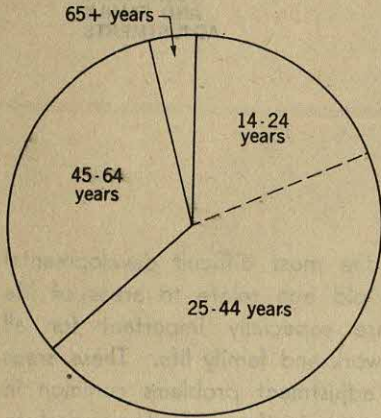


FIGURE 15-1 RELATIVELY FEW MEN WORK AFTER THEY ARE 65 YEARS OLD. (ADAPTED FROM REPORT OF PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON AGING. WASHINGTON, D.C.: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1963. USED BY PERMISSION.)

alleviating the problems arising from the economic factor, the problems are by no means solved.

VOCATIONAL INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

Most older people, unless their health is poor, want to work and would continue to work if they could get employment (139). As the Report of President's Council on Aging has pointed out (196):

The reasons for wanting to work, especially among the men, centered on the need for income, but both men and women gave reasons reflecting other positive values of work. . . . Obviously work fills a variety of needs for not only the elderly but for persons of all ages—it may help build or maintain self-esteem, provide opportunities to be useful and to feel needed, keep

people busy at constructive activities and thus contribute to their health and happiness.

That older men want to work and do so if they are able to get employment is shown by the number of elderly men who are members of the work force. Figure 15-1 shows the percentages of men up to sixty-four years of age and those over sixty-five years of age who are working. Older men are more interested in steady work than in advancement which, they realize, is not likely to be forthcoming. As a result, they are more satisfied with their jobs than are younger men. Even knowing that retirement is imminent does not affect their attitudes toward their work if they enjoy what they are doing and are anxious to work (116,161).

Even women who did not work during the early years of adulthood when they were preoccupied with the housework and care of their children often return to work during middle age and find it satisfactory compensation for their empty homes. If employment is available and if their health permits, they, like men, want to work as long as they are able to do so. One social security study of persons retiring at the age of sixty-two years disclosed that there is only four years' difference in the average length of time worked by women as compared with men (242).

Figure 13-3, page 721, shows the percentages of men and women over sixty-five years of age who are working. Note that less than 10 percent of the women are working as contrasted with 30 percent of the men. Even those women who are working are less satisfied with their jobs than are men. This is primarily because the only jobs available to women who reenter the labor force in middle age, after

their childrearing roles come to an end, are less interesting and less challenging even than those available to middle-aged men who shift to another job at that age because of unemployment or dissatisfaction with their present jobs. As a result, women are less satisfied with the jobs they have and less disturbed at the thought of retirement than men as they reach the retirement age (162,242). Figure 15-2 shows the types of jobs married women hold.

Reasons for Wanting to Work

At all ages, the reasons for wanting to work are different for different people. The individual's reasons are dependent on what work means to him personally. As Pressey (190) has explained:

For most men, work is the center of their lives; it determines the resources for living for themselves and their families and their socioeconomic status, and has multiple meanings for them—as a basis for self-respect and the respect of others, a locus of social relationships during work and at the lunch hour, an activity often in itself enjoyable.

Even though people have different reasons for wanting to work, their attitudes toward work fall roughly into two categories: society-maintaining work attitudes and ego-involving work attitudes. In the case of society-maintaining work attitudes, the worker generally works on an hourly or piece basis. He has little or no interest in the work, per se, nor does he gain any personal satisfaction from his achievements. This kind of work can be and is left behind when the whistle blows. The worker's main interest is the pay envelope. Often he

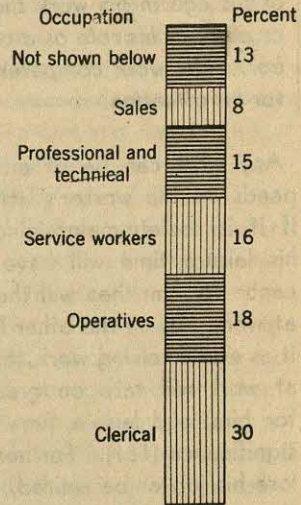


FIGURE 15-2 TYPES OF JOBS AVAILABLE TO MARRIED WOMEN WHO REENTER THE LABOR FORCE AFTER THEIR CHILD-REARING ROLES END. (ADAPTED FROM *Family Life Coordinator*, 1966, 15, PAGE 132. USED BY PERMISSION.)

regards his work as a heavy and unpleasant burden (102).

By contrast, ego-involving work is the type that preoccupies the worker and gives him personal satisfaction. To some, it is a basis for self-respect and a sense of worth; to others, it is a source of prestige; some find in work a locus of social participation where one can enjoy the companionship of other people; or it may be a source of intrinsic enjoyment or of creative self-expression, a way of being of service to others, a way of making time pass in a pleasant routine manner. Because work means so much to him personally (102),

... he takes it home with him in the evening and on weekends. He places his work before his social life. He invests more

of his ego in his work than in his church, or club, or his role as a citizen and neighbor. His work competes with his family for his attention.

Any work can be of either type: it depends on the worker's attitude toward it. If it is society-maintaining work for him, his leisure time will have greater significance for him than will the time he spends at work. If, on the other hand, he regards it as ego-involving work, the time he spends at work will take on greater significance for him, and leisure time will decrease in significance (161). Furthermore, should he lose his job or be retired, elimination from the work world may be a "devastating experience for him" (190).

The prevailing *cultural attitude* toward work also influences the individual's attitude. The United States used to be a work-centered society where work and achievement were highly valued. Since World War I, but especially since the depression of the early thirties, emphasis has been placed more on the value of leisure than of work.

Old people who grew up during the time when the cultural attitude toward work was more favorable than it is today have a very different attitude toward work, established when they were young people, than do the young people of today. This colors their attitude toward their own work and increases the difficulties of adjusting to not being able to get employment if they are physically able to work. For those to whom work means status and prestige, there is a preference for work on a part-time basis in that line to full employment in work on a lower level and with less prestige (103).

To be happy, the individual must feel that he is *useful* to society and that his services

are of value to his family and the community. In addition, he must have *status* in the group with which he is identified. The higher the prestige his status gives him in the eyes of his family, friends, neighbors, and work associates, the happier he will be. For a work-oriented individual having work to do that gives him both status and feelings of usefulness is essential to good mental health. For such individuals, remunerative work is essential to good adjustment (123,190).

Vocational Opportunities

Unfortunately, for those who want to work and are able to do so, there are very few work opportunities available. The difficulties older people face when they want to work come from a decline in the importance of agriculture or the small-scale type of urban enterprise and fluctuations in the business cycle which, during periods of restricted business, lead to the laying off of the older workers who are then replaced by younger workers when business improves (49,196).

In modern America, most industrial plants, government bureaus and agencies, and businesses fix sixty-five as the compulsory retirement age for men, and many require women to retire at sixty (196). When the personnel departments of business and industry are in the hands of younger people, the barrier to the employment of older workers is greatly increased (139,196).

There is a close correlation between the existence of a pension plan in business and industry and the failure to make use of workers over sixty-five years of age (1). In one survey, for example, it was found that of the firms that did not have pension plans, 93 percent kept on most of or all their employees who were on an hourly

basis and 87 percent kept on all or most of their salaried employees who were sixty-five years of age (74). Firms with pension plans, by contrast, kept on the employees who worked on an hourly basis in only 33 percent of the cases and salaried employees at sixty-five in only 26 percent of the cases (74,202).

There are other factors that determine how great the vocational opportunities for the older worker will be. One is the widespread belief that older workers are more accident-prone than are young and that, as a result, they are a greater vocational risk. Another is the realization that, with the accelerating pace of modern technology, older workers are the furthest removed from their education and training and, as a result, are less equipped for employment than are younger workers. Unless they have opportunities for retraining, their usefulness is slight (190,196,202).

With each passing year, the individual is capable of producing less than he did when he was younger. His failing strength and energy sap his motivation, and society gives him relatively little chance to do even what he is capable of doing. As a result, the output of the older person, measured in terms of achievement and income, falls short of that of the middle-aged or younger person. (See Figure 13-1, page 719, for a graphic description of fall in income with advancing age.) Even if the older worker has a strong motivation to work, he often feels pressed by the pace he is expected to maintain. This makes him tired, nervous, and generally dissatisfied with his work (115,240).

The type of work the individual engages in determines to some extent the duration of his usefulness. In executive positions, his days of employment in large and even

in some of the smaller organizations are limited by retirement policies. Several years prior to retirement, he is aware of the fact that a younger man is being groomed to succeed him and that his influence in the organization is waning. Clerical workers are usually retired at sixty-five.

The skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled worker finds that as his speed and strength decrease with age, his usefulness to the organization likewise decreases. He is often laid off during a slack period, only to be replaced by a younger worker when conditions improve. In high-grade skills, a small fall in performance is noticed around the age of fifty, but there is great variability in this fall with advancing age (50). Only when a person is in business for himself or in a profession where he is not employed by an organization can he continue to work as long or as much as he wishes without an arbitrarily set retirement age (187,202).

Areas of Opportunity

After middle age, vocational opportunities decrease rapidly. For the most part, older workers are in dead-end, monotonous jobs far below the level of their ability or the standards they would find satisfying; relatively few are in highly skilled or responsible jobs. In business and industry, only the poorest jobs are available to the older worker (139,187).

Older workers are overrepresented in vocations that are on the wane, stationary, or increasing only very slowly, and they are underrepresented in new and rapidly growing occupations, requiring special and newer skills. They engage less in hazardous occupations and those requiring wide geo-

graphic mobility, much formal schooling, strenuous physical exertion, agility, and speed.

Farmers, small businessmen, real-estate agents, bankers, workers at independent hand trades, and certain professional workers remain in their own lines of work longer than do wage and salary workers because they can control work loads and hours of work. On the whole, older workers are overrepresented at the bottom of the earning scale, in jobs in which the pay rate is comparatively small, and underrepresented at the top of the earning scale. Under such conditions, it is not surprising that older workers often find little satisfaction in their jobs (139,240).

Even though older workers are unable to compete successfully with younger workers for jobs requiring continuous bodily movement and activity, especially when the worker is paced by a machine or conveyor, or in business where speed is essential, there are many types of work in which the skills and experience of the older worker can and should be utilized (139,202). By transferring older workers to jobs suited to their age, or by changing the nature and layout of the job without making them feel inadequate, they can become real assets to their employers (202,213).

Part-time employment has been found to be especially well suited to older workers. In department stores or other lines of work where the cost of training makes rapid turnover a serious problem, the length of time a worker is available is important. Older workers are available for such work much more so than are younger workers and, as a result, they are being utilized in increasing numbers in organizations where part-time or seasonal work is needed (217). Being a specialist in certain fields or working part time in a field in which the

individual can make use of past training and experience meets the needs of the elderly best (20,190,202).

Sex Differences in Opportunity

In spite of the fact that many elderly women want to work or must work for financial reasons stemming from widowhood or the incapacity of their husbands for work, women as a group find it more difficult to hold their jobs or to get new ones as they grow older than do men. Figure 13-3, page 721, shows the sharp decline in the number of women who work after sixty-five years of age. The traditional belief that women, after the menopause, are no longer capable of doing what they did when they were younger affects their vocational lives as it affects their sex lives (103,183,196).

Just as is true of men, there are marked individual differences in women's abilities to hold jobs and to do the work these jobs require. For women as for men, these differences become greater with advancing age. Even those women who returned to their former vocations in middle age, after their children no longer needed their entire time and attention, or who began to work outside of the home for the first time in middle age find it difficult to hold their jobs after sixty because many business and industrial organizations have compulsory retirement for women at that age.

Other organizations which do not have compulsory retirement are likely to lay off older women first when business becomes slack and then replace them with younger women as business conditions improve. For older women, part-time work in stores and offices is one of the few vocational opportunities open to them (13,217,242).

Appraisal of Older Workers

How society in general feels about older workers and how employers in particular feel about their usefulness in business and industry determines, to a large extent, whether they will be given an opportunity to work. Many employers today emphasize the disadvantages to business and industry brought about by the employment of older people. They accept the popular belief that older workers are unable to work under younger supervisors, that they resist change in work methods or the introduction of new machinery, and that they are difficult to work with (1,190,236). The older the employer or the employee, the more favorable he is likely to be toward the employment of older workers (130).

Studies of the advantages and disadvantages of older workers reveal that they differ according to the type of work to be done. Some jobs are more appropriate for older and some for younger workers. Jobs in which judgment and experience are required or in which quality is more important than speed are more appropriate for older workers. Even in work where speed and ability to adjust to new tasks are essential, as in skilled, unskilled, and clerical work, the older worker usually compensates for loss of speed and difficulties of adjustment by his steadiness, attendance, and ability to work without supervision (46,202,213). And yet, in spite of the prevailing opinion among employers that older workers are better for certain types of jobs than younger workers, the practice of personnel officers is usually to discriminate against the older worker and to employ a younger worker (190,202).

The older worker, through his experience, tends to do things with less waste motion than does the younger, less-experienced

worker. As a result, he compensates for a work pace that is lower than that of the younger worker (32,93,131). He is less inclined to distractions from home and other outside sources than is the younger worker, whose interests are centered around his romances or his family life. He is less restless and less likely to be dissatisfied with his job or to want to change jobs than is the younger worker. While the volume of his work may fall below that of the younger worker, the quality is generally higher and he spoils less material. He makes fewer mistakes partly because his judgment is better and partly because he works at a slower pace and does not jump to conclusions without adequate study of the situation (32,46,70).

There is greater conscientiousness among older workers because of their more mature attitudes and their desire to keep their jobs. As a result, they can be depended on in whatever they do. Absenteeism, due to illness or disinclination to work, is a problem that plagues most employers. Absenteeism is highest among the younger workers, especially those under twenty years of age, while older workers are far less prone to absenteeism (59,95,96). See Figure 15-3.

Disabling illnesses and injuries, popularly believed to make older workers less desirable employment risks, are far less frequent than believed and are less frequent than among younger workers (129,179). Even workers up to seventy-four years of age are affected by chronic disabilities in only about half the cases, and these are not serious enough to militate against their working abilities. No age group over fifty years has been found to have a rate for disabling injuries as high as the thirty-five-to forty-five-year group (46,95).

Accident proneness is likewise far less

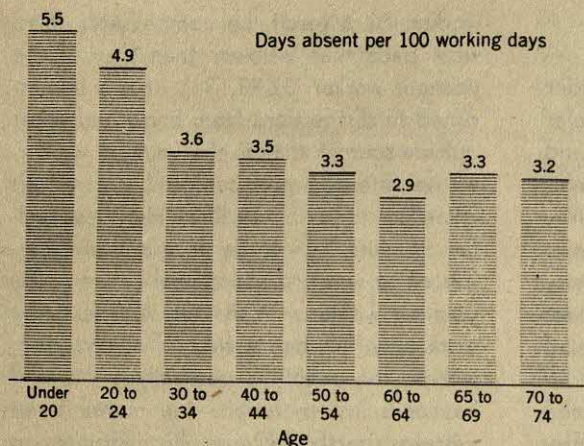


FIGURE 15-3 DAYS ABSENT FROM WORK FOR WORKERS OF DIFFERENT AGES. (ADAPTED FROM M. GUMPERT: OUR "INCA" IDEAS ABOUT RETIREMENT. *The New York Times*, JULY 27, 1952. USED BY PERMISSION.)

among older workers than is popularly believed. In the case of professional truck drivers, for example, older drivers have fewer accidents than do younger drivers. Awareness that they are slower and less able to meet crises than they once were makes them anxious, and they compensate for this by being cautious (46,158).

As for the argument that older workers get along less well with other workers than do those who are younger, this likewise has not been found to be true. While some older workers unquestionably make poorer adjustments to their fellow workers than do others, the percentage who do so is not appreciably greater than is true in the case of younger workers (30,185,202). In summary, the "values of older workers have actually been adequately demonstrated; the big need, now, is to develop adjustments to meet the needs of the older, and agencies to foster opportunities for them" (190).

Adjustments of Older Workers

How well adjusted the elderly worker will be will be greatly influenced by whether he believes he is being given the opportunity to do what he is capable of doing. Men, on the whole, make better vocational adjustments in old age than do women because, as was stressed earlier, vocational opportunities are fewer for women as they grow older than they are for men, and even those who are working often are in jobs that fail to tax their abilities or make use of their training (103,162,196,242).

As we have seen, elderly people, to be happy in their work, must feel that they are useful and that the work they are doing is of some value to society. This is difficult when they realize that, in the eyes of society, their usefulness has waned and they are looked upon as "has-beens." Only if they can convince themselves and others that they are still useful and that they are

capable of having a status in the vocational world that is satisfying to them can they be happy and well adjusted to their work (123,161,190).

Studies of the elderly have shown that those who continue to work have more normal brain functioning and are better adjusted than those who do not work. They also do better on intelligence tests than those who are idle (42). For those who are able and willing to work, there is no question about the fact that it is best for them to do so, especially when it is a means for them to maintain good physical and mental health and retain their self-respect (156,162). How this goal can be achieved is still an unsolved problem. The reason for this is that the problem of the older worker is still "new to America: it is new to the human condition" (196).

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment strikes hard at any age. As the individual becomes older, being unemployed is a very serious problem. When a person is physically and mentally able to work and wants to do so, either because of financial necessity or for the status-giving satisfaction work brings, being laid off during a period of slack work and then being replaced later, as business conditions improve, by a younger and often less-experienced person, is a frustrating and humiliating experience.

Not only is it harder for the older worker to get another job than it is for a younger, but the effects on his personality are far more serious and far reaching than is true of the younger worker. The younger worker knows that his chances of obtaining future employment are good, even if he must take a temporary setback in wages. With the older worker, there is a far less hopeful out-

look. He knows that most business and industrial organizations have a strict policy against hiring older workers and that if he is lucky enough to get a job, it will likely be far below his capacities, the pay will be much less than he formerly received, and the job may be only temporary or on a part-time basis (20,108).

As has been discussed earlier (see pages 725 to 727 and Figure 13-6, page 726), unemployment increases with age and is longer in duration. In 1962, for example, it was reported that the average length of unemployment for men over 65 years of age exceeded 26 weeks as compared with 20 weeks for the 45 to 64 age group and 16 weeks for the 25 to 44 age group (196).

Because getting a new job is so difficult, many older workers who are reasonably certain of being able to keep the job they have until they reach the compulsory retirement age hesitate to shift to another job even if they are discontented. They know that if they shift they may lose the new job, should there be a business recession or seasonal layoff, and then they would be unemployed for a long time before they could get another job (46,202).

Variations in Unemployment

The type of work the individual does determines, to some extent, the ease or difficulty he encounters in changing jobs or in getting a new job, if he is unemployed. As Schupack (202) has explained.

A new and rapidly growing industry, particularly one needing specialized skills, would have fewer than average older workers since most of the entry will have been made at the younger ages. Conversely, a dying occupation would have an overabundance of older workers: most of

the dying is taking place by lack of entry on the younger age level.

As a general rule, workers who are at the two extremes of the business or industrial ladders are in the least favorable positions when it comes to getting new jobs after they lose old jobs. After fifty, stepping into an important executive position is almost impossible. The less skilled the older worker, the less chance he has of getting a new job. It is feared that he is "too old a dog to learn new tricks" and that he is not quick enough to keep up to the pace that modern business and industry demand (67,202). In general, it is more difficult for an individual who has left his job or has been released to find employment of any sort than for one who merely wants or needs a change because he finds the work he is doing too taxing on his strength or at a pace too fast for him as he grows older (12,46,240).

When getting a new job requires retraining, older workers are at a distinct disadvantage. Not only is there the belief that they may be too old to learn but there is also the belief that the period of their usefulness to the organization will be too short to justify the time and expense involved in retraining. Even in the organization with which he has been associated, there is a hesitancy to retrain the older worker for another job better suited to his declining speed and productivity level (46, 62,108,202).

Adjustment to Unemployment

For older workers who want to work or feel that it is economically essential for them to have jobs, unemployment is psychologically very damaging. Studies of the mental effects of unemployment on older workers have revealed how serious they are. Mea-

sures of the mental efficiency and attitudes of employed and unemployed older people have shown that those who engage in regular, gainful occupation are, on the whole, superior to those who are unemployed. Lack of practice, motivation, and unfavorable attitudes are important contributing factors to the deterioration that comes with unemployment (42). Being unable to get work contributes to the older person's feeling of uselessness. This kills what motivation he otherwise would have to try to get work (123). Should he get work, it is likely to be on a lower grade than the work he previously did, and this is humiliating to him (196).

Although it is difficult or almost impossible in our present cultural setup to eliminate completely unemployment among older workers, some of the unemployment could be eliminated by correcting prejudices that lead to discrimination against older workers, attempting to find work suited to the health and mental abilities of the individuals while, at the same time, making use of their past skills and experience, and by trying to prevent workers from becoming technologically and physiologically obsolete as they grow older.

Among highly trained specialists, such as psychologists, use can be made of their services in work related to their training and experience, even when they have passed the retirement age (188). Those who are less skilled and less highly trained are the least likely to be selected for retraining, should their skills be obsolete, and this further adds to their feelings of uselessness (123,196).

RETIREMENT

To the younger person whose days are so often overly crowded with duties and responsibilities, retirement or semiretirement

seems like a golden period of life. By middle age, thoughts of retirement grow increasingly strong, not only because the individual finds the burden of work becoming heavier and heavier as his strength and energy diminish, but also because he realizes that in his competition with younger workers he is waging a losing battle. He also wants to do things and pursue interests he never has had time for. He, therefore, looks forward to retirement as an acceptable withdrawal from the competitive arena and as a way of eliminating the anxieties and strain of keeping up to the pace set by younger workers (248).

But when the time comes and the days of retirement arrive, the situation seems far less rosy than it did when viewed through the eyes of a younger person. For most elderly people, there is a marked difference between the expectations before retirement and the realities of retirement (164, 174, 210). Relinquishing lifetime patterns and suddenly changing habits of a lifetime give rise to an experience which is often very traumatic for the elderly person (123, 139).

Age of Compulsory Retirement

The trend toward compulsory retirement at a fixed age is primarily the result of scientific and technological achievements which require constant readjustment to new methods and machinery, speed of work, and ability to work in teams with other workers. It is believed that younger workers are better suited for such work than are those who are older. Furthermore, the trend away from self-employment toward working for others, and from small to large business organizations, has made most workers subject to requirements set down by their employers. Only those who are in business for themselves or are in the

professions can decide when they want to retire (202, 231).

Until recently, retirement was a problem that affected relatively few workers. Today, however, with the widespread acceptance of compulsory-retirement policies and the growing tendency for more men and women to live longer than ever before, retirement is becoming one of the major social problems of our culture. Each year, the gap between the total life span and the span of the working life for men and women is widened. As a result, the length of the retirement period grows longer and longer for more people (196).

To illustrate this, it has been estimated that a twenty-year-old male worker in 1975 may expect to spend an average of 10 years outside the labor force, in retirement, as compared with $5\frac{1}{2}$ years in 1940 and less than 3 years in 1900. Thus, with the increasing life span and the decreasing work life, the average worker in the future can anticipate an ever-increasing time in retirement (48). See Figure 15-4. As Havighurst and Albrecht have pointed out, "Retirement is the greatest man-made problem in the lives of most of us" (103).

Attitudes toward Retirement

When attempts have been made to find out how workers feel about retirement, the results have shown that most of them would rather work than be inactive. While it is true that many feel unable to keep up to the pace required by their former jobs, they nevertheless want to work, even if it means a job with less responsibility, less pay, and less prestige (76, 196).

However, not all elderly people feel the same way about retirement. What their attitudes will be is influenced by many factors, the most important of which include: health; attitude toward work; type of re-

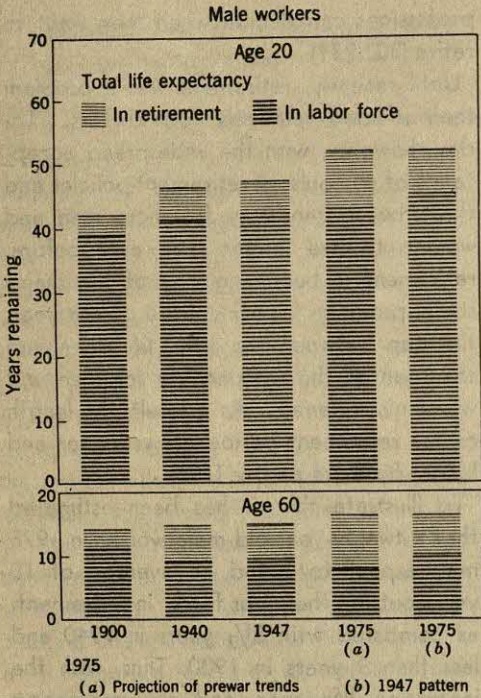


FIGURE 15-4 TOTAL LIFE EXPECTANCY IN RELATION TO WORK-LIFE EXPECTANCY FROM 1900 TO 1975. (ADAPTED FROM E. CLAGUE: THE WORKING LIFE SPAN OF AMERICAN WORKERS. *J. Geront.*, 1949, 4, 285-289. USED BY PERMISSION.)

tirement; preparation for retirement; economic condition; substitute activities; family attitudes; and role changes.

HEALTH A person who is in good health and has no disabling physical condition at the time when he reaches the compulsory retirement age is far less willing to give up his work than the one whose health is failing and who finds the work too taxing for his waning strength. Those whose health is poor find adjustment to retirement difficult, just as they find it difficult to adjust to their jobs (164,174,202,230).

ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK The older worker's attitude toward retirement is influenced by what work has meant to him over the years as well as what it means to him as old age approaches. For some, retirement is an escape from an intolerable work situation to a less demanding and pleasanter situation; to others, it is a traumatic experience (112,230). When work has a strong personal value for the individual, he will adjust with difficulty to retirement. As Michelon has pointed out, there is an inverse correlation between a person's adjustment to his job and his probable adjustment to retirement (166).

For those who grew up in an era when work had high personal values, as is true of most elderly people of today, adjustment to retirement is difficult unless substitutes can be found to provide the gratifications associated with work (105,115). For those to whom work has no great psychological value, on the other hand, adjustment to retirement is made easily, especially if the individual has a number of vital interests outside his work (79,240).

Attitudes toward work vary according to the type of work the individual does. In the professions, prestige affects individuals' attitudes unfavorably toward retirement. Instead of giving up work entirely, they prefer to work on a full- or part-time basis in lines where their training has given them status and prestige. Nonprofessional workers, on the other hand, often want to "retire and take it easy," especially if their pensions are adequate to enable them to live comfortably. The skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers, on the other hand, want to continue to work, but mainly for economic reasons (164,174,202,230).

TYPE OF RETIREMENT While many older workers want to be free from the routines

and pressures of work, they do not want to give up work completely and thus be deprived of the income, the feeling of usefulness, the opportunities for social contacts, and the other values they associate with work. The type of retirement determines to a large extent whether they will be able to satisfy most of their work desires or not (90,123).

In general, there are five different types of retirement used today: complete retirement at a fixed age; tapering off of activity in the same job; slowing down and turning over the responsibility to a person being trained as a successor; a lower-level job in the same work hierarchy; and a shift to a different and less demanding position in another work situation (105).

When left to the choice of the individual, most would select the tapering-off-of-activity type of retirement partly because it does not mean loss of status and prestige, even if it means a reduction in income, and partly because it does not involve adjustment to a new work situation. If the successor is chosen by the worker, not by the organization employing the older worker, this method of retirement is likewise satisfactory to most older workers (189,202).

Being forced into retirement by dismissal, serious illness, or discontinuance of the employing organization, especially when there has been no warning, is so emotionally disturbing to the individual that it seriously affects the type of adjustment he makes to retirement. Retiring voluntarily, by contrast, leads to a better adjustment (79,164).

PREPARATION FOR RETIREMENT To adjust successfully to retirement, the individual must be prepared for the changes in pattern of living retirement will bring, and he must also be economically prepared. For the most part, the major interest to

date has been in economic preparation. Large corporations and industries which put strong emphasis on pension plans are, today, enlarging their work to include individual and group counseling to help their workers, as they approach the retirement age, with their retirement plans and adjustments. This, however, is far from a universal practice; most workers are expected to make their own adjustments as best they can (130,164,237,250).

Because many workers do not want to retire, they resist the idea of retirement, and this militates against their preparing themselves psychologically for it. For the worker who believes that retirement is the "worst thing that could happen to a person," there is little likelihood that he will be prepared to meet the problems retirement brings. Then, when the time comes for retirement, or if poor health and loss of job bring it sooner than has been anticipated, the traumatic effect is even more serious than if it had been anticipated, though resisted (35,230).

The most valuable type of preparation for retirement is that which emphasizes the good and bad features in a realistic manner. Those who have an inaccurate and unrealistic preconception of what retirement means will suffer from disenchantment similar to that many people experience when they have an unrealistic concept of marriage. If they think of retirement as one long, glorious holiday, they will find it a disillusioning experience. By contrast, those who make plans, preferably at least a year ahead of retirement, for the new roles they will play after retirement, their attitudes will be more favorable, as will be their adjustments (105,164,228).

ECONOMIC CONDITION If the economic side of the picture could be elimi-

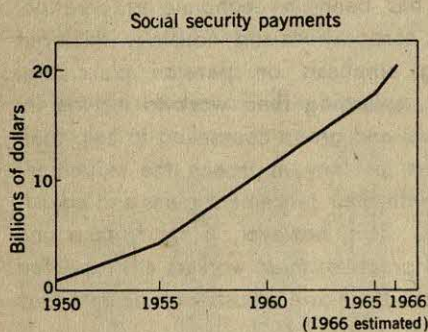


FIGURE 15-5 THE FINANCIAL STATUS OF THE ELDERLY IMPROVES AS SOCIAL SECURITY PAYMENTS INCREASE. (ADAPTED FROM U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR STATISTICS, 1966. USED BY PERMISSION.)

nated, retirement might not prove to be the psychological problem for the elderly that it is. But retirement brings with it economic problems that have serious effects on the individual's concept of self, the status he holds in the family, and the prestige he has in the eyes of the community, thus leading to many emotional conflicts with their damaging effects.

After retirement, many elderly people are in genuine need of money for the necessities of life. Their desire to continue working is often motivated by the need for enough money to meet the necessities of happy, healthy living. Much of the resistance against retirement stems from fear of a future in which there will not be adequate money to provide for the remaining years of life. This problem affects the wife's attitude toward her husband's retirement and intensifies the adjustment problems for both (35,203,231).

Relatively few elderly people have adequate incomes from investments to meet their needs; most must depend instead on economic aid from public or private

sources, such as government, churches, institutions, friends, and relatives. While some do continue to work, full or part time, most do not earn enough to meet their needs.

Since 1932, there has been an increase from 5 to 60 percent in the number of old people who receive income from old-age and survivor's insurance and an increase from less than 1 to 8 percent in the number of those who have income from private pensions (164). Old-age assistance, supported mainly by grants to the states by the Federal government and administered by the states, contributes to the support of approximately 2.5 million people over sixty-five years of age at the present time (9, 196). The average size of old-age benefits for a retired worker is, however, hopelessly inadequate to meet the present high cost of living (46,112,115,203).

Inflationary trends, which have been on the rise since World War II, cause great hardship, not only for those who receive old-age assistance, but also for those who are living on pensions. There is a growing demand for greater social-security benefits, but this would be a hardship on younger workers who would be forced to pay even more out of their earnings than they now do (112,203,241). Figure 15-5 shows the improvement in the financial status of the elderly as social security payments increase.

SUBSTITUTE ACTIVITIES When a person has been accustomed to working for the major part of his life, first in school and then on a job, being robbed suddenly of work and responsibility can be and often is a traumatic experience (163,230). As Alexis Carrel has pointed out, "Leisure is even more dangerous for the old than for the young." Wayne emphasized this even

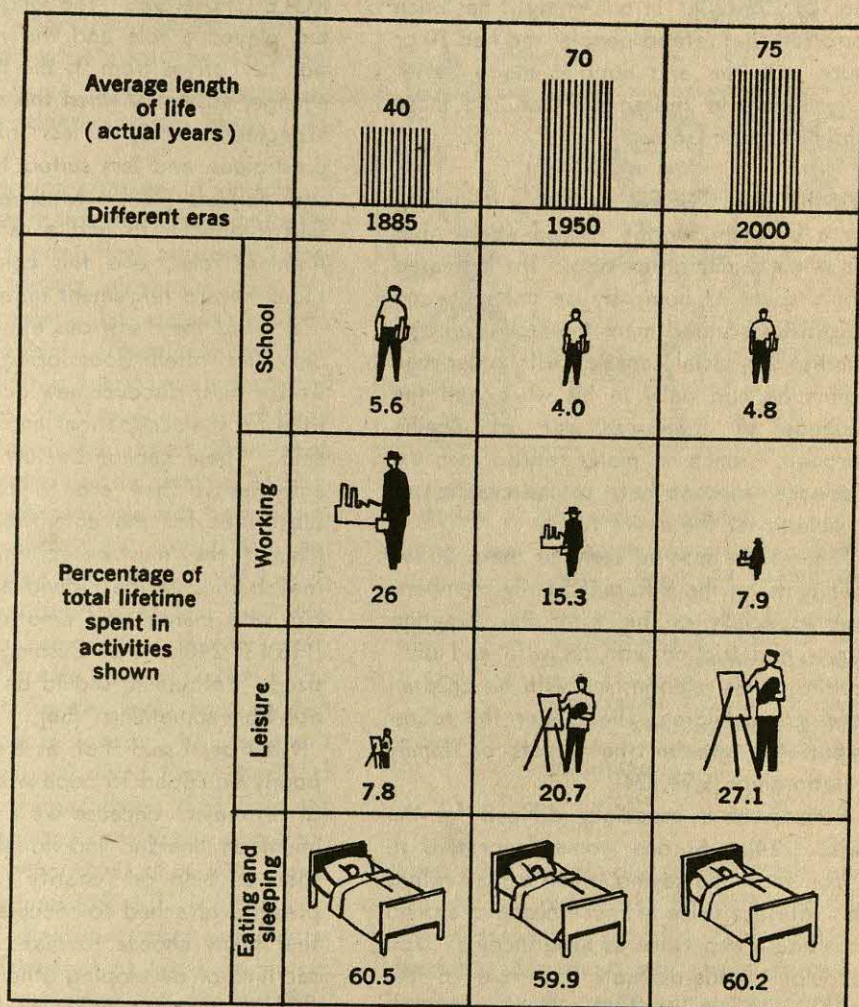


FIGURE 15-6 INCREASE IN LEISURE TIME AND DECREASE IN WORK TIME FROM 1885 TO 2000. (ADAPTED FROM J. W. STILL: BOREDOM—THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DISEASE OF AGING. *Geriatrics*, 1957, 12, 557-560. USED BY PERMISSION.)

more forcefully when he said, "Inactivity is a catalyst for senility and death" (248).

Figure 15-6 shows the ways men spent their time in 1885 as compared with 1950 and the predictions for the year 2000. The main difference, as this diagram shows, is in the amount of time spent in work and

leisure. To meet the needs of more leisure at all ages, but especially in the period following retirement, there should be more adult education to help individuals acquire new interests and skills and to encourage more recreational interests of the type that will enable the retired person to feel useful

(46,123,202,220). In one study it has been reported that retired people who had 10 or more activities and hobbies made better adjustments to retirement than did those who had fewer (164).

FAMILY ATTITUDES Not only is inactivity a problem for the retired worker, but his whole family suffers also. The increased hours spent at home by an unhappy and dissatisfied retired man, the lack of opportunities for social contacts with other men which he had daily in his work, and the feelings of uselessness or of "being through," which so many retired men experience, all contribute to the creation of problems for the entire family.

The retired man is likely to make undue demands on the different family members, but especially on his wife, thus creating stress and friction with his wife and difficulties in his relationships with his children and grandchildren. The longer the retirement, the greater the effects on family relationships (5,94,124).

Retirement is especially difficult for the wife (124). As one woman expressed it, "You know the saying, when a man retires his wife has twice as much husband around the house and twice as little income. You shouldn't underestimate the role of the wife in retirement" (112).

Furthermore, the younger members of the family fear that retirement and loss of income may cause them to lose their independence by the necessity of caring for an invalid or assuming the responsibility of supporting him. The retired person knows or senses how the family feels, and this causes him to feel unwanted. Such unfavorable attitudes on the part of the retired worker and his family cause many clashes which disrupt family harmony (5, 64,103).

ROLE CHANGES The longer the person has played a role and the more satisfaction he derives from it, the harder it is to change, especially when the new role he is expected to play is less interesting, less prestigious, and less suited to his training and abilities (123). Most elderly people find it difficult to find a satisfactory "retirement role," and this colors their attitudes toward retirement unfavorably (230).

To avoid the disastrous effects retirement can and often does bring, the retired worker must discover new occupations and roles for the occupations and roles formerly held. These cannot be just "time-killing" activities if they are to be satisfactory substitutes for the activities they are replacing; they must be activities that tax all the abilities of the individual and provide him with mental and emotional fulfillment (115,137,240). As Cushing has emphasized, "Retirement should be to something, not from something" (56).

It has been said that, as a nation, we are poorly equipped to cope with the problem of retirement because we put a high premium on unaided individual effort rather than on help or "charity"; there is high prestige attached to success, which means that many choose to make money at the sacrifice of developing other interests; and there is a strong belief that, after graduating from school or college, one is a "finished product" with no need for further education or development of new skills or interests (66).

Furthermore, as we have seen, the older generation of today grew up in an era when work was highly valued and the work-oriented person felt guilty if he took time to enjoy things other than work or activities that would lead to vocational advancement. As a result, retirement means a radical adjustment in his attitude toward the way he

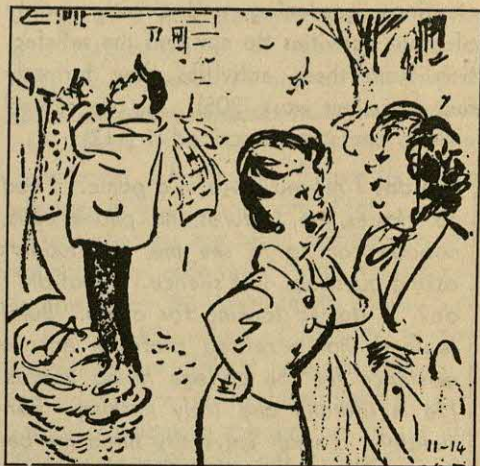
spends his time. Because the members of the present generation are more leisure-oriented, their adjustments to retirement should prove to be easier than the adjustments of the elderly people today (103, 112).

While the major concern of people as they approach retirement is economic, the major concern after they are retired centers around finding substitute roles and activities to replace the ones provided by their work (35,241). These roles must include opportunities for social contacts and companionship, for feelings of usefulness, and for prestige in the eyes of others, even if only the members of the family (123,230).

Many men, after retirement, become involved in household tasks. When they are around the house and complain of having nothing to do, their wives feel that they can share the home chores formerly carried out by the wife alone (112,124). This is illustrated in Figure 15-7. Because men regard household chores as "woman's work," many regard doing these chores as a sign of loss of masculinity. This does not add to a feeling of satisfaction about retirement, even though it does give him a feeling of usefulness (38,123).

Hobbies, so often advocated as the solution to the retirement problem, are rarely a satisfactory substitute for the satisfactions derived from work, nor will they necessarily facilitate adjustment to retirement, because they are usually isolating (26,166). Furthermore, they are usually only "time-killers" for the elderly and, as such, do not contribute to feelings of usefulness, to prestige, or to the improvement of the economic status of the individual (112,115).

While attitudes toward retirement vary with social class *before* retirement, there is an almost unanimous desire to return to work on the part of individuals of all social



"It's so nice now that Henry's retired. We're doing together all the things I'd planned."

FIGURE 15-7 WITH RETIREMENT, MANY MEN FIND THEMSELVES DRAWN INTO "WOMAN'S WORK." (ADAPTED FROM GEORGE CLARK: "THE NEIGHBORS," *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, NOV. 14, 1966. COPYRIGHT © 1966 BY CHICAGO TRIBUNE-NEW YORK NEWS SYNDICATE; USED BY PERMISSION.)

classes after the novelty of retirement has worn off. This desire may be motivated by different reasons—economic, social, or personal—but for most who have retired, there is a desire to be active again as a means of escaping depression, self-preoccupation, inner restlessness, and loneliness, and of maintaining feelings of usefulness and status in society. As a retired person, the elderly man feels that he lacks a clear-cut position in the social structure—a situation he has not been confronted with since the days of adolescence—and this is difficult for him to adjust to (76,123,230).

Even professional workers who keep themselves busy in retirement with reading, creative writing, civic and church work, club

meetings, gardening, and a wide variety of other activities do not find the satisfaction from these activities they formerly found in their work (205). As one retired college professor described it (112):

The day I retired I was in a panic. I had no classes, no lectures, no phone calls, nobody coming to see me, no students asking questions, just silence. What did I do? I started looking for a job. But I learned that a retired professor has no existence for the college hiring boards. He is literally and truly nothing. Fortunately, a small university hired me because they were more interested in my brain development than in the rate of my physical decomposition. This was over 10 years ago. I can go on teaching until I die and this is what I intend to do.

Women, as a whole, adjust more easily to retirement than men. The role change is not as radical for them as for men because they have played the domestic role, whether they were married or single, through their working lives, in addition to their work. Furthermore, they get greater psychological satisfaction from homemaking, friendships, and club activities than men do, and this replaces the satisfaction they derived from work. If they worked because of necessity and derived little satisfaction from it, their role change is welcome. Men, on the other hand, have less readily available means of securing satisfactions to replace their work and, as a result, adjust less well to the role change necessitated by retirement (33,123,242).

Adjustment to Retirement

It is possible to predict with some accuracy before a worker retires what sort of adjustment he will make to retirement. The most important considerations are whether

or not he owns his own home and can afford to remain in it after retirement, how many interests outside his work he had before retirement, and how he and his family feel about his retirement (164,184,241).

Retirement that is voluntary is adjusted to better than compulsory retirement, especially when the worker wants to continue to work (196). Poor health at the time of retirement facilitates the adjustment, while good health is likely to militate against it (164). Tapering off, for most workers, is better than an abrupt ending to patterns of work and living established many years earlier (35,109). Only when there is a healthy attitude toward aging and toward retirement on the part of the worker and his family can there be truly satisfactory adjustment to it (115,240).

The older the person is, the longer and the harder the adjustment to a new pattern of living will be. It has been estimated that most older people are well settled in their new ways of life within six months after retirement (241). However, many are still poorly adjusted after a year of retirement (164).

The individual who resists retirement and who, as a result, refuses to prepare himself psychologically for it by creating new interests and activities to replace those related to work will make poorer adjustments than those who are better prepared for what changes retirement brings into their lives. This prolongs the adjustment period and, in some cases, causes the individual to be less well adjusted a year or more after he retires than at the time of his retirement (164,241).

This unfavorable attitude toward retirement affects the individual's health, often causing a physical decline and premature death (109). As Horwitz has pointed out, "'Retirement shock' is the new sickness of

the aged" (112). Because far too few elderly people are prepared, either through choice or through conditions beyond their control, for retirement, "retirement shock" is becoming one of the major problems of the elderly in America today (112). Prolonged inactivity following work and absence of marked positive interests, especially common on the part of those who have resisted retirement, are conducive to both mental and physical ill health (209). Not only will there be a deterioration in health and physical appearance, but there will also be deterioration in emotional stability, social consciousness, and self-esteem (119).

It is apparent that the effects of the "retirement shock" are most serious immediately after retirement, during the period of adjustment to the changes in work routines and the breaking off of social relationships (159,165). It is especially serious for men who have lost their mates after their retirement (119,164,169). Those who spend their retirement years in homes for the aged have more opportunities for social contacts and recreational activities than do those who remain in their own homes or live with relatives. However, unless the environment provides opportunities for activities that will promote a feeling of usefulness, it will not promote good adjustment to retirement (112,119). On the other hand, those who make the best adjustments to retirement are usually those who stay in the home community and who have enough money to live just about as they lived before retirement (241).

ADJUSTMENTS TO CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE

The pattern of family life, established in the early years of adulthood, starts to change with onset of middle age. Interest

in sex, as a rule, declines, and the duties and responsibilities of rearing a family gradually come to an end as the children grow up, marry, and go to homes of their own. With the diminishing family size and curtailment of income frequently come changes in living conditions (146).

These changes are often made more pronounced by retirement with its reduced income or by the death of the spouse. At a time in life when adjustments to new conditions are difficult to make, the aging individual is frequently called upon to make radical changes in the pattern of his life. This is especially difficult for women, not because women adjust less well than men, but rather because the woman's life is centered around the home much more than is that of the man.

Of the many adjustments in family relationships the elderly person must make, the most important involve: relationships with spouse; changes in sexual behavior; relationships with offspring; parental dependency; and relationships with grandchildren.

Relationships with Spouse

While relationships with the spouse begin to change during middle age, when the children leave home, more radical changes come during old age with the husband's retirement from work. As was stressed in the preceding section, with the role change from a worker to a retiree, the man spends much more of his time at home than he ever did before. If his relationships with his wife are good, this will contribute to the happiness of both. When, however, there is a frictional relationship, the friction is increased by constant contacts (146).

Because many men, after retirement, feel "lost" and do not know what to do with their free time, they tend to be depressed and unhappy. They show their feelings in

their treatment of their wives by being critical, faultfinding, and irritable. Many of them resent any suggestion that they assume some of the home responsibilities on the grounds that that is "woman's work" (112,123). These suggestions are more often given to give the husband "something to do" than because of the need for help. However, when husbands resent the implication that their days of usefulness and masculinity are over, with retirement, come antagonisms which widen the gap between husband and wife (38,124).

If, on the other hand, the wife tries to find a masculine role for her retired husband and one that will convince him that his days of usefulness are not over, it will go a long way toward helping him to adjust to his retirement and, with it, he will adjust better to being a "homebody." How one wife met this problem has been described thus by the wife of a college professor (112):

When Carl retired, he came into the kitchen on the first morning and said to me, "What should I do?" What should I do —this man who was one of the outstanding scholars in America. I told him: "Go into your room, take your papers out of your drawers, arrange them so that they finally make sense and keep working, don't stop working." He didn't stop working. He got a contract for three books which he wrote.

How well husbands and wives will adjust to one another in old age when retirement forces them together more than at any previous time in marriage will depend largely on how many interests they have in common. This, in turn, will depend largely on how compatible they have been earlier, especially in middle age when their chil-

dren leave home and thus free them from home responsibilities and child-oriented recreations (157,163).

Middle- and upper-class adults, on the whole, spend more of their leisure time with spouses and have more recreational interests in common with them than do those of the lower-class groups (26,33). See pages 550 to 551 for a more detailed discussion of this. Because they have developed a pattern of "togetherness" in their recreations, it is easier for them to adjust to "togetherness" in all areas of their lives when the husband's retirement forces him to spend the major part of his time in the home (90,123).

Changes in Sexual Behavior

In old age, compatibility with the spouse influences the type of sexual behavior the individual engages in. While it is popularly believed that with old age comes sexual impotence and loss of interest in sex, there is evidence that these changes come more from antagonistic relationships and incompatibility than from physical causes.

There is evidence that, with the menopause in women during middle age, many women, freed from the fear of pregnancy, develop a new interest in sex. This interest, when uninhibited by unfavorable attitudes, continues into old age. While it is true that, in men as well as in women, diminishing sexual powers parallel other bodily functions, there is a much stronger interest in sex and desire for sexual activity than is popularly believed to exist. Today, it is recognized that the sexual needs of the elderly are too widespread to be considered pathological (82,84).

Studies of the sexual behavior of elderly people have revealed that men and women in their sixties, and even seventies, have

intercourse, though it is spaced further apart than in the earlier years, and the man's preliminary orgasmic phase is longer (47,75,82). In most cases where sexual intercourse is terminated in old age, it is because of the physical illness of one of the spouses or because a husband, who is older than his wife, experiences difficulties in orgasm and this affects his desire to continue coitus (47,127).

Under conditions of normal health, there is no sudden cessation of sexual activity but rather a gradual diminishing of this activity (11,47,75). By seventy, *erectile impotence* becomes more common than earlier, though *ejaculatory impotence*, or the inability to ejaculate when in erection, is very rare. After seventy, there is a marked increase in the number of men who believe they are impotent though, as Kinsey has pointed out, they expect to be impotent, and this expectation frequently leads to impotency (126). Increase of impotence with age is shown in Figure 15-8.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING SEXUAL BEHAVIOR Factors other than physical have a marked influence on the sexual behavior of elderly people. Of the many that are known or suspected to be especially influential, four are very common. First, the pattern of sexual behavior developed in earlier years affects the pattern of sexual behavior in old age. People who were sexually active during the earlier years of marriage continue to be sexually more active in old age than those who were less active earlier (75,127).

Second, the compatibility of the spouses has a marked influence on their sexual interests and activities in old age, just as it does earlier. (Refer to pages 615 to 616 for a more complete discussion of this matter.) When there is a close bond between hus-

band and wife, because of mutual interests and respect, the desire for intercourse is much stronger than when a frictional relationship exists. Under such conditions, the frequency of sexual activities becomes a "love problem, not a sex problem" (83).

The third factor that influences sexual behavior in old age is the prevailing social attitude toward sex among the elderly. Social taboos make many aged men and women feel that showing an interest of any sort in sexual matters is "not nice" and that such interest should be limited to younger people. When the individual passes middle age, any behavior of a sexual sort is regarded by many people as a form of sexual perversion.

The reaction of young adults to the realization that their parents engage in intercourse in the fifties and sixties is often one of distress or even of repulsion. This attitude frequently carries into old age. Many individuals feel that people should be done with sex as a personal matter when they reach middle age and certainly by the time they are in the sixties (11). As Kassel (120) has pointed out:

To many people it is abhorrent to visualize grandparents or even parents past the childbearing age enjoying the pleasures of sexual intercourse. Older women, recognizing this attitude, repress their sexual desires and develop psychological conflicts and consequent guilt.

The fourth condition that influences the sexual behavior of elderly people is their marital status. As Swartz (224) has pointed out:

Among sexually potent elderly men, marital status is more essential than any other factor in encouraging sexual activity. In

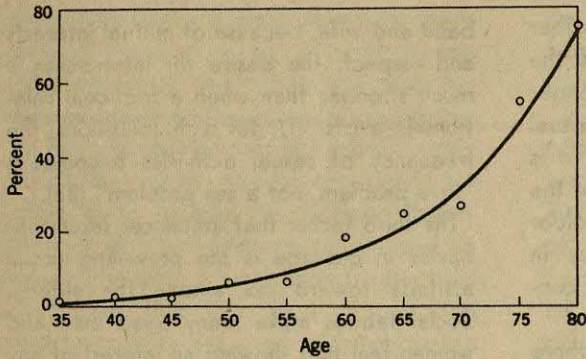


FIGURE 15-8 AGE OF ONSET OF IMPOTENCE. (ADAPTED FROM A. C. KINSEY, W. B. POMEROY AND C. E. MARTIN: *Sexual behavior in the human male*. PHILADELPHIA: SAUNDERS, 1948. USED BY PERMISSION.)

most cases, the sex drive of an old man isn't strong enough to make him seek a sexual partner: but if he is married, sexual activity is likely to continue.

In a study of elderly men, it was found that only 7 percent of those who were single, divorced, or widowed were still sexually active after reaching the age of sixty years. Those who do engage in sexual activity generally do so with a partner of middle age (224). Among older women who are widowed or divorced, coitus with outsiders sometimes occurs but, as is true of men, this is infrequent (47).

SUBSTITUTE SOURCES OF SATISFACTION Because of the strong social taboos that interfere with the satisfaction of the sexual needs of old people, and because of the increasing tendency to be preoccupied with bodily sensations in general, such as eating, eliminating, and sleeping, there is need for some sexual outlets, either through contacts with members of the op-

posite sex or through forms of sexual expression used in early adolescence, especially *masturbation*. There is evidence that this is widely practiced among those for whom there are few if any other sexual outlets. It is more common in the sixties than in the forties and fifties, and it generally is more often practiced among those who are becoming senile than among those who are senescent (11,126,127).

Masturbation is more frequent among women than among men. This may be because of the social taboos against direct sexual expression through intercourse, which affect women in middle and old age more than they affect men. It is a type of compensation for lack of sexual activities, especially among widowed and unmarried women, though it is by no means limited to these groups. Married women in old age indulge in it also (47,75).

Erotic dreams and *daydreams* are likewise common substitute sources of satisfaction for lack of sexual activity among elderly women. This is true of the single women

just as it is of the widowed, divorced, or married women whose husbands are unable, because of failing health or sexual impotence, to engage in sexual activities. Because elderly women have fewer opportunities for outside sexual experiences than men have, they substitute masturbation, erotic dreams and daydreams for coitus (47,75).

One indication of senility is *sexual recrudescence*, or foolish infatuations on the part of elderly people for young people of the opposite sex. This may be diffuse or localized in one love object. Among men, it usually takes the form of wanting to make love to all pretty young girls, or it may result in seduction or rape of children or adults.

It is not uncommon for a man who is becoming senile to want to marry a girl who is young enough to be his granddaughter. Aged women may play with dolls, may mother children, or take a strong interest in young men. It is not uncommon for women who show this form of sexual regression to be infatuated with a man young enough to be a grandson (126,127).

EFFECTS ON MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

Sexual activities have a marked influence on marital adjustments. Marital adjustments, in turn, affect sexual activity. However, it is not the quantity or quality of sexual activity per se that influences marital adjustments but whether the sexual activity meets the needs of both marital partners. When an elderly woman finds her sexual needs unmet by coitus and has to seek substitute sources of satisfaction in masturbation or erotic dreams and daydreams, it will affect her attitude unfavorably.

The psychological effects of unfavorable social attitudes toward sexual behavior in

the elderly are far more serious than is generally recognized. Feelings of guilt, emotional storm and stress from thwarted sex desires, and feelings of inadequacy may and do lead to sexual impotence or to sexual outlets more characteristic of adolescence than of adulthood. As a result, there is a decrease in the frequency of coitus and an increase in other sexual outlets (47,75,126,127). This is especially damaging psychologically to elderly men for whom potency is a symbol of their masculinity. As Swartz (224) has explained:

Psychologic attitudes determine the male's sexual capacity more than any other factor. A man can worry himself into impotence: what nature deals him is kindness, compared to what he does to himself. . . . The most disturbed are the old bachelor who gets married, or the widower who remarries—usually to a female many years his junior.

Because sexual potency is so important to men at all ages, even elderly men do not want to face the fact that they are losing what, to them, is one of the outstanding symbols of masculinity. As a result, they are greatly concerned if they find their sex drive less strong than it formerly was and their potency waning. Many seek medical help to restore their youthful sexual vigor. Some marry, if they are widowers, a distinctly younger woman in the hope that this will bring them back to their former state of sexual vigor. They do not want to acknowledge, even to themselves, that they are faced with this telltale sign of aging. As Swartz (224) has pointed out:

It may be said that a fierce attempt to preserve his libido and potency is, and has always been, the angry protest of

aging man in face of destiny. . . . Sensational advances have been made in prolonging life. It is reasonable to believe that similar advances may be made in the restoration and perpetuation of sexual powers.

As general physical decline sets in, in the sixties or seventies, there are glandular and physical changes in the sex organs and in the body as a whole which lead to a decline in sexual interest and potency. This, however, generally comes later than declines in interest and potency resulting from psychological causes. In men, impotence for physical reasons alone is rare under the age of sixty years (75,126). However, it "must not be overlooked that diminishing sexual power of advancing years parallels that of other bodily functions, and constitutes nature's protective mechanism" (224).

Diminishing sexual power can and often does have a serious effect on marital adjustments during old age. If the man believes that his growing impotence comes from lack of sexual responsiveness on the part of his wife and if she, in turn, finds his impotence a handicap to satisfaction of her sexual needs, it will strain a relationship that is already strained by lack of common interests and boredom on the husband's part stemming from his retirement status.

Relationships with Offspring

Elderly people in America today can count less on the companionship and help from their grown children than was true in the past. For the most part, their relationships with their offspring are far less satisfactory than many believed possible, even during middle age when relationships with grown children started to be less satisfactory

than parents had hoped they would be (87, 148). This is not unique with any one family but is widespread, because of the prevailing social attitude in America toward responsibilities of children for their aging parents (112). As Vedder and Lefkowitz (243) have explained:

The aged rely less upon the family than before, since the former moral and legal obligation of economic support by children no longer obtains. Sons and daughters are not apt to offer a home to widowed parents. Children are more apt to shift the medical care of aged parents to some hospital rather than to provide a bed in their home. The aged must look elsewhere than to their progeny for companionship and sociability. To satisfy financial, health and social needs, the aged today turns to government and other organizations.

Family roles, which underwent marked changes during middle age with the growing up of the children and the necessity to take care of elderly relatives, continue to change as illness, poor health, retirement, widowhood, and other changes in the lives of elderly people bring about changes in the roles they must play both in the home and outside. The man who, for the major part of his married life, played the role of provider must, with retirement, often play the role of a dependent. Or, the woman who has been accustomed to the role of mother, which involves authority as well as care, now finds she must relinquish this role and substitute for it the role of friend and companion to her grown children if she wishes to maintain a harmonious relationship with them and the members of their families (87,123,222).

For elderly men, adjustment to a predominantly feminine social group within the

family is an especially difficult one, coming as it does at the time of retirement, when the man is cut off from social contacts with his former business associates and thus deprived of much of the masculine companionship he formerly enjoyed (103,112, 196). The predominantly feminine makeup of the family group in old age is the result of two factors: the tendency for men to die sooner than women and the tendency for grown sons to be absorbed into their wives' families, while the daughters' husbands are not always accepted as part of the family circle (3,29). The trend toward the feminine makeup of the family with advancing years is shown in Figure 13-12, page 751.

FACTORS INFLUENCING PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS When parents are willing to shift their attitudes toward their children to suit the age and developmental level of the children, the chances are that the parent-child relationship will be a wholesome one as the years go on. As a result, it is probable that the elderly person will find much satisfaction in the companionship of sons and daughters. When, on the other hand, the parent has been unwilling, through the years, to adjust his attitude to meet the changing needs of growing children, he is likely to face a lonely old age. The strain in parent-child relationship which began in adolescence will likely grow worse rather than better as time goes on (5,29,123).

Because middle-class parents tend, as a group, to be more interested in their children's affairs, more anxious to do all they can to help them to "get ahead" in life, and more prone to use democratic forms of discipline when their children are younger, their relationships with their children are generally better throughout life than is true

of the relationships of lower-class parents with their children. This extends into old age and results in more contacts with family members than is true of lower-class families (39).

In a study of class differences among the elderly, it has been reported that middle-class elderly people have daily contacts with their relatives, mainly their children, in 19.6 percent of the cases studied as compared with 1.6 percent among lower-class elderly people. On the other hand, only 2.4 percent of the middle-class elderly said they almost never saw their relatives as compared with 28.1 percent of the lower class (199).

As has been pointed out, when children are socially mobile and are able to rise above the socioeconomic level of their parents, they tend to keep their elderly parents in the background and to see little of them. While they may make economic provisions for them, they do not provide them with the companionship and care their parents had hoped for or expected on the basis of the sacrifices they made earlier to enable their children to get ahead (39,148,180).

Attitudes toward filial obligations to and responsibilities for parents have been changing rapidly during the past generation, especially on the part of girls. Parents who grew up at a time when feelings of obligation toward parents, especially as they become older, were fostered are often resentful of the lack of family feeling and absence of responsibility toward the parents that is becoming so widespread in our present culture (3,194,243). Because it is traditional for girls to assume more responsibility for aging parents than boys assume, this change in attitude on the part of girls leads to family resentments and friction, especially when grown daughters maintain that they should be just as free to lead

their own lives as their brothers are and that care of elderly parents is no more their responsibility than it is their brothers' responsibility.

Many parents, especially those of lower-class backgrounds, expect their grown children, even when they are married and have children of their own, to obey them, to ask them for advice as they did when they were younger, or to respect their wishes as they did in childhood. A parent-child relationship based on this authoritarian pattern of parental control, if carried into old age, rarely proves to be a satisfactory one for the parents involved or for their children. As a result, the grown children see little of their elderly parents and do little to make their old age happy (81,199).

SEX DIFFERENCES IN EFFECTS ON ELDERLY For the most part, elderly women are more absorbed in the relationship with their children than are elderly men. This is a continuation of the parent-child relationship that started at the time of the child's birth. Because women have a closer relationship with their grown children than men have, there is usually more friction between women and their children than between men and their children. If the parent-child relationship has been satisfactory up to the age of fifty or fifty-five years, it is unlikely that new alienations will develop after that (5,77).

Mother-daughter conflicts often come in old age when a mother and her aging daughter are bound together in a dependent relationship. It is usually an unmarried daughter who has assumed the responsibility of caring for a widowed mother and who, as a result, is emotionally impoverished and subjected to her mother's whims and demands. Should she marry later, she will be made to feel guilty be-

cause she has "deserted" her mother and there is usually friction between the mother and her son-in-law (69).

Parental Dependency

Role reversals, as has been stressed before are very difficult for older people to make successfully. One role reversal that is especially difficult is from having their children dependent on them to being dependent on their children. Many elderly people, even when they are dependent on their grown children for financial support and companionship are unable or unwilling to reverse the role of authority they formerly had over their children. They continue to treat them as children, just as they did when their grown children were actually children. This their grown children resent, especially when they are the ones who are supporting and taking care of the physical and social needs of their parents (112,123,225).

Elderly parents, however, are not all alike in this respect. Some are independent, live alone, and treat their children and in-laws as adults and friends; others are dependent on their children, both emotionally and financially, and have a relationship with their children in which the roles that formerly existed are now reversed. The older the parent, the more dependent he is likely to be. This is especially true of widowed mothers (5,222).

Elderly parents who are happily married and have interests of their own are *emotionally* less dependent on their children than are those whose marriages have been unhappy or who have failed to develop interests to occupy the time formerly devoted to parental roles. The emotional independence of elderly parents, however, is generally less than the independence achieved by their children (87,222).

Financial dependency on their children is a bitter pill for most parents to swallow. This is especially true of men who have been accustomed to playing the role of provider for the major part of their lives (9,112,174,241). Most elderly parents prefer to get along the best they can with retirement pensions, old-age assistance, or other subsidies, even when this means a radical revision downward in the patterns of living, to being dependent on their children. Those who accept the role of financial dependency without resistance have usually come from countries where the cultural background differs from that which prevails in America today (3,77,180).

Relationships with Grandchildren

The role of the grandparent in the home life of modern America is less important than it was in the past. Then families lived closer together than they do today, the social unit of family life was made up of members of the family, and the authority of the grandparents over their children and grandchildren was supreme (112).

As a result of this pattern of living, the tradition grew up that the grandparent is a stabilizing influence in family life, that the grandparent is more tolerant and understanding of children than the parents are, that the presence of a grandparent in the home gives the mother more free time to be with and do things for the children, and that children just "naturally" love old people (4). According to this tradition, "Grandparents are always important, even if they were dead when the child was born" (195).

In recent years, with changes in living conditions, grandparents play a less important role in family life than they did in the past. Not only do families live farther apart today than formerly, but also respect

for parental authority is less. Furthermore, because there have been marked changes in child-rearing practices in recent years, there has been a growing tendency to question the tradition that grandparents understand children better than parents do. This is especially true when the children reach adolescence and the gap between their values and those of their grandparents has become so wide that they view life from very different frames of reference (39,148,225).

TYPE OF RELATIONSHIPS How much influence the relationship an elderly person has with grandchildren will depend largely on what type of relationship it is. Grandparents can play a number of different roles in family life, the most common and most frequent of which follow:

THE FORMAL ROLE In this role, grandparents follow what they regard as the proper and prescribed role—"hands off" with special treats for special occasions.

THE FUN-SEEKING ROLE This role is characterized by informality and playfulness—the grandparent is a "pal" to the grandchild.

THE SURROGATE-PARENT ROLE In this role, the grandparent assumes the responsibilities of caring for the child in the absence of a parent, due to death, divorce, or absence from the home while working. The grandmother more often than the grandfather plays this role.

THE RESERVOIR-OF-FAMILY-WISDOM ROLE In this role, the grandparent is the dispenser of special skills or resources. The grandfather more often than the grandmother plays this role.

THE DISTANT-FIGURE ROLE In this role, the grandparent emerges from the background on special occasions and has fleeting and infrequent contacts with the grandchildren. This role is especially common when grandparents are geographically or socially remote from their grown children and grandchildren (171).

Left to their own choice, most elderly people in America today select the "fun-seeking role"—the "pleasure without responsibility" relationship with their grandchildren. In it, they rarely feel left out and disregarded when their advice is not followed because they do not try to give advice. Instead, they concentrate on having fun with their grandchildren (171). The older they are, the more trying they find their grandchildren after a short time and, as a result, they prefer shorter contacts with them and fewer responsibilities (4).

This new, "hands-off," "fun-seeking" role of grandparents is the result of parents' attitudes toward interference with their methods of rearing their children as well as of the grandparents' wishes to be free of the responsibility of caring for children when the time and effort they put into this role more often than not is met with criticism by their children for their "old-fashioned methods" and by resentments by their grandchildren. It has tended to build up a barrier between children and their grandparents which has been intensified by the lack of close contact children of past generations had with their grandparents (4, 134, 195).

It has also tended to foster unfavorable attitudes toward old people because of their appearance and behavior, an attitude which would be less pronounced if there were a favorable attitude toward specific old people, in the form of grandparents.

Antipathy for old people, fostered outside the home, in turn conditions the child unfavorably toward his grandparents and further widens the gap between them (239).

EFFECTS ON FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Unfavorable attitudes toward elderly people in general and a rejection of grandparents except when they can help in an emergency or can provide gifts and fun on special occasions, is bound to affect the relationships the elderly have with their grown children and grandchildren (16, 195). In spite of this, many grandparents have favorable attitudes toward their grandchildren (4, 171).

If the relationship they have with them is characterized by "fun without responsibility," grandparents feel that they gain much from associations with young people: they are stimulated, become acquainted with the customs, problems, and ideas of the present generation, and find their lives enriched as a result of these contacts. The closer in age the child and his grandparents are, the closer is the relationship; the larger the age difference, especially in the case of great-grandchildren, the more remote the relationship (4, 29).

Even when the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is limited, it can and does have an important influence on family relationships through the influence grandparents have on their grandchildren. As Hader (97) has pointed out:

In many instances, the influence of the grandparents is unique and different as well as important.... The softening of the intensity of the parental-child relationship can be associated with beneficial understanding and less immature attitudes

on the part of the grandchildren. . . . The learned intervention of a party who has a degree of objectivity and distance can afford the mutuality necessary for a consistent, warm, and balanced interdependent family environment.

In spite of the fact that grandparents enjoy their contacts with their grandchildren and derive emotional satisfaction as well as intellectual stimulation from these contacts, most elderly people feel that their children mean more to them than their grandchildren do. Grandfathers, on the whole, have fewer and more remote contacts with grandchildren than do grandmothers, and they are far less likely to be called on for help in an emergency than are grandmothers. As a result, grandmothers generally are more interested in and absorbed in the lives of their grandchildren than are grandfathers. While the grandfather may be proud of the achievements of his grandchildren and feel that they reflect favorably on the family status, grandmothers' reactions are usually more personal and more emotionally toned (4,29).

When grandparents live in the homes of their married children, their influence on family relationships is very different and often much less favorable than when they live in their own homes or in homes for the elderly. Not only is there crowding when a grandparent moves in as a permanent member of the family, but there are more opportunities for frictional relationships to develop (195,225). Conflicts are especially likely to develop with the parents, more often with the mother than the father, and the grandmother more often than the grandfather is involved in these conflicts (195). It is from these frictional relationships that the influence of the grandparents

on the home climate is generated (134). As La Barre *et al.* have explained, "The primary significance of the grandmother in every child's life is her influence on the personality of his parents" (134).

Assessment of Marital Happiness

Marital happiness in old age is an indication of good adjustment to family relationships. Those who are unhappily married in old age, by contrast, are generally those who were unhappy almost from the start of their marriages but whose marriages were never dissolved because of moral or religious reasons or because of feelings of obligation to remain together for the sake of the children.

The fate of a marriage is usually decided during its early years. It is more usual than unusual for it to follow the same pattern that was established earlier rather than to make a radical change in pattern with advancing age. Marital disharmony, for example, is frequent among elderly male identical twins because of the jealousy of the wives over the close relationship of the brothers. This is not a new pattern in old age but one of long duration (118).

Those adults who feel their marriages are happy generally find that their marriages become more satisfying to them as they grow older. With time, mutual interests are developed, their children grow up and leave home, thus drawing the partners closer together, illness or retirement of the husband gives the wife a feeling of usefulness to replace that formerly experienced when the children were young, and the death of demanding and dominating parents-in-law removes a source of potential friction between husband and wife (5,29,77).

ADJUSTMENT TO WIDOWHOOD

Because it is customary for women to marry men their own age or older than they, and because men, on the average, die sooner than women, widowhood in old age is a far more common cause of loneliness for women than for men. (See Figures 13-8 and 14-2, pages 737 and 780, for ages of mortality of men and women).

At the present time, there are 2.5 million more women than men in the older population. This is a ratio of 129 females for every 100 males. It is estimated that, by 1985, there will be a rise to 143 females for every 100 males in the old-age population, and the disparity between the sexes will result in a surplus of 4.5 million females (85).

Statistics indicate that only one-third of the American women who are sixty-five years of age and older live with their husbands in households of their own (85). Statistics further indicate that three out of four women widowed by the time they are fifty years old will face 20 years of widowhood unless they remarry, while those who are widowed at sixty-five can, in 50 percent of the cases, expect to live for 15 more years, and one out of three, for 20 more years (10).

It has been estimated that 50 percent of the women at sixty years of age are widows while, at eighty-five years, 85 percent are widows. There are no statistics available to tell how many men of comparable ages are widowers, but there is reason to believe that, because widowers at every age remarry more than do widows, the percentages would be far less (27,99).

Young adults frequently solve the problem of an unsatisfactory marriage by divorce. Divorce is more frequent in the first few years of marriage than it is later, especially

when there are children (see pages 637 to 638). The number of divorces decreases as age progresses until middle age, when a second peak occurs (see pages 744 to 746).

In the sixties and seventies, there are divorces, but they are far less frequent than earlier. Even after celebrating a golden anniversary, couples occasionally obtain a divorce (23, 114, 177). (See Figure 13-10, page 746 for a graphic illustration of the relation of divorce to age.) No matter how unsatisfactory marriage may be to elderly people, most of them do not contemplate ending it in a divorce court. When they do decide to get a divorce in old age, it is generally not a new decision but rather something they had contemplated since the early days of marriage but which they never did because of the children or for economic circumstances (23, 29, 77).

Effects of Widowhood

Adjustment to the death or divorce of a spouse is difficult for men and women in old age because at this time all adjustments are increasingly difficult to make. When death of a spouse comes shortly after a man's retirement from work, it greatly increases the difficulties of this adjustment for him (112, 196). Furthermore, because old age is a period of contracting interests, especially social interests, being left alone cannot be compensated for by the development of new interests as readily as it can during the younger ages (119, 123, 227).

For the widow, there is usually a decreased income which frequently necessitates giving up interests she might otherwise retain and which would supply her with opportunities for social contacts. Decreased income often necessitates moving into new, smaller, and less desirable living

quarters, going to live with a married child, or living in an institution, any of which mean serious adjustment and further complicated adjustment to the loneliness which widowhood brings (10,85,123). While many elderly people recognize the possibility of widowhood and make plans for it, relatively few realize the problems it brings. They are therefore not prepared to meet them or to adjust to the loneliness that is one of the major problems of widowhood (77,148, 227).

Remarriage

Remarriage is one of the ways older people solve the problem of loneliness. Older women have poorer remarriage prospects than have older men (see Figure 11-14, page 644). This is true not only because there are proportionally more elderly women than there are men but also because women may hesitate to give up their pension rights or inheritance should they remarry. Furthermore, older men usually select women younger than they when they remarry. While relatively few marry women 20 to 30 years younger than they, the majority of men in the sixties and seventies marry women whose average age is 10 years below theirs (28,88).

The tendency to marry younger women reaches its maximum after seventy. Up to middle age, women usually marry men older than they or of approximately the same age. After that, a reverse trend appears. As is true of men, the tendency for older women to marry younger men increases with age. Often the men selected for a second or later marriage are 15 to 20 years younger than the women. While both men and women in the later years of their lives do marry individuals of approximately their own age, the number who marry individuals

younger than they has been reported to be "surprisingly large" (28).

SINGLENESS IN OLD AGE

The popular belief that an old person, who has never married and who, as a result, is "alone in the world," will face an unhappy, lonely old age is not borne out by real experiences. Not having had the companionship of a family of his own, he has learned through the years to develop interests and activities to compensate for this companionship. As a result, he is less likely to face a lonely old age than is the individual who married, whose interests were tied up in home and in family, and who now, in old age, finds himself widowed and with his children in homes of their own (29,148).

Furthermore, the person who marries is far less likely to have made the necessary adjustments to meet old age alone than is the person who has been alone for the major part of his adult life. Consequently, old age is more likely to be lonely for the widow or widower than for the bachelor or spinster, unless the former remarry (28,148).

Those who reach old age without having married do so more often from choice than from necessity. This is especially true of men. Few unmarried men or women live alone; most live with relatives, friends of their own age, or in clubs.

True, the unmarried woman who makes her home with a married brother or sister or an aging parent may find old age a lonely and dreary period of life. But such women are few and far between in America today. The modern woman builds up a life of her own, just as a man does. As a result, she has much to keep her happy and occupied in old age (69,148). Even though she is retired from her life career, she has

the benefit of retirement pensions or old-age assistance, in addition to what she has saved from her earnings. And because her leisure time was never at the beck and call of a family, she has had an opportunity to establish many interests which will keep her from being lonely when she reaches retirement age.

Even more so than men, older women who are unmarried can adjust successfully to old age and do not experience the loneliness experienced by women who have married and whose lives have been so centered in their families that they have few sources of substitute satisfaction when their husbands die and their children become preoccupied with their work and families. The adjustment to loneliness in old age is, therefore, a greater problem for those who have been married than for those who have never married.

LIVING QUARTERS FOR THE ELDERLY

One of the most difficult adjustments for old people to make is that of changed living quarters. Having spent many years of their adult lives in saving and planning for homes of their own, it is a source of great concern to them if economic necessity forces them out of these homes. Not only are there many happy memories associated with their homes, but they have become accustomed to every inch of the home and feel safe and secure there (123).

Should there be any disaster to their homes, such as fire or flood damage, it is a far more traumatic experience for them than for younger people, not because of the financial loss alone, but because of the loss of some cherished possessions. As Friedsam has pointed out, "Often the object of sentiment is nothing so dramatic

or expensive as the home." The loss may be of trees around the home or some cherished piece of furniture or bric-a-brac (80).

In the past, old people, far more often than is possible today, remained in their homes until death. When poor health made it impossible for them to live alone, it was considered the duty of a daughter to move back to the parental home to take charge of things for her parents. When reduced income threatened the parental home, the children either contributed to the support of it or one of the married children moved back to the home and shared the expenses of running it (14,194).

Conditions have changed so radically, not only financially but also in feelings of responsibility toward aging parents, that many old people of today are forced to move out of their homes when health or financial conditions become poor. Compulsory retirement, with its accompaniment of reduced income from pensions or savings, frequently makes it financially impossible to maintain the home any longer (51, 112).

In recent years, with the increase in pensions, government aid to the elderly and social security, many more elderly people are able to live in homes of their own, even though these homes are smaller and in less desirable neighborhoods than were their former homes, than was true a decade ago (175). In a survey of living conditions of the aged in America in 1965, it was reported that (112):

About half of the aged—8,400,000—are married couples who live by themselves in homes which they own or rent; another 4,900,000 aged single persons live alone in their own homes; only about 3,000,000 live with relatives. The rest are lodgers, inhabiting the residential hotels of the

country, the furnished rooms, the Y.M.C.A.'s, the institutions for the aged.

Living arrangements for elderly men differ from those for elderly women. Because women tend, as a whole, to outlive men, it has been found that less than 4 out of every 10 elderly women are married and living with their husbands as compared with 7 out of 10 elderly men. As a result, men are more likely than women to live in their own household with their wives or with their grown children and far less likely than women to live alone or with persons who are not their children.

By contrast, 25 percent of all elderly women live alone as compared with 14 percent of elderly men; 14 percent of elderly women, as compared with 8 percent of elderly men live in households with people who are not their children; and 23 percent of elderly women, as compared with 8 percent of men live with their children (204). This means that for approximately 1 out of every 4 elderly women, their role reaches the "minimal plateau stage" in which there is only one person for whom the home is regularly maintained (146).

Living arrangements also differ for elderly people who have children as compared with those who are childless. Of the non-institutionalized elderly, 4 out of every 5 have children. Only 17 percent of those who have children live alone as compared with 32 percent who are childless. Only 6 percent of those who have children live with people who are unrelated to them as compared with 31 percent who are childless. Of those who have children, only 23 percent live alone or in homes with people unrelated to them as compared with 63 percent of the childless (204).

Unfortunately, not all elderly people who have children can count on their children

to provide a home for them if they are financially incapable of making their own provisions. Because of high taxes and high cost of living, grown children have difficulties in making two ends meet in their own homes without the added burden of contributing to the support of the parental home.

Furthermore, social pressures against those who do not contribute to the family home are far less severe than they formerly were, with the result that many children no longer feel they must make the personal sacrifices necessary to help their parents maintain the home (168,194,221). In addition, there is a widespread feeling that it is unwise for "three generations to live under one roof." This has cut down on the former practice of married children's returning to the parental home with their families. The belief that children are better off in their own homes than in the home of someone else has further strengthened the tendency.

Modern homes are small and space is at a premium. As a result, the family must usually be dislocated when parents come to make their home with their married children. Then, too, the presence of an elderly person in the home adds to the already heavy burdens of the modern housewife. However, this does not necessarily mean that the elderly are isolated from their children. As Shanas (204) has pointed out:

Although the 3-generation household, all living under the same roof, may be less important than it has been on the American scene, older people are not physically isolated from their children. For the great majority of the aged with children, at least one child is in the same household, within walking distance, or only a short ride away. A new pattern of three-

generation living may well be developing in the United States as a result of those demographic changes associated with urbanization. There is no evidence, present or past, that residence under a common roof means a united 3-generation family. Wherever careful studies of older people have been made, however, there is considerable evidence that traditional family feeling about the aged continues to flourish despite the development of new patterns of living arrangements among older people.

Types of Homes for the Elderly

Where the elderly live depends upon their economic status, how much they crave the companionship of others, what they want or need because of their age and health, and where they feel they will be happiest (36,215). As the Report of President's Council on Aging has pointed out (196):

Most older people—the great majority—can and do live in their own homes and apartments, use normal community services, and find purpose in life through continued participation in a variety of activities with their families, friends, and relatives as they have done throughout their lives. Others find their needs more adequately met in specially designed apartments or clustered housing or in retirement hotels and villages. Many elderly citizens live with their adult children, in most cases not of their free choice, but because they cannot afford to do otherwise or because they need intensive personal care.

Fundamentally, the living quarters of older people should promote health and happiness. Because the needs and wants neces-

sary to their health and happiness are not the same as for younger people, nor are they the same for all who are elderly, living quarters that meet the needs of some will not necessarily meet the needs or wants of others (6,18,39).

Some want to live in a familiar neighborhood and a familiar home; others want to get into a new neighborhood and a different home (41,117). Most elderly people, however, want quiet, privacy, independence of action, nearness to relatives and friends, residence among members of their own cultural group, cheapness, and closeness to transportation lines and community institutions such as churches, libraries, and shops (39,103,199). As Vivrett has pointed out, old people should be "an integral part of and contributory to, the main stream of community life and action" (244).

Patterns of living vary greatly in old age, much more so than in middle age where the pattern is well standardized (145,223). There are six patterns that are common among the elderly today. These are: a married couple living alone; a lone person living in his own home; a nonmarital partnership of members of the same generation, as a brother and sister, brothers, sisters, or friends; a two-generation household with a widowed mother or father with adult children; three-generation households; and homes or institutions for the aged (103,112, 141).

Social class and, indirectly, economic status influence the pattern of living chosen by the elderly. Those of the upper social class usually live in large, old, and well-built homes which they have lived in for years, though some move into a smaller, new, modern home. Members of the upper middle class live in less select and less pretentious homes, while those of the lower middle class live in smaller homes or with

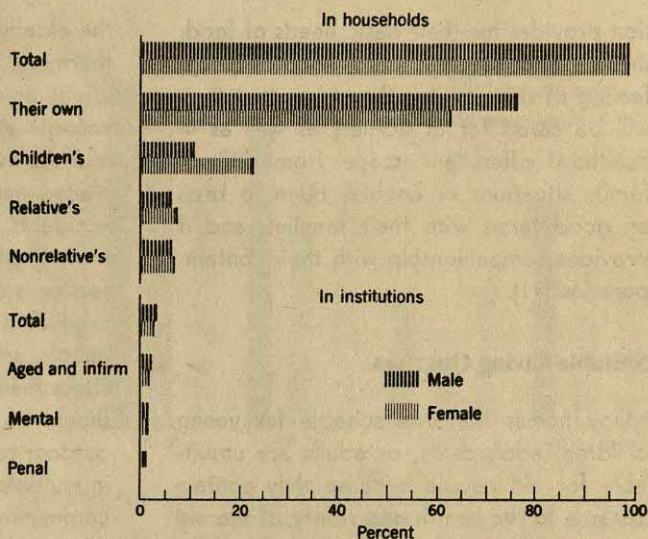


FIGURE 15-9 PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION, 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER, LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS AND IN INSTITUTIONS. (ADAPTED FROM N. W. SHOCK: *Trends in gerontology*. 2D ED. STANFORD, CALIF.: STANFORD, 1957. USED BY PERMISSION.)

their children. The pattern for lower-class, elderly people is influenced to some extent by whether or not they are working. If so, they usually live in small houses or shacks with their children, or, if they have no source of income, in old-age homes (2,29, 55,180).

Marital status likewise influences the living arrangements of elderly people. Single men are found in the highest proportions in rural nonfarm areas and single women in urban areas; married men and women live mainly in rural farm areas; widowed men and women in urban areas; and the divorced in urban areas (207,249). Where elderly people live is illustrated in Figure 15-9.

When it is impossible for an old person to maintain his home, he must either live with a relative or friend or in an institution.

Most old people accept such arrangements as a last resort. In the case of living with married children, they often resist the idea because they feel they are unwanted or will be in the way. They are criticized for interfering in family affairs or for their personal habits; they do not want to give up their own homes, which are symbols of their independence; and they fear the resentment of their in-laws or the restrictions on their individual freedom.

If every effort is made on the part of the son or daughter to make parents feel wanted and if attempts are made to help them to retain a feeling of independence even if dependent financially, living with a grown child can be a satisfactory arrangement for elderly people (112,196,218). Some elderly people prefer *institutional life* to living with their children. The institu-

tion provides for their basic needs of food, shelter, and physical care; it provides a feeling of security, for they know that they will be cared for in sickness as well as in health; it offers an escape from difficult family situations or enables them to keep on good terms with their families; and it provides companionship with their contemporaries (41).

Suitable Living Quarters

Many homes that are suitable for young children, adolescents, or adults are unsuitable for old people because they contain hazards to the health and safety of the old person. Declining motor coordinations, combined with a poor sense of equilibrium in old age, may readily result in falls which

se broken bones or other serious injuries. Many of the homes that have been occupied by the elderly since the earlier days of their marriage fall short of the requirements for safety, though they may fulfill the psychological needs of these individuals better than houses or apartments that are more suitable from the point of view of the physical needs.

There are four fundamental *physiological* needs of the elderly which should be taken into consideration if housing is to be suitable for them. First, the air temperature should be comparatively even from floor to ceiling because poor circulation and impairment of the heat-regulating system of the body make the elderly person especially sensitive to chilling in the extremities. Minimum labor should be required to operate the heating system. Second, there should be large windows to ensure more daylight because of the gradual impairment of vision in the elderly. Glare is disturbing and can be controlled by slat blinds. There should be plenty of direct sunlight because

the elderly are often house-bound and, furthermore, sunlight has a good psychological effect on the elderly just as it has on the young. Artificial lighting should be indirect to avoid glare, and lights should be placed near the floors and steps to avoid accidents. Third, noise should be controlled, either by locating the living quarters on a quiet street or in the back part of a building on a noisy street, because older people are less able to adjust to external stress than are younger. And fourth, there should be adequate space for indoor and outdoor recreation, a requirement best met in multiple housing developments built on a community basis (117,176,196).

From the *psychological* angle, suitable living quarters for the elderly should provide a privacy whereby the person can avoid the tensions of daily living and find opportunities for sedentary recreation, labor-saving devices for cleaning and cooking, and provision for storage of possessions that were an important part of the individual's past life (14,80,176,199,221).

Relatively few older people, especially after retirement, live in homes that meet their needs. Those over sixty-five years of age, on the whole, live in less valuable homes than the American population generally. These homes are usually in poorer locations in the community and are old and in poor condition. They have poor facilities, as absence of running water, flush toilets, and central heating, and they are often in a dilapidated condition (see Figure 15-10).

Because they are old, these homes often have large rooms and more space than is needed, thus eliminating the overcrowding that younger families often have in the more modern type of home. Those who live in rented property, whether in homes or apartments, likewise are in the low-value

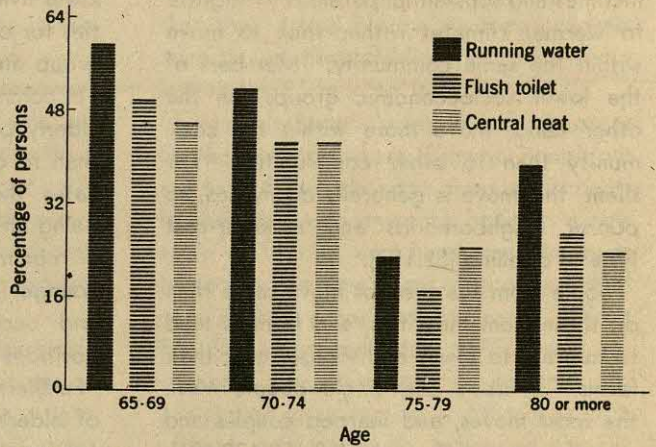


FIGURE 15-10 HOUSING FACILITIES FOR THE ELDERLY IN RURAL-FARM AREAS. (ADAPTED FROM M. L. COWLES: HOUSING AND ASSOCIATED PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL-FARM POPULATION IN TWO WISCONSIN COUNTIES. *Rural Sociol.*, 1956, 21, 239-248. USED BY PERMISSION.)

structures in the older neighborhoods of the community and have poor facilities. Many elderly people move to such living quarters in old age for economic reasons and are forced to accept conditions inferior to those they had in their younger years (52, 208).

Mobility in Old Age

Among elderly people, there is much mobility. This, in some cases, goes on for ten to fifteen years until they finally find a place that meets their needs, whether in a home of a grown child, in an institution, or in a "retirement community" that is specially planned to meet the needs of older people (170).

They may move from house to house or from house to apartment in the same community, from rural to urban or from urban

to suburban communities, from winter homes to summer homes, from their own homes to the homes of grown children, clubs, residential hotels, or institutions, or from the communities in which they have lived for many years to "retirement communities" in distant parts of the country (141,170,191).

There are many reasons for mobility in old age. Among the most important are changes in economic conditions following retirement, failing health, loneliness, a desire to be close to members of the family, and changes in marital status. Widows and widowers, for example, are more likely to move and move more often than are those whose spouses are still alive (170).

Members of the upper and middle socioeconomic groups move less often than do those of the lower groups, though there is a tendency for elderly people with large

incomes and substantial pensions to migrate to warmer climates rather than to move within the same community. Members of the lower socioeconomic groups, on the other hand, move more within the community than to other communities. For them, this move is generally downward, to poorer neighborhoods and a lower-cost type of dwelling (52,153).

People from the suburbs move more than do those from the cities, and farmers tend to migrate to towns and villages near their farms. Widows and single people make the most moves, and married couples and widowers, the fewest (52,153,170,191). Figure 11-3, page 595, shows the residential mobility of elderly people as compared with that of younger and middle-aged people.

In recent years, there has been a migration of elderly people to more favorable climates, especially to Florida, Arizona, and California. As a result, these states have had a proportionally greater increase in old people than have other areas of the country (141,207). While this migration is not as great as is popularly believed, it is a trend that is growing. As Havighurst and Albrecht have pointed out, "The trickle of people from thousands of towns and cities becomes a fairly large stream when seen at the receiving end of the migration in Florida, Arizona, or California" (103).

There are many reasons for this new trend of migration to areas which are coming to be known as "paradises for the aged" (141). The most important of these reasons, in addition to more favorable climatic conditions for those whose health is poor, are the breakdown of three-generation family units, a warmer climate, which eliminates the possibility of being cut off from social contacts during the winter months, improved transportation, inflationary pressures which make

lower living costs necessary, and opportunities for contact with those of the same age group and similar interests (60,141).

In communities made up mostly of retired elderly people, there is more equal status than in other communities, and this eliminates the feelings of uselessness and of being unwanted which are likely to develop in communities where members of the younger generations are in the majority and occupy most community leadership positions (113).

Furthermore, communities made up largely of elderly people eliminate the emotional tensions of large cities, and this is more favorable to the physical and mental health of the elderly. Migrations are usually away from urban centers to smaller cities. State capitals and university towns are especially attractive to the elderly migrant because of the cultural opportunities they offer (141, 214).

Adjustment to Living Quarters

Elderly people's adjustments to where they live and how they live will be affected mainly by whether or not the choice of living arrangement was theirs. When an individual resists the idea of living with a married child, for example, partly because he feels unwanted and partly because of the restrictions this will place on his independence, he will make poor adjustments and be unhappy if poor health or economic conditions necessitate this pattern of living (191).

With retirement and decreased strength, the individual spends more hours in the home than he did during his more vigorous years. Restrictive living arrangements breed discontent and restlessness, while living conditions similar to what he has been used to during the major part of his adult life lead to contentment.

Furthermore, life falls into a pattern as the individual grows older. Any change in this pattern means breaking habits of many years' duration with the necessity for making new adjustments (123). Men who remain in their own homes throughout their old age have the most advantageous position from the point of view of health, activity, and attitudes. Poorest adjustment comes when they live in rooming houses or hotels.

Old women, like old men, are best adjusted if they remain in their own homes or in homes of relatives. In institutions, where the individual is deprived of the independence he enjoyed for the major part of his life, the old person makes the poorest adjustments and is the least happy (45,182, 244).

However, how well adjusted and how happy the elderly person is when he lives in an institution will depend partly on the institution and partly on his attitude toward living in an institution. When the individual does not want to live in an institution but circumstances force him to do so, there is a tendency to show little interest in the outside world or his surroundings and to withdraw into a kind of fantasy which leads to intellectual deterioration (22,57, 247). For those who have unfavorable family relationships, the institution provides opportunities for social contacts and activities and eliminates the feeling of being unwanted which would exist if they lived with relatives (21,182).

When the institution is composed of fairly homogeneous groups without sharp differences along economic, occupational, or educational lines, it makes for a better social climate, and this facilitates personal-social adjustments (226,247). Institutional living has advantages and is often preferable to living with married children. This

is true especially when the old people feel that they are a burden to their children, even though their children feel guilty about letting them live in an institution (178).

Some elderly people who migrate to areas of the country where climatic conditions are more favorable make good adjustments to their new environments, build up a new circle of friends, and have many interests to occupy the time spent in work and child care in their preretirement years. Others find the adjustments too difficult and are unhappy. As Desmond has pointed out, adjustment to retirement is difficult enough without adding to it other adjustment hazards by moving to a new and strange environment (60).

These adjustment hazards come from being with totally strange people, in new living conditions, away from friends and relatives, and in an area where living costs may be as great or even greater than they would have been in the old communities. While it is true that an environment where climatic conditions are favorable makes it possible for the elderly to have interests and hobbies they might not otherwise be able to enjoy, this advantage will not necessarily compensate for the loneliness that comes when one is cut off from friends and relatives and from the home and community that is familiar from years of association. Desmond emphasizes a cautionary approach to migration for the elderly, which consists of "trying it out" before pulling up stakes and making the move final (60).

Regardless of where elderly people live, it is important that they feel that they are still a part of the family and not cut off from contacts with their children and relatives. As their friends die or are unable, because of health or moving to another area of the country, to provide them with

the companionship they formerly enjoyed, the family becomes increasingly more important to the elderly person. As Brody and Spark have emphasized, "The importance of 'family' to the child has been universally accepted. The need of the aged person for 'family' is no less vital. . . . The lack of family, for the infant and aged alike, can be a major deprivation" (37). They further point out that if the individual is deprived of contacts with his family in old age when he is subjected to the "insults of aging," such as death of a spouse, retirement, and decreasing physical and mental capacities, he will be less able to cope with this deprivation successfully than earlier. For that reason, "as his dependence increases, those on whom he is dependent hopefully should be able to accept the additional demands" (37).

ASSESSMENT OF ADJUSTMENTS IN OLD AGE

When changes occur in the physical condition of the individual and in his changed status in the social group, adjustments must be made. As is true of every age, the elderly must adjust themselves psychologically before they can make the needed adjustments in the patterns of their behavior. With aging, changes in structures and functional capacities may limit the methods available to the individual, as is true of the restrictions and limitations imposed on him by the cultural pattern of the society in which he lives (107,123,186,206).

There are two aspects to psychological adjustment, the outer and the inner. The *outer* aspect is evaluated by external observers in terms of the individual's capacity to function appropriately and efficiently; the *inner* consists of the degree to which the individual achieves a relatively inte-

grated satisfaction of his various psychological needs and experiences a pleasurable sense of well-being, contentment, and relative freedom from unpleasant tension and anxiety.

While most elderly people adjust with reasonable success to changes in their environment, few adjust successfully to changes from within. If adjustment is to be successful, the individual must make the necessary adjustments to the changes that come with aging and the social group must also adjust to the needs of the elderly. However, since the world will not adapt itself to the elderly, the elderly must learn to adapt to the world and to develop their own ways of doing so. This puts a great burden on the elderly (104,107).

To make good adjustments to old age, Dunn has suggested eight essentials. They are: living within physical limitations; adjusting to a lower income level; achieving security in medical care without sacrificing economic security; expressing one's self creatively; extending family love to the brotherhood of man; retaining personal dignity in society; maintaining self-integration; and passing on the torch to the next generation (63).

Predicting Adjustment

It is possible to predict, in middle age or even in early adulthood, what sort of adjustment the individual will make to old age. This prediction is based on the type of adjustment he has made to the roles society expected him to play at different age levels, on his attitude toward old age in general and his attitude toward his own old age, and on circumstances in his life which will necessitate major or minor changes in the roles he will be forced to play in old age (37,107,123).

There are certain *causal factors* that influence the degree of change in these roles. These include: increasing age; living arrangements; health status; economic status; social participation; upward or downward mobility; presence or absence of nonadaptive behavior; degree of wish fulfillment; and satisfaction the individual derives from the activities he engages in. Knowing which of these factors will be operative in a given individual's case and to what extent they will influence his attitudes and behavior makes prediction of his adjustments to old age reliable (101,107,125,182).

Factors Influencing Adjustment

How successfully or unsuccessfully the individual will adjust to the problems arising from changed physical and mental conditions and from the changes in status which come from aging will be influenced by many factors, some of which are beyond the individual's control. Of these factors, the most important include: earlier experiences; satisfaction of needs; social attitudes; personal attitudes; preparation for old age; method of adjustment; health conditions; living conditions; and economic conditions.

EARLIER EXPERIENCES The difficulties experienced in adjustments in old age are, for the most part, the product of earlier learning of certain forms of adjustment that are not adequate to present circumstances. When the individual discovers this, he must make new adjustments. This means a flexibility which is difficult for those who are old (101,125).

A person who has always been independent, for example, can relate himself well to others in old age, just as he has been able to do when he was younger. By

contrast, the person who has always been dependent on others is often pathetically unable to establish good relationships with others in old age (251).

Many old people react with emotional tension to their own aging, to loss of health, to loss of occupation, to loss of persons dear to them, and to financial or physical dependency. These reactions are generally a pattern of adjustment they have carried over from earlier years (107,245). Those who have reacted to frustrations and disappointments earlier, for example, by using defense mechanisms, continue to do so in old age (253).

SATISFACTION OF NEEDS To be well adjusted, the individual must be able to satisfy his personal needs and live up to the expectations of others within the framework of life provided for him. When the individual must change his roles, especially when the changes are as radical as those necessitated by health and environmental pressures during old age, he is more likely to be maladjusted than well adjusted (101, 107,186).

Financial security, late retirement, good living arrangements, and good health all favor good adjustment to the changed roles of the later years of life. Financial insecurity, unfavorable family relationships, poor health, and living in an institution that is isolated from the outside world and provides few contacts with family, friends, and young people are likely to contribute to poor adjustment in old age (101,105,182).

Fundamentally, the cause of poor or good adjustment in old age is traceable to the individual's concept of self and how this has been affected by the role changes that come with old age. The more favorable the self-concept, the more favorable will be the adjustment; the poorer the self-

concept, the less favorable the adjustment (94,123,125).

SOCIAL ATTITUDES In a culture where the role of the elderly is clearly defined, adjustment is easier than where roles are ambiguously defined. In our culture today, there is no universally sanctioned pattern of activities for the elderly as is true of primitive societies. While specific requirements are set for retirement, there has been no attempt to define any specific functions for the individual after retirement (107,206). There is, however, a general agreement on a pattern of limited and "age-appropriate" activities for the elderly, a pattern that stresses less active and less ambitious activities than the pattern approved for middle-aged people (245).

One of the greatest handicaps to good adjustment in old age is, therefore, not the individual's unwillingness or inability to adjust to changes which occur with aging but rather society's attitudes toward old age based on stereotypes of the aged. When the individual accepts these stereotypes, it stifles his motivation to adjust (68,238). In discussing the effects of "elder-rejecting" attitudes on the type of adjustment elderly people make, Linden (142) has commented:

While they desire to maintain their place in the world, they too frequently discover that age has no currency. They discover themselves often impatiently nudged to the wayside by restless younger individuals who attach little value to the later stages of maturation. Often instead of finding the love and affection they seek, they discover themselves merely tolerated. Many of them explore opportunities for activity but find themselves forced into inactivity.

PERSONAL ATTITUDES Good adjustment in old age is greatly affected by the individual's attitude toward aging and the effects it has on him as an individual. A resistant attitude will be a serious obstacle to successful adjustment. Unfavorable concepts of self, based on the belief that his days of usefulness to society have ended, lead to poor adjustments and unhappiness in old age. Many old people regard old age as the "end of the line" and think of themselves as "through," as "crabby," and "hard to get along with" (72,154,201).

There are certain "insults of aging" or life changes which come with aging and which systematically "insult" the individual, thus further damaging his self-concept. No one who lives to old age can escape these "insults," though their severity may vary from individual to individual. These are *loss of physical attractiveness, lessening of physical and mental vigor, and loss of status* (101,103).

With age, most people are less attractive looking than they were when they were younger. Because attractiveness has high social value, loss of it is a blow to the individual's self concept. As Havighurst and Albrecht have pointed out, "We have invested a good deal of emotional capital in our physical attractiveness and this investment is going bad on us" (103).

Furthermore, old people are aware of the unfavorable social attitude toward their loss of attractiveness and the telltale physical signs of aging. Linden (143) has stressed this point by saying,

In our culture, we place a great value on the package in which an item is delivered. This is no less true of the human being. For several reasons, we tend to place a considerable worth upon physical attrac-

tiveness and youthfulness. As a rule, these are symbolic of pleasing packaging. As we grow older, the package changes, tending to deteriorate. It loses a certain freshness and desirability and thus becomes obsolescent. Therefore, in our culture, in which the package possesses a value equal to or greater than its contents, the human facade—the human package which suffers in aging—is not highly regarded.

Added to this are a lessening of physical health and vigor, decline in the usefulness of the sense organs and of the reproductive organs, and a slowing down of memory and other mental abilities, all of which contribute to a growing feeling of uselessness. Status-giving roles in business, the home, and in civic, social, and political life all disappear as old age sets in and are replaced by roles of minor importance which are poor substitutes for those that have been lost (103).

Unfavorable concepts of self, developed from unfavorable social and personal experiences, result in frustrations, anxiety, resentments, and feelings of helplessness. These, in turn, lead to social friction and personal unhappiness, both of which make the oldster even less capable of adjusting to the changes in the pattern of his life than he could were these factors not present (89,123,199).

In spite of the emotional disturbances that accompany the adjustment problems of old age, most old people manage to keep their equilibrium within fair balance and are reasonably happy. The individual who is financially secure, whose family status is favorable, and whose health enables him to continue to engage in activities that are enjoyable to him will have

fewer emotional disturbances and will make better adjustments to old age than the individual whose status is less secure and less satisfactory (43,58,78,107).

PREPARATION FOR OLD AGE As Menninger has pointed out, the foundations of a happy old age should be laid as early as childhood. To prepare for good adjustments in old age, children should be taught to accept reality, to take the bad along with the good, and to take it with equanimity; to plan for the future by becoming independent and by not expecting other people to do "what mother did"; to get along with other people so that they can relate themselves happily to others throughout life; and to have a capacity to love others, a measure of the emotional maturity an individual has achieved (172).

When foundations are poor, the waning physical and mental resources of the individual render the old person less capable of making adjustments to changes in his life, with the result that the adjustments are only partially made. This is apparent in the case of adjustments to retirement. Those who have not prepared themselves economically or psychologically for compulsory retirement often react to it as a traumatic experience; those who have prepared themselves or have had help from experienced counselors have been found to improve their adjustments (68,76). Refer to pages 858 to 859 for a more complete discussion of this matter.

METHOD OF ADJUSTMENT There are many methods used by elderly people to adjust to the problems old age brings. Some of these are *rational* and make for successful adjustment while others are *irrational* and lead to poor adjustment. Of

the irrational methods, many of which are unconsciously used, the following are the most common: denying the changes of age and trying to continue as before; overcompensating by becoming intolerant of younger people, pointing out all the defects of youth, and claiming many advantages for old age; giving in completely and feeling there is no use to try any further; dwelling on the pleasures and triumphs of bygone days in fantasies; regressing to infancy by becoming dependent on others for bodily care; "convenient" forgetting and "shutting" one's eyes and ears; and hallucinations in the form of talking to lost family members as the child talks to an imaginary companion.

The rational methods of adjusting to aging consist of accepting the limitations of age and adjusting to the capacities one has; taking good care of one's body and being careful of clothes and grooming; finding and cultivating new friends; developing interests in community and civic affairs; learning to give up one's children; and avoiding reminiscing in the form of telling stories about the olden days (31,103).

HEALTH CONDITIONS Health conditions normally are less favorable as age progresses, and this adds a burden to the adjustment problems the elderly must meet. Chronic illness, which saps the strength and energy of the individual, is a greater handicap to adjustment than are temporary illnesses, even though the latter may be more severe while they last than the former. Furthermore, how the individual feels about his health has a marked influence on his adjustments. Those who rate their own health as good or fair make better adjustments than do those who rate their health as poor (132).

The effect illness has on the individual's

adjustment to old age will be influenced by the social class to which he belongs, the amount of physical care needed, family attitudes toward illness, the individual's past adjustments to life, and his attitude toward his illness—whether "hopeful" or "resigned." Those who make the best personal and social adjustments to old age when they are handicapped by illness have been found to be those with a "hopeful" attitude and those who have the resources necessary to provide for care during illness without placing too great a burden on their families (149).

LIVING CONDITIONS When an individual is forced to live in a place that is not of his choosing, and when the place where he lives makes him feel inadequate, inferior, and resentful, it is understandable that this would affect the type of adjustments he makes. Comparisons of institutionalized elderly people with elderly people who live in their own homes have revealed that the latter make better adjustments to the problems of old age than do the former. Similarly, those living with married children, relatives, or friends make less satisfactory adjustments than those who live in their own homes. The longer the individual lives in an institution or in the home of a relative, the more unfavorable his attitude will be and, in turn, the poorer his adjustments (22,140). Refer to pages 876 to 877 for a more complete discussion of the effects of living conditions on adjustment in old age.

ECONOMIC CONDITION A person who is plagued by worry about money finds it difficult to be happy. Having to forego the pleasures he formerly enjoyed and to pinch and scrape to make two ends meet for the necessities of life does not contribute to good personal or social adjust-

ments at any age. It is especially difficult for the elderly to adjust to financial problems because they know that they will have no opportunity to solve these problems by their earnings as they could when they were younger (196).

In a survey of the financial condition of the aged, made in 1965, it was found that the median amount of liquid assets held by all aged married couples in this country was only about \$1,000 and among the non-married, only \$300. Many elderly have no liquid assets at all. While many aged have income from pensions, social security, old-age assistance, and other sources, most have only enough to cover the essentials of life (112).

Not all elderly people are plagued by financial problems. However, only about 5 percent of married couples among the elderly have an income of \$10,000 or more and 4 percent of the widowed or single, \$5,000 or more (112). As a result, financial problems affect mainly those of the lower and middle classes (199). The lower the economic status of the elderly and the more financial worries they experience, the poorer their adjustment to old age.

Criteria of Adjustment

Assessment of the type of adjustment the elderly make can be made by applying four criteria: quality of behavior patterns; emotional states; personality changes; and happiness. Adjustment, thus, is measured in terms of satisfaction with self and with one's accomplishments (34).

QUALITY OF BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

There are two different and contrasting theories of successful aging. They are the *activity theory* and the *disengagement theory*. According to the activity theory,

the individual should maintain the attitudes and activities of middle age as long as possible and then find substitutes for the activities he must give up—substitutes for work when he is forced to retire; substitutes for the clubs and associations he must give up; and substitutes for friends and relatives he loses by death (100,107).

According to the disengagement theory, the individual curtails, either voluntarily or involuntarily, his involvement in the activities of middle age. He curtails his direct contacts with people, and by doing so he feels carefree, he is less influenced by the opinions of others, and he does the things that are important to him. As Henry and Cumming have pointed out, "He displays behavior characteristic of one who has withdrawn his investment from the world around him and reinvested it in himself" (107).

Not all disengagement comes at one time. Instead, it is a gradual process. As Cumming and McCaffrey (54) have explained:

He may withdraw more markedly from some classes of people and remain relatively close to others. This withdrawal may be accompanied from the outset by increased preoccupation with himself. When the aging process is complete, the equilibrium which existed in middle life between the individual and his society has given way to a new equilibrium characterized by a greater distance and an altered type of relationship. . . . The fully disengaged person can be thought of as having transferred much of his cathexis to his own inner life; his memories, his fantasies, and his image of himself as someone who was something, and did accomplish things.

While most people who work with the elderly favor the activity theory on the

grounds that the elderly adjust better to old age if they gradually substitute new activities for those formerly engaged in than if they withdraw from these activities, there is evidence that each individual must relate himself to society in his own way and thus control his satisfaction from life. A person, for example, who was passive and dependent in early adulthood and middle age would gain more satisfaction in old age from disengagement than from activity (100,101).

In general, there is evidence that those who made good adjustments when they were younger will make good adjustments when they are old. As Cicero pointed out in his *De Senectute*, "Those with simple desires and good dispositions find old age easy to take. Those who do not show wisdom and virtue in their youth are prone to attribute to old age those infirmities which are actually produced by former irregularities." How the individual meets the stresses of adolescence and adjusts to them will influence how he will adjust to old age, because patterns of adult attitudes and behavior are set then (193).

The cultural milieu in which the individual lived during the formative years of his life will also affect the type of adjustment he makes to old age. Because America is a young country and is youth-conscious, there are negative and unfavorable attitudes toward old age. Having grown up in a milieu in which such attitudes prevail, it is difficult for an individual to "grow old gracefully" or to accept old age gracefully in others. Although the old person is a senior citizen, he has none of the prestige associated with that status in countries where the elderly are respected because of their wisdom and experience (64,112,163).

To be well adjusted, there must be a

minimum of worry. Idleness at any age predisposes the individual to worry, and because old age is a period of relatively greater idleness than any other life period, there are plenty of opportunities for the elderly person to worry. Keeping busy, then, is very important to good adjustment in old age (2,105). Being busy, however, is not all that is required for good adjustment. The elderly must be kept busy doing things that are regarded as important by others, not just "make-work" activities, if they are to gain any satisfaction from them (112,150,152,190).

Studies of well-adjusted and poorly adjusted old people have revealed a number of behavior patterns associated with good adjustment, the most important of which are: strong and varied interests; economic independence, which makes independence of living possible; many social contacts with people of all ages, not just with one's contemporaries; good relationships with members of the family and frequent contacts with them; some form of work which is pleasurable and useful but not overtaxing; participation in or contribution to community organizations, especially the church; delegation of responsibility and authority to others, either in the home or business, thus enabling the older person to pursue interests of his own while still maintaining a feeling of usefulness; maintaining a home where life is comfortable but not too taxing; and enjoying of present activities without regrets for the past (2,105).

Poorly adjusted old people develop patterns of behavior that suggest they are trying to escape from situations they dislike and often find intolerable. There is a tendency to reminisce, recalling with strong emotional reactions previous successes and happinesses. They show little interest in the world of today or their role in it; in-

stead, they withdraw into the world of fantasy and make a world of their own, colored by memories of past experiences (107,122,234,235).

This is especially true of the institutionalized whose environment is usually so lacking in stimulation that they dwell more on the past than on the present or future (57, 245). Lack of interest in the present results in low productivity, little drive, and a narrowing of interests (73,136).

Even more seriously, it leads to loneliness. The more the individual withdraws from the present and lives in the past, the less interesting he is to others, and the less effort he will put forth to establish contacts with others. As a result, he suffers from social isolation. This may, in some cases, be a result of geographic isolation or social mobility within the family but, in most cases, it stems from the pattern of adjustment the elderly person follows which result in his disengagement from the activities of the social group (39,54,100,101).

Because women, on the average, live longer than men, loneliness is a more serious adjustment problem for them than it is for men. Men, on the other hand, are faced with the loneliness that retirement brings—a problem which relatively few women find difficult if they have family and friends to fall back on. There is usually more loneliness among elderly people of the middle and upper classes than of those of the lower (227). The reason for this is that family solidarity and feelings of responsibility for aging parents are stronger among men and women of the lower than of the middle and upper classes. Furthermore, elderly people of the middle and upper classes are generally financially able to live in their own homes and, as a result, lack the companionship in the home that lower-class elderly have when they live with

grown children or in institutions where there is constant companionship with others of their own ages (39,168,199).

Loneliness at any age, but especially during old age when declining health and unfavorable social attitudes toward the aged make social contacts difficult to establish, causes poor morale. This, in turn, leads to mental disorders (245). The most common mental disorder resulting from loneliness at any age, but especially old age, is schizophrenia. However, other forms of deviant behavior may develop as a result of loneliness. Women, because they live longer than men, experience greater loneliness for a longer period of time and are, as a result, more subject to schizophrenia (148).

The patterns of behavior that are indicative of poor adjustment in old age result partly from environmental frustrations and the limited opportunities the aged have for the satisfaction of thwarted needs and partly from changes in mental and physical functions, as shown in loss of strength and energy which results in fatigue, or in rigidity which hampers adjustment to new situations (17,101,136).

That most elderly people make satisfactory adjustments may be seen in the fact that *criminality* is proportionally lower during old age than in any other age period beyond childhood. There is no evidence of increase in crime in the older ages even though the aged population has increased in recent years. In fact, from middle age on, the crime rate becomes progressively lower.

The most common causes of arrest among old people are drunkenness, assault, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, driving while intoxicated, theft, and sex crimes. The decline in criminality rate among elderly people may be due in part to the greater leniency of judges and juries when dealing

with older people, but it is more likely that the decline comes from an unwillingness on the part of older people to expose themselves to physical dangers, physical incapacity to undertake certain types of crime, realization from past experience that crime does not pay, and increasing conformity to the law with advancing age, an outgrowth of their greater conservatism (105,167).

CHANGES IN EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR

Poorly adjusted people at all ages react to environmental conditions with more emotional tension than do those who are better adjusted. In the poorly adjusted people who withdraw from the world and live in a world of fantasy, there is a tendency to be apathetic and to show decreased emotional responsiveness. This is especially characteristic of institutionalized elderly people who, for the most part, make poorer adjustments to old age than do those who live outside institutions (57,58).

However, in spite of the new problems of adjustment that elderly people must face, regardless of where they live, there is no indication of greater emotional instability than is found in the younger segments of the population (91). Studies of elderly people have shown that their affective life tends toward a level of apathy. They are less responsive than they were when they were younger and show less enthusiasm. Typically, the emotional responses are more specific, less varied, and less appropriate to the occasion than are those of younger people. It is not unusual for the elderly person to show signs of regression in his emotional behavior, such as negativism, temper tantrums, and excitability characteristic of a child (17,25,58).

Many elderly people have little capacity to express warm and spontaneous feelings

toward others. They become "misers" in their affections in that they are afraid to invest an object or person with positive feelings because they have discovered, from past experience, that it is unlikely that such feelings will be returned and their efforts will then have been fruitless (42,58,199). The more self-bound the individual becomes, the more passive he is emotionally (58).

While the affective life of the old person does, on the whole, show less intensity than is characteristic of the younger years, the resistant emotions show an unaccustomed intensity. The old person is likely to be irritable, quarrelsome, crotchety, and contrary. Fears and worries, disappointments and disillusion, and feelings of persecution are far more common than the pleasanter emotional states (43,78,199).

The old person is likely to be belligerent. His belligerent attitudes come from thwartings and feelings of rejection. Some of the thwartings come not from the environment but from the individual's not being able to do many of the things he did when he was younger. The old person senses society's attitude toward him and he resents this attitude.

Financial dependence often makes the old person feel ashamed and unhappy, another common cause for the predominance of unpleasant emotions in old age. All in all, there are few things in our culture to make an old person happy and many things to make him cross, unpleasant, and generally disagreeable to live with (17,43,199,245).

Recovery from emotional experiences also changes as the individual grows older. While the child or adult may spend his energy, mobilized for emotional responses, in play or work, the elderly person is usually exhausted, less able to turn to other things,

and may remain anxious and depressed for a long time.

In old people, grief due to the death of a spouse or some loved one is expressed by a dearth of overt manifestations. Instead, somatic illness is often precipitated or accentuated by this grief. Furthermore, there is often irrational hostility toward living persons, especially those in the individual's immediate environment, and a tendency toward withdrawal and isolation (17, 219). According to Banham (17):

The emotions of old people are characterized by paucity rather than overabundance of affective energy. The form of their behavior tends to narrow, like a stream in a drought, into one channel rather than to brim over into general hyperactivity and tension.

PERSONALITY CHANGES Changes in personality, whether they are for the better or for the worse, indicate how well the individual is adjusting to life. Marked changes, especially when they are for the worse, are indicative of poor adjustment. Considering the changes that come in physical and mental functions with age and the concomitant change in pattern of living that is pressed upon the older person, and considering also the prevailing concept of old age in our culture, it would be surprising if there were not changes in personality in old age (197,200).

It is popularly believed that all old people, regardless of what sort of personality patterns they had when they were younger, will develop into ogrelike creatures who are mean, stingy, quarrelsome, demanding, selfish, self-centered, egotistical, and generally impossible to live with. Furthermore, it is popularly believed that if old people live

long enough they will deteriorate into child-like personalities in the closing years of life and that they must, as a result, be treated like children.

As long ago as the time of Plato, it was recognized that the personality of the individual prior to old age influences his reactions to old age and this, in turn, determines how much change will take place in his personality when he becomes old. As Plato pointed out, "He who is of a calm and happy nature will hardly feel the pressure of old age, but to him who is of an opposite disposition, youth and old age are equally a burden."

This point of view has been substantiated by modern studies of personality. They emphasize the fact that, although changes do occur, they are *quantitative* rather than *qualitative*: the fundamental pattern of personality, set earlier in life, becomes more set with advancing years (211,212). They also emphasize that the marked sex differences found in personality during the earlier years disappear (98).

Although the individual may become more rigid in his thinking, more conservative in his actions, more prejudiced in his attitudes toward people, more opinionated, and more self-centered with age, these are not new personality traits that have developed as he became elderly; they are exaggerations of lifelong traits that have become more pronounced with the pressure that old age has placed upon him. When pressures are too severe for him to adjust to and personality breakdown occurs, there is still evidence that the predominant traits developed earlier will be dominant in the pattern the breakdown takes (110). As Lawton has pointed out, "Aging is like applying a magnifying glass to the personality" (137).

Changes in personality during old age come from changes in the core of the personality pattern, the individual's concept of self. How much this self-concept changes and in what direction the change occurs will determine the quality and quantity of change in the personality pattern. Changes in the self-concept in old age come from subjective awareness of aging, the acceptance of the cultural stereotype of old age, and the individual's recognition of the attitude toward him and the treatment he receives from others because of his age (65,245). As Rose (198) has explained:

There tends to be a marked change in self-conception, which includes a shift in thinking of oneself as progressively physically and mentally handicapped, from independent to dependent, from aspiring to declining. Because most of the changes associated with the acquisition of the role and self-conception of being elderly are negatively evaluated in American culture, and because there is no compensatory attribution of prestige, as in other societies, the first reaction of most older people is some kind of disengagement and depression.

How greatly the individual's self-concept affects his behavior has been emphasized by Watson when he said, "A person is as old as his self-concept" (246). Those who consider themselves "old" are less well adjusted and happy than are those who think of themselves as "middle-aged" or who have a more favorable concept of "old age" than the one that is popularly accepted in our present culture (186).

Disdain for age is implanted in the minds of the young and becomes stronger with

passing time as the individual realizes how society feels about old age. As he becomes older, the individual directs this attitude toward himself with the result that he ascribes to himself the characteristics belonging to the stereotype of old age. Because he expects to be rejected, he rejects himself. This is fundamentally the basis of personality deterioration in old age (144, 245).

Many older people try to deny approaching age and prolong youthfulness to avoid having to face the acceptance of the concept they hold of old age. So long as they are able to appear and act younger than their chronological ages, they can avoid accepting the stereotype of old age as applicable to them (40). This is especially true of elderly people of the middle and upper socioeconomic groups (192).

The time at which a person begins to feel that he is getting old and the time at which this becomes a matter of concern for him differ greatly for different individuals. Some people use their chronological age as a criterion of their own aging, whereas others use such physical symptoms as failing eyesight or hearing, increased tendency to fatigue, decline in sexual potency, or changes in the texture of the skin and color of the hair. Still others assess their aging in terms of their capacity for work, their output in relation to standards set in earlier years, their lack of interest in competing with others, lack of motivation to do things, or a tendency to reminisce and turn their thoughts to the past rather than dwell on the present or the future (94).

For most people, physical symptoms of aging are more often used to assess their age than are behavioral symptoms. It is not uncommon for older people, once they have accepted the fact that they are "old,"

to develop an "old-age complex" which is expressed in undue concern and preoccupation over the physical and mental restrictions age has imposed on them. This predisposes them to exaggerate their loneliness, to fear losing the place they formerly enjoyed in the community, to have feelings of having outlived their usefulness, and to worry over their financial status (110). As old people become less able to function independently, they subscribe more and more to the cultural stereotypes of old age. This further influences their self-concepts, even to the point where they believe that they, like other old people, would be better off in old-age homes because they are hard to get along with (236).

In short, then, what the individual *thinks* he is, he is likely to become. If he thinks of himself as "old," he is very likely to think and behave as an old person is supposed to, thus developing a personality pattern that conforms to social expectancy. The more change there is from the personality pattern of his younger days and the more closely this new pattern conforms to the cultural stereotype of "old-age personality," the stronger the indication that he has not made a good adjustment to old age.

In spite of the fact that the number of old people is increasing rapidly, they are still a "minority group" in our culture. They are stereotyped as such by younger people and have not yet been permitted to find a place in our present culture. As a minority group, they suffer from subordination to the younger members of society, they are discriminated against and made to feel unwanted, as is true of any minority group. Because of their minority-group status, many old people develop personality traits that are typical of minority groups, such as hypersensitivity, self-hatred,

symptoms of insecurity and uncertainty such as quarrelsomeness, apathy, and regression, introversion, anxiety, overdependency, and defensiveness concerning age (19,190,198,245).

Not all older people develop "minority-group" personality patterns: some develop more realistic self-concepts or even slight 'delusions of grandeur.' How they show their improved self-concepts has been described thus by Rose (198):

There is a desire to associate with fellow-agers, especially in formal associations, and to exclude younger adults from these associations. There are expressions of group pride and corollary expressions of dismay concerning the evidence of deterioration in the outgroup—the younger generations. With this group pride has come a self-acceptance as a member of an esteemed group and the showing off of prowess as an elderly person (for example, in "life begins at 80" types of activities). There are manifestations of a sense of resentment at "the way elderly people are being mistreated," and of taking of social action to remove the sources of their resentment. These are the signs of group identification that previous sociological studies have found in ethnic minority groups.

Even those who develop "minority-group" personality patterns do not develop all the traits characteristic of such patterns or in equal strength. Personality differences occur in old age as in every other period of life. However, those who are institutionalized, especially when against their wishes, have poorer attitudes toward themselves and more marked characteristics of the minority-group personality than is true of those who live outside institutions (155).

The most acute reaction to advancing age is in the area of self-esteem. When the sources of self-esteem, as success in work and community life and importance in the home, are cut off suddenly by retirement and are not replaced by other sources of self-esteem, the individual is predisposed to develop traits characteristic of the minority-group personality. Unless something is done to restore this waning self-esteem, the changes in personality will increase (135).

In an experiment with a group of elderly people placed in a stimulating environment, marked changes were found in their personalities after a year. They changed from acceptance of the stereotype for "old people" to being more alert, more emotionally controlled, and in better health, from poorly to well-adjusted individuals. This suggests that changes in personality patterns, resulting from changes in the self-concept, are due more to environmental influences than to physical causes (15).

Breakdown in the personality structure is indicative of poor adjustment. With advancing age and its pressures comes an increase in the number of personality breakdowns and in the proportional number of individuals committed to mental institutions (7,44,136,245). In the milder forms, these breakdowns consist of such disorders as disturbances of memory, falsifications of memory, faulty attention, disturbances of orientation concerning time, place, and person, suspiciousness, disturbances in the ethical domain, hallucinations and delusions—especially of persecution—and such common neuroses as anxiety, preoccupation with bodily functions, chronic fatigue, compulsion and hysterical disorders, neurotic depressions, and sex deviations (7,119).

Personality breakdown of a more serious

sort, as shown in mental disease, increases greatly. About one-third of the patients in state mental hospitals today are people over sixty years of age, and still others are cared for in private institutions or nursing homes for the aged (44,110,112). After sixty-five, there is a marked upward trend in serious emotional disorders. In the sixties, psychoses with cerebral arteriosclerosis and senile dementia predominate, and these groups increase steadily to the end of life. After seventy, senile psychoses mostly prevail (8,216).

Many of the mental breakdowns in old age trace their origin to personal maladjustment of long duration (211). "Second childhood" is not always senility in the sense of physical deterioration but is often a case of emotional and intellectual immaturity carried over from younger years. This is shown by the fact that old people whose behavior becomes increasingly childish have lived lives that are extremely conventional and patterned after the opinions of others. Then, when these social pressures are gone, the individual reverts to childish behavior.

There is evidence that most personality breakdowns in old age are not the results of brain damage but rather of social conditions which give rise to feelings of insecurity (245). These are especially serious when there is a history of poor adjustment. Many old people have shown similar maladaptive behavior under stress when they were younger. Then, under the pressures of such conditions as the death of a spouse, or problems resulting from retirement, there is a breakdown in the personality pattern already weakened by past experiences (110,136,254).

Not only does mental disease increase with advancing age, but there is also evi-

dence that there is an increase in *suicides* or attempts at suicide (86). Refer to Figure 13-13, page 759, for a graphic presentation of the ages at which suicides are most prevalent. Men of all ages and all races have a higher suicide rate than do women (86,128). While many suicides in old age are traceable to poverty or to economic insecurity with its accompaniment of dependency, not all suicides in old age are due to economic factors alone. Some are caused by the loss of a loved one, physical ailments, especially those of hopeless prognosis, and mental disease (86,111).

In conclusion, it can be stressed that personality changes, especially of an extreme degree, are not necessarily inevitable as age progresses. They depend partly on the rapidity of degenerative changes and partly on the strength of personality integration and its ability to withstand the social pressures that come with aging. Personality breakdown is thus a clear indication of poor adjustment to the problems that must be met with advancing years.

HAPPINESS How happy the individual is at any age depends largely upon the degree of adjustment attained. This, in turn, depends not so much upon present environmental conditions as upon the success or failure of past adjustments and upon the attitudes that have been created by the individual's successes or failures.

At no time in life do unsuccessful past adjustments make present adjustment as difficult as in old age, and at no other life period is the adjustment to existing conditions as hard as it is in old age. As a result, the old person's chances for happiness are far less than they are at earlier periods in his life.

The more upset the pattern of the older

person's life, the more predisposed he will be to unhappiness. The best chances for happiness in old age, on the other hand, come from happiness in middle age. Because the individual's attitudes and patterns of adjustment are established while he is still young, preparation for old age should be started while the individual is at the peak of achievement if he is to have a happy old age. Healthy attitudes toward old age as a normal part of the life span, toward the abilities and disabilities of old age, and toward the activities and interests old age can enjoy should all be established while the individual is able to make adjustments easily. Waiting until he is old is often too late.

To be happy, the individual must accept himself and the conditions of his life, even if they fall below his expectations. At every age, levels of aspiration above one's abilities and unrealistic goals will mean feelings of inadequacy which, in turn, will lead to unhappiness. In old age, the individual must be realistic about himself, his abilities and disabilities, his gradual isolation from society, and all the other changes in the life pattern which old age brings. Even though these are not to his liking, so long as they are beyond his control he must accept them; otherwise, he is doomed to unhappiness.

Furthermore, "happiness" shifts its meaning as people grow older. In youth, happiness means freedom from care and responsibility, gaiety and popularity with members of both sexes, setting goals and achieving them, and above all, activity. In old age, by contrast, the elements of happiness are health, economic security, acceptance by society, freedom from loneliness, feelings of usefulness, religion and contentment. Old age cannot know the same kind of hap-

piness as youth because it is a period when life is more passive and contemplative than the active period of youth. It is true, though, that what a person does is more important to his happiness in old age than what he is. In general, happy old people are more alert and ready for new activities than are the unhappy (138,238). Because middle- and upper-class people tend, on the whole, to be more active in the life of their communities than do those of the lower classes, middle-class people tend to be happier in old age than are lower-class people (199).

In a democracy, the happiness and well-being of every citizen is the responsibility of the nation as a whole and especially of its leaders. When a large group of the population is unhappy and feels that it is unfairly treated, it becomes a matter of serious concern for all. Unfortunately, few elderly people in America today are happy: for most, growing old is a traumatic experience (160). From their contacts with the aged, many young people acquire a negative attitude toward old age. This prepares them unfavorably for their own adjustments to old age when the time comes (71,147).

While much has been done to improve the health of the elderly and to provide financial aid and living quarters for the needy, far too little has been done to improve the morale of old people in general. The Older Americans Act of 1965 provided for the establishment of an Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the Federal government to provide grants to states to enable them to finance projects that will improve the morale, and thus the happiness, of old people. The key objectives of this act are as follows (112):

To provide an "adequate income" for all elderly people.

To provide the "best possible physical and mental health."

To provide "suitable housing."

To provide "full restorative services."

To provide "opportunity for employment without age discrimination."

To provide for "retirement in health, honor and dignity."

It is now recognized that old people can be happy only if society gives them a chance. If they are permitted to be as active as their health and strength allow, and if their activity produces results that are of some use to the social group, they will be happy in the knowledge that their lives are useful until the grave claims them (137). However, it is not enough that society meet their physical and economic needs. As Havighurst has pointed out, their psychological needs must be met also if they are to be happy. According to him, the elderly have (100):

The need to be needed; the need to have a function in society—to have a respected place in the eyes of others and to be doing something which is interesting and significant in one's own eyes . . . the need for ego support.

Havighurst has, further, given four characteristics of "successful aging"—aging that will bring happiness to the elderly. They are: a way of life that is socially desirable for this age group; maintenance of middle-age activity; a feeling of satisfaction with one's present status and activities; and a feeling of satisfaction with one's life (100).

However, because people are different and have different needs, what will bring happiness to one in old age may not bring happiness to another. Because the pattern of life that brings happiness in old age is usually similar to the pattern that brought happiness earlier, an essential to happiness in the closing years of life is the opportunity to continue the life style that previously led to happiness. This point of view was stressed by Havighurst (100) when he said:

Persons with an active, achieving, and outward-directed life style will be best satisfied with a continuation of this style into old age with only slight diminution. Other persons with a passive, dependent, home-centered life style will be best satisfied with disengagement.... Undoubtedly there is a disengaging force operating on and within people as they pass 70 and 80. But they will still retain the personality-life style characteristics of their middle years.

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